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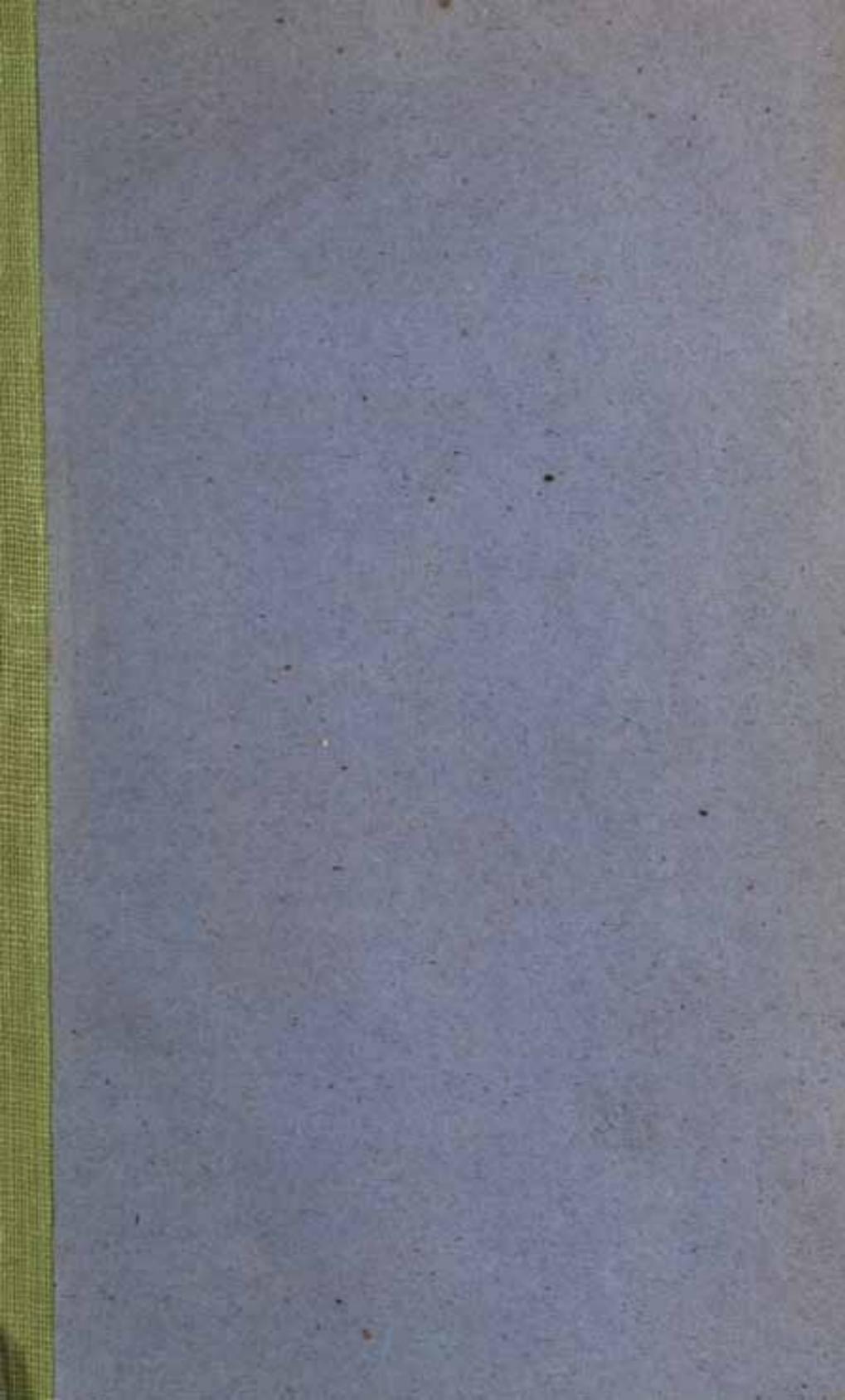
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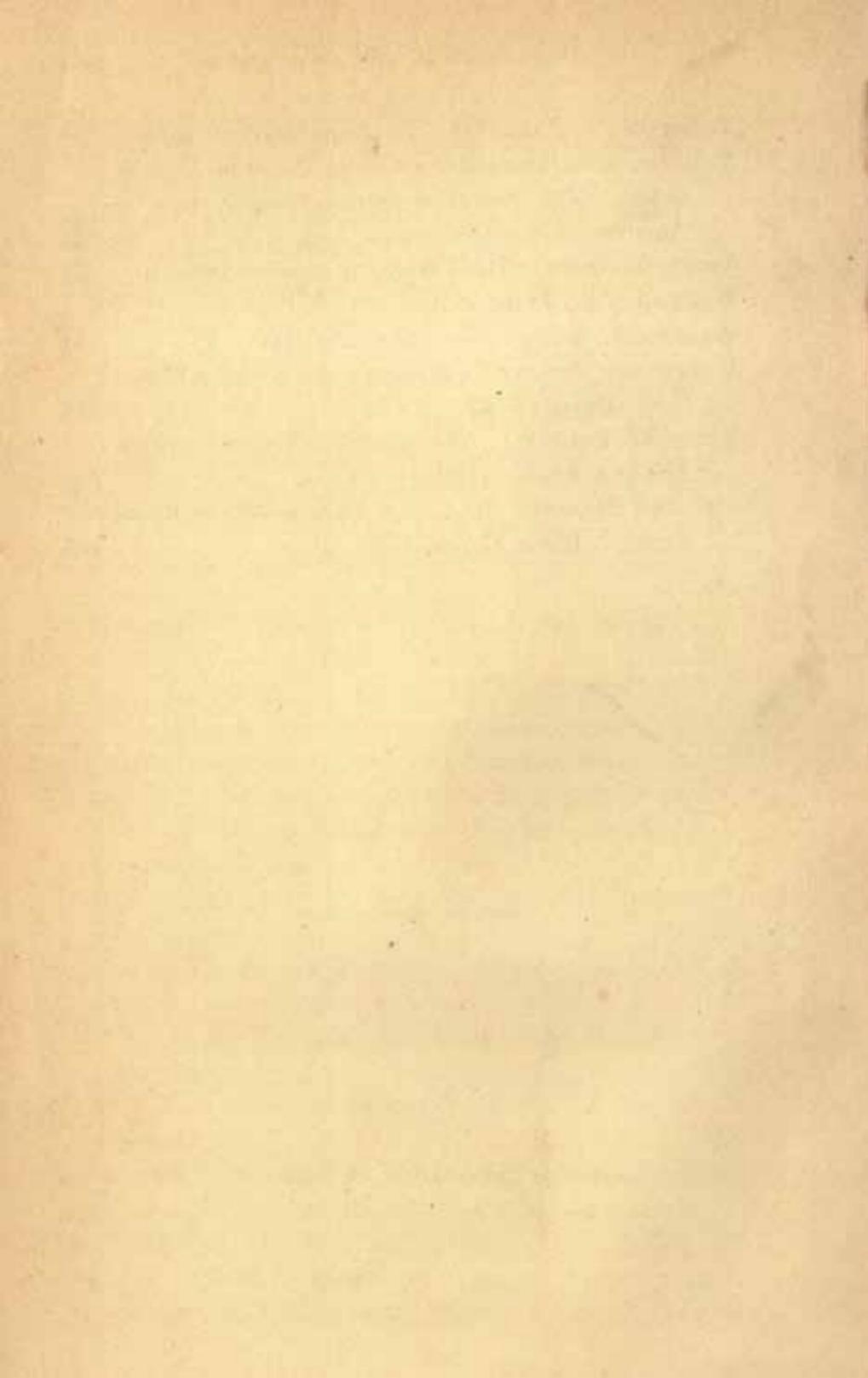
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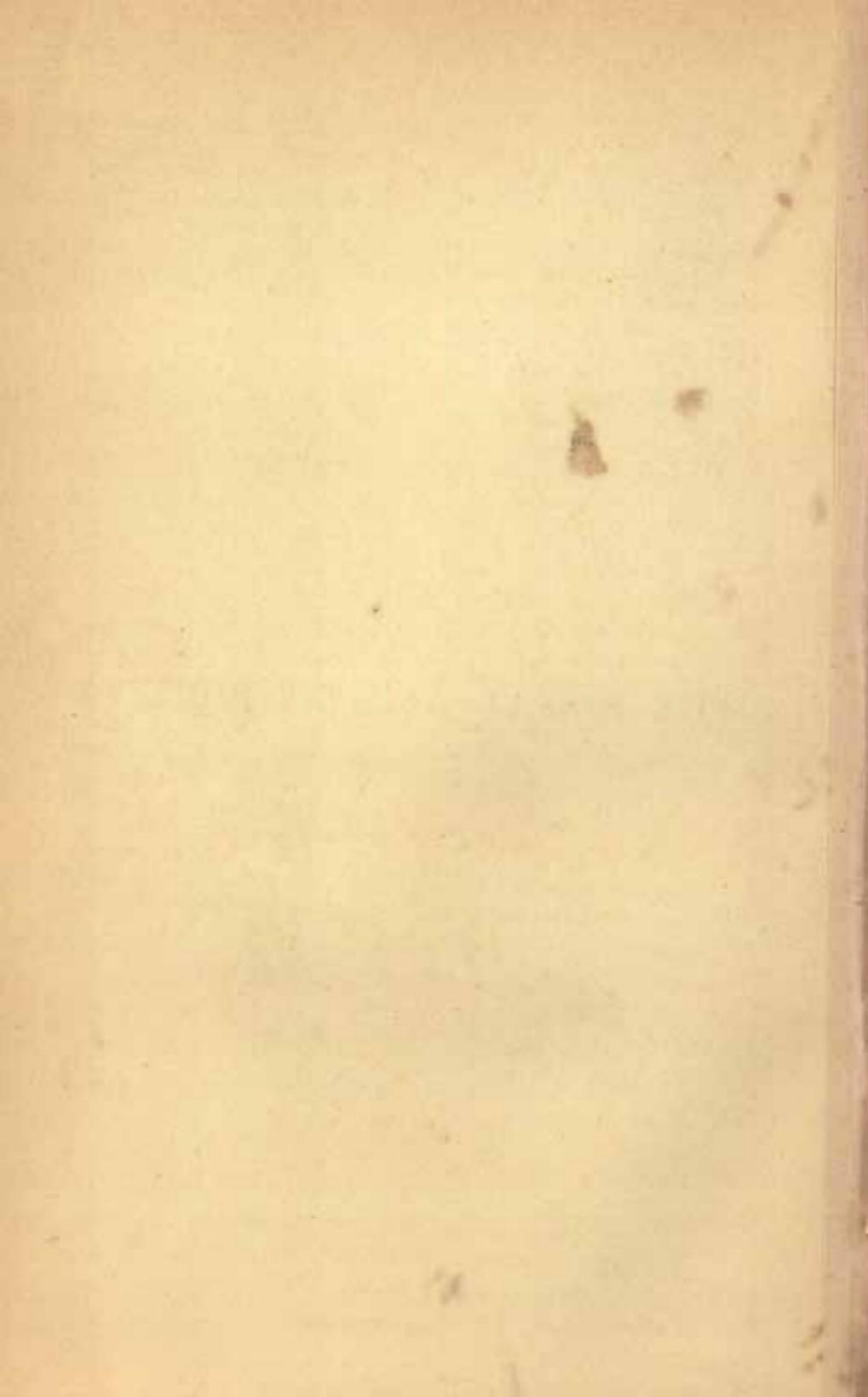
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## ERRATA

*R.A.S. Journal*, October, 1932.

p. 974, l. 1. *For Ryberg read Nyberg.*

p. 1043, l. 24. *For sans read sine.*



# JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1933

## PART I.—JANUARY

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**Minute by M. Bernier upon the Establishment of  
Trade in the Indies, dated 10th March, 1668**

FOUND AND TRANSLATED BY SIR THEODORE MORISON

[*Note by Translator.*—In 1668 Francis Bernier was on his way back to Europe after a residence of eight years at the Court of the Great Mughal. At Surat he met M. Carron, who had been sent by Colbert, the great Finance Minister of Louis XIV, to lay the foundations of trade between France and India on behalf of the French East India Company (*la Compagnie des Indes Orientales*) which had been founded in 1664. It was at Carron's request that Bernier wrote the Memoir which is here published in an English translation.

The Memoir itself is preserved in the “Archives du Ministère des Colonies” in Paris; it is written in a large, clear, and easily legible hand; on the first page of the MS. is a marginal note, believed to have been written by Colbert himself, which begins thus: “I have read the whole of this Memoir and have found it very sensible and full of good and useful instructions for the establishment of commerce in the Indies.” This document has not hitherto been accessible to students of Indian history. It does not appear among the published works of Bernier; no reference is made to it by Archibald Constable, the indefatigable editor of Bernier's writings on India. M. Paul Kaeppelein, the historian of *la Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, appears to have known it only in manuscript. I was for some time under the impression that it had never been published, but thanks to M. Paul Roussier, the Archiviste of the Ministère des Colonies, I have discovered that a transcript of it did appear in 1885

in the proceedings of the Société Nationale d'Agriculture, Sciences et Arts d'Anger, where, though technically published, it is not more accessible than in the archives of the Ministry ; moreover, the transcript, made by M. H. Castonnet des Fosses, is grossly inexact and of little value for historical purposes.

In the translation which is now published I have aimed only at the faithful reproduction of the original, and though the style is often cumbersome and involved, I have not attempted to alter it.]

I HAVE some grounds for suspecting that our rivals have spread the impression at Court that the French belong to a king who is very powerful and that we are a warlike, domineering and turbulent nation. Therefore it seems to me that it would, at the beginning, be a good thing to try to remove from the mind of Aurangzeb and the Ministers every ground for fearing that we should one day become too powerful in these regions. For at the Court people remember well what the Portuguese used to be and already they are beginning to be very jealous of the power of the Dutch because they hold, as it were, at the door of the Mughal empire, all these fortresses of Ceylon, Paliecatte, and Cochin, that they sell spices and copper at an exorbitant price, dearer than ever did the Portuguese, that they do justice for themselves by force, threatening and capturing their ships from Moka which carry their Hajis or pilgrims there for Mecca, and that they return laden with the riches of the goods which they take there with them and that they attempt by all sorts of devices to ruin the trade of the people of the country. This being so, it will be enough, in my opinion, for the present to speak little of the power and greatness of our King, contenting ourselves with saying simply that he is one of the great ones of Frangistan (Europe) and not to insist so much as to say that he is greater than the King of England or of Portugal or of Denmark or of Holland, for these are the only ones they know ; God helping they will in time learn well enough how matters stand. The time is not yet. Furthermore, it seems to me that

it would be expedient not to reveal and perhaps even to deny that our King has a share in the capital of the Company.<sup>1</sup> Further, it seems to me expedient to make but a moderate show in the embassy to Delhi and that for this reason it would be enough if either Monsieur Carron or Monsieur de Faye went there alone ; during which time one or the other should stay here (i.e. Surat) to control all these new-comers and to put a stop to the discord which will certainly arise, as I see already well enough ; or alternatively that he should go on the embassy to Persia at the same time as the embassy to Indostan which might remove a cause of jealousy from the King of Persia. And although it would be desirable that it should be a Frenchman who should go as Ambassador to Delhi, I cannot help thinking that it would be more expedient that Monsieur Carron<sup>2</sup> should be the one to go there. I do not say this because I have any doubt of the capacity of Monsieur de Faye, but because he would possibly not find all the satisfaction which he might expect ; for this Court here is very different to that of Persia, where from policy and for reasons of state there is a show of doing honour to the Franks ; and lastly, to tell the truth, more patience and self control are needed here than would be believed.

Indeed, I am of opinion that twelve to fifteen persons, well made, well mannered, and of good understanding, would be enough. The Dutch in their last embassy had not half the number. One Palleky (palki), two handsome carriages, and some horses would it seems to me be enough, without at the same time pretending to such a mob of servants of this country ; it is not this sort of thing which shows what we are. There would be no harm if everything at all times gave the impression of the merchant, of the stranger newly arrived who has not got all his equipment. The thing to take care about is to have

<sup>1</sup> Louis XIV had, in fact, subscribed one-fifth of the capital.

<sup>2</sup> Carron was a Dutchman, recruited into the service of the French East India Company because of his experience in the East.

a handsome and costly present and not to forget to give part of it to Jafar Khan, the Vizir. The success of our business depends principally upon him and on him depend the weightiness, the tenor, and the despatch of those different firmans which are necessary for the establishment of factories, and those letters of recommendation which he may write to the governors of the provinces ; if there were something handsome to offer to his son Namdarkam (Namdar Khan) and his wife it could not fail to be of much use. This young Omrah (nobleman) is very ready to oblige and does not dislike the French, and the wife is one of the most powerful, domineering, and intriguing ladies of the Court. Do not forget also to win over by presents and promises one or other of his chief officers. No one could believe how useful these people can be in getting inserted into the firmans what is necessary and in forwarding and despatching business. There is in his household a man called Mullah Sallé (Saleh), who has much power, and who is even rather well disposed to the Franks, at least he was a great friend of the late Father Buzée, Jesuit, and was very useful to him. But I do not think that this will be enough ; upon this point full and tactful inquiries must be made. I have seen Monsieur Adriean, commander of Surat, the Ambassador for the Dutch, who found himself in considerable trouble because he wished to make use of another Omrah in place of the Vizir ; when he thought that he was advancing his business it went back and was continually postponed. These Omrahs are very jealous of one another so that I think that it would almost be best not to go further than Jafar Khan and his household. Nevertheless, if it were thought expedient to employ someone else, to make sure, in fact, that Jafar Khan was acting in good faith, I will tell you that there is one who is called Dinanetkan,<sup>1</sup> whose son Restamkam (Rustam Khan), a great friend of mine, speaks Portuguese and Latin, the same is very influential with the King, very ready

<sup>1</sup> So written in MS., probably an error for Dianetkam, i.e. Dianat Khan.

to oblige and a great friend of the Franks ; he is a man who can say something privately to the King. Would to God that we were not obliged in our business to address ourselves to the Vizir, but it is a public matter. I would not advise that we should approach anyone but Dianetkan. I will mention further Danechmendkan<sup>1</sup> (Daneshmand Khan), who is very influential with the King from being able to speak with him when he thinks good and from being his master and teacher and counsellor ; but Jafar Khan and he are not very good friends because Daneshmand Khan carries it high, being the learned man of India and besides the mortal enemy of this other doctor Mullah Sallé, who is on the side of Jafar Khan. Moreover, as he professes to be a great Muhammedan he is always apprehensive, I have observed, of mixing himself up with the affairs of the Franks. Nevertheless, as I have served him for so many years and as I know that he thinks very well of me, as can easily be ascertained over there, and as I have promised him, as also Dianat Khan, that I would send him some books and some touffa<sup>2</sup> from Europe, certainly out of regard for me he could do much ; but it is a matter which ought to be handled with great discretion and secrecy on account of this jealousy and enmity of which I have spoken. It seems to me that it ought only to be used in the last resort and if it was evident that Jafar Khan wished to procrastinate matters excessively. In any case there would be no harm in making him a little present as if coming from me and as it were something sent me from Europe in the belief that it was thought to be for him and which I should have given him. For he is a person with whom

<sup>1</sup> This was the title of the Minister whom Bernier served in India whom he usually calls " my Agah " in his published works. In a letter to Monsieur Chapelain, dated 4th October, 1667, Bernier thus describes his own duties : " explaining to my Agah the recent discoveries of Harveus and Pecquet in anatomy and discoursing on the philosophy of Gassendi and Descartes which I translated to him in Persian (for this was my principal employment for five or six years). "

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Tuhfa = a small present, a curiosity, a trifle.

I propose to remain on good terms and to make use of, in case of need, for the business of the Company.

I think it above all necessary to make Jafar Khan thoroughly understand, and this must be done tactfully, the real reason which the French have had for founding this Company and for coming to India. Our object must be, as I have said, to disabuse them of all prejudicial suspicion and to make them thoroughly understand that it is for the good of Indistan. We must try to make them thoroughly understand these points ; that of all the Frangis the most industrious and the greatest workers are the French, that it is to France that go almost all the commodities from foreign countries there to be worked up, that France is as it were the general karkane<sup>1</sup> of Frangistan, and as it were the warehouse to which all the nations of that region come to supply themselves with manufactured goods ; that in consequence they have need of an abundance of commodities of all kinds ; that they are obliged to go and fetch them in foreign countries, as in Italy and the kingdom of Kondekar<sup>2</sup> or Grand Seigneur and others which are there sold much dearer than in Indistan, that further they are obliged to take a great quantity of those commodities which the Dutch and the English bring from the Indies and to buy them very dear at the price which they wish, that for these reasons the merchants of France in a body went to pray their King to permit them to found a company, like the Dutch and the English, to come themselves to the Indies to trade, to take there their scarlet and other wares, and to bring back those which the Dutch bring back and come and sell them so excessively dear. These French merchants considering that the Dutch and the English will perhaps, from jealousy, do their best to frustrate their plans because

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Karkhanah = workshop.

<sup>2</sup> Grand Seigneur was the name by which in the seventeenth century the French designated the Sultan of Turkey (v. Angliee Grand Turk). Kondekar is presumed to be a corruption of Khudawendigar or Khunkiar, titles applied to the Ottoman Sultans.

they see that they will no longer bring so many goods from Indistan into France and that they fear that they will be obliged to buy them in the Indies dearer than they were accustomed, therefore they have asked the King of France, their master, to help them in this undertaking, and it is for that reason that he has addressed a letter in their favour to the King of Indistan, and knowing how much consideration kings give to the letters and requests which they receive one from another, he has led his subjects to hope that Orangezebe would receive them in his kingdom, would offer them special protection, and would bestow on them the same privileges as upon the Dutch and the English ; in order the more to encourage them in this enterprise he has conceded to them great privileges above all the other merchants of his kingdom. Because they do not yet know the customs of the country he has by kindness and by honourable presents attracted to their service a number of persons from all parts who had already been in the Indies ; above all to guide and direct them he had given them Master Carron, of whose prudence and trustworthiness he knew, being aware of the good repute which he had acquired in these parts both in business and in the honourable appointments which he has filled for nearly 30 years.

I have thought it of so much importance that these matters should be properly understood at Court that I have written about them to my Nabab Daneshmand Khan so as to prepare the King's mind, I do not doubt that he has shown my letter to the King ; but they are matters on which it is impossible to insist too much and which should be impressed especially upon Jafar Khan. It is for this reason that I have repeated them here.

As for the question of Huges, he who came some years ago to execute that pretty business at Moka, I do not think that they will reopen it ; but in any case if they were to talk about it I should advise discreet dissimulation on that subject as far as possible, and then if they insisted to say

that he is not a Frenchman, that he is a Dutchman, and, if it seems expedient, that they have had his goods and that they have let him out of prison ; that the French had never been to the Indies and that if he (Huges) had brought a few of them he must have deceived them making them believe that he was going to take them to the Canaries or to some other islands. These are things which I have already said because this business has passed through my hands as I informed Mr. Carron ; I was protecting the honour of my nation and played a good trick on the Dutch. My advice would be that that man should not come to Indistan, at least so soon. Our enemies might well make it an excuse for making us hated and try to make us pass for pirates, seeing us support a man who passes for a pirate and for a pirate of Moka, which is the worst of all ; all the Muhamadans being very regardful of these vessels, seeing that they carry their Hajis or Pilgrims for Mecca. As to the matter of Messrs. Bebber and de la Boulaye, though it is a murder that must be written in red letters to show some day what we feel about it, at the proper time and place, nevertheless for the present I should advise that we did not talk about it at all, and that even we should strong'y reprobate in general terms their control of men who did not understand matters and who were too young and who exceeded the orders they had received, although in fact the reverse may be the truth. And as for the twenty-five thousand rupees which were given to him as much for his blood as for his clothes, I think it would be well not to talk of them at all ; it would be too undignified to wish to return them and it would also seem to condone this murder. The size of the present which will be given will put all to rights. For the rest we must dissimulate ingeniously and confine ourselves always to saying in a general way that they behaved badly ; we must leave it to the prudence of our honourable leaders to judge of this when they have ascertained by inquiry exactly what took place.

As for the letter of the King, it can always be made evident that we wish very much to give it into (the King's) own

hands, but I do not think it is necessary to insist upon it, especially since I have never seen it conceded to any but the Ambassador of Persia, and even then with difficulty. I think it would be far better to confine our attention to the purpose of our monarch who only sends letters to assist the business of the Company and not to ruin it ; a thing which might well happen if we chose to be too obstinate about a point of honour. As to the salam they will not prevent us from making it when entering and leaving the King's presence after our own fashion; nevertheless, if after having received the serapahs or dresses we went so far, as is the custom, that is to say, to make the salam in the Indian way, putting the hand three times on the head and stooping to the ground, I see no harm in doing it ; all the more because I have never seen any Ambassador who did not do it, unless it were the Ambassador from Persia, who did not come here for his advantage, but to do honour, and who besides is a Muhamadan and in consequence more highly esteemed than we who by the grace of God are Christians. I would add here that Monsieur Adriean, because he did not wish to have anything given to the first door-keepers before entering, found himself very badly ill-treated on entering the Castle. It is impossible to imagine the lengths to which these rascals carry their insolence or their capacity to put slights on strangers ; on the other hand, if one knows how to propitiate them adroitly, they make the crowd give place and do you honour. There are also scoundrels of another kind who must not be angered, these are the Paydas who come to ask for ainam<sup>1</sup> on account of the serapah which the King sends ; they also are capable of causing more annoyance than one would think. These are little things, but still they must not be neglected. Jafar Khan may well, besides some serapahs, make a present of some horses. From him we would not dare to refuse anything, but we ought none the less to excuse ourselves gracefully from accepting this present

<sup>1</sup> i.e. reward.

as far as we can. And this is even more true of the other Omerahs ; for in short we must remember that none of them give anything but in the hope of receiving three-fold in return.

I forgot to say that if Raushanara Begum is still high in favour it would perhaps be judicious to give her a present ; but that is a question which should be carefully examined for I think it almost superfluous. I was about to forget another thing which I ought to have said at the outset, that on leaving here it would be judicious to take letters here from the Vikil (agent) of Jafar Khan and even from the Governor if they offered any of their own accord, which they would be sure to do in order to show their importance and in the hope that we should remember them, but always remember to place reliance on no one but Jafar Khan. And when our representatives arrive at Agra, which is six days from Delhi, they should send on ahead a man of brains with an interpreter, who shall go straight to find Jafar Khan, warn him of the arrival of the Ambassador, and beg him from the Ambassador to find him a house. If he gives one, that is all to the good ; if he procrastinates, as he did in the case of Monsieur Adriean, then just have patience and seek one to let but none the less not to engage it until he has been warned as also the kotwal of the quarter, and remember to bring from Surat everything to furnish it after the fashion of the country. The house of Mirza Zulkarnin was the one which was given to the ambassadors from Ethiopia. Let me add further that to show niggardliness on this occasion would make one contemptible ; yet on the other hand one must not launch into extravagance because we must always remember that we are merchants and not Persian ambassadors, who, as I have already said, come here only for honour and to make a show. Let me add also that there is in my eyes nothing so important in this business to make it succeed well, to make our sentiments well understood and to extricate us from a thousand small difficulties and disagree-

ables which will infallibly occur, than a good and faithful interpreter, thoroughly experienced and familiar with the methods of procedure in the country and at the Court of Babar. No pains should be spared to find a good one, for he will not only be necessary at Delhi but in the Embassy which must be sent to Golkonda, and afterwards in the neighbourhood of those Governors where we shall establish factories as Patna, Bengal, and Maslipatan (Masulipatam). In Aurangabad in the service of the Sultan there is one named Jean Baptiste Chomber, of French parents, born in Aleppo. I know hardly any language which he does not understand perfectly both to read and write. I know that he will be very pleased to enter the service of the Company ; he might be written to and proposals made to him so that he might bethink himself of withdrawing as soon as possible from his (present) service ; of one thing care should be taken, and that is to curb him a little, to let him know tactfully that he must not attempt to be the master ; for the rest I think him capable of being useful in everything. There is also in Agra the son of a Frenchman who is called Signor Iakimo, a very quiet and very honest man who reads and writes, speaks and understands Persian, Indian, and Portuguese perfectly well. But he is a little shy, and in my opinion a little obstinate and slow ; nevertheless, if he is taken in the right way I think that useful service might be got from him, and as he is at present poor, he might be persuaded to take an engagement in the Company. There is also at Delhi Monsieur Saint Jacques, a Frenchman, native of la Pelisse, my good friend, doctor to the King on a very handsome salary, married in the country, but whose wife out of aversion to him turned Moor (embraced Islam) last year so as to secure a separation. He is a great intriguer who understands very well the course of business in the Durbar ; he can give a great deal of information and be very useful in putting our affairs in the right way and expediting business ; but he wishes to be treated accordingly ; he likes consideration

and has no dislike to presents and he has little interests of his own. None the less he seems to me a man not to be neglected not only for the present but for the future; for we must bear in mind that some trouble is certain to arise in the provinces. I know that from the experience I have had of the business of the Dutch on which I have often been employed, and thus it will be necessary always, or at least at the beginning, to have a man at Court with whom we are in correspondence to keep a hand on our business so as not to be obliged to send special messengers whom they will always want to devour there as soon as they see them. Even though the firmans which we may get from the King and take away with us are in good order, none the less in the provinces when the time comes to put them into execution the governors, the officers, etc., who wish to rob will always find some impediment. This then is the reason why I have always heard the chiefs and the most intelligent of the Dutch say that the great difficulty of doing business in India is not in the sale or purchase of goods, men of moderate intelligence soon master that, but rather in knowing how to protect oneself from the exactions of the governors of provinces and the self-possessed and greedy scoundrels, their officials. I say self-possessed, for to see them at work you would not think that they would dream of such a thing, so quietly do they appear to proceed; but yet there is not a Turk or Jew who knows better how to make you come to the point they wish. So it seems to me that the Portuguese are right in saying of these people: nonque vouin palabre nonque boa obra.<sup>1</sup>

I forgot further to say that on the road and even when starting hence there is one thing of which to take care, and that is not to be joined by an infinite number of wagons laden with merchandise which their owners will want to get passed along and entered into Agra and Delhi without paying anything under the shadow of my lord the Ambassador; to get

<sup>1</sup> This I am told is "pidgin Portuguese" and probably means "Never a bad word, never a good deed".

rid of them or at least of most of them quietly and without much fuss would be much the best.

But to be able to give special advice as to what may happen is what I find difficult because that depends upon the diverse conjuncture of events which it is as it were impossible to foresee. For this reason I will confine myself to saying in a general way that it will be absolutely necessary to provide yourself with a good and ample store of prudence and patience ; do not imagine that you are going to have to do with people who have no intelligence or who are highly civilized after our manner and would make a great show of doing us honour and favours or who care much about us ; but get it clearly into your head that they are Muhamadans and we Christians and that in consequence they hate us at least as much as we hate them ; that they would like to see us a long way out of their sight were it not that to have Franks is for them at the moment a necessary evil, and that we cause gold and silver to come into the country. You must also figure to yourself that being Muhamadans they would not dare to do us much honour, even if they wished to, for fear that they themselves should be despised or suspected, and therefore that we must quietly be content with such honour as they do us, without showing any displeasure and being satisfied by saying to ourselves what Monsieur Andrieau, the Dutch Ambassador, has often said to me in confidence : "Never, Monsieur Bernier, never any more ambassadors to the Great Mogol ; those are mistakes from which one must withdraw with prudence and patience, do the best one can, get from them a bit of one's avowed object, and for the rest console oneself and say always that one is very well satisfied." So that it will be necessary in truth to urge on the despatch of one's business and not to be too impatient. And it is principally in this despatch of business that there will be need of care and attention, patience and self-control and mastery of our French temper. Since these people are cold and slow by nature there is no place in the world where

business goes so slowly ; furthermore, they think that their honour and dignity are concerned in keeping the ambassadors waiting at Court as if the king and noblemen were always occupied in more important business ; moreover they think that with time they will always be able better to discover the temper and the designs (of their visitors), and then finally one would say that they pretended to despise strangers so as to impress upon the minds of their subjects an idea of their own greatness, so that they may be amazed at seeing before their eyes people who have come from the end of the world to find their king and that notwithstanding he sets no store on them. Patience, then, once again, prudence, attention and self-control, and then from all the very greatest respect and honour to my Lord the Ambassador, and between each other complete unity and complete secrecy and all will go well, with the help of God.

Before these gentlemen leave Delhi they must not fail to take from Jafar Khan a letter of recommendation to the Ambassador of the Mogol who will be in Golkonda. This is a very needful thing for he is a devil and an avaricious knave, who for his own interests wishes that all business should pass through his hands. He does exactly as he likes there, and nobody whatsoever ventures to say anything and God forbid that he should come to be against us. When our people are back in Agra they will be able to know exactly what traffic is done there. None the less, I will transcribe for them what I have written thereon in the Diary of my journey. The Dutch have a factory in Agra ; formerly they did very well out of it in scarlet, looking glasses large and small, in laces plain and of gold and silver, and in ironmongery<sup>1</sup> ; as also in ennil or indigo, which is gathered there right in the neighbourhood and principally at Biana, at two days distance from Agra, where they have an establishment for that purpose, there

<sup>1</sup> Cotgrave, ed. 1660, translates "Quinquaillerie = all kind of (small) iron works as Padlocks, Saussters, Gimmers or Hindges for doores, etc sold by ironmongers".

where they go once a year in the harvest season ; as also (they do very well) out of their trade in all those cloths which they get both from Jelalpur and from Laknau at seven or eight days' journey from Agra, where also they have an establishment, there where they send one of their people once a year ; but at present I do not know whether it is because the Armenians carry on this same trade or whether because it is so far from there to Surat, whither everything must be carried, or because some mishap occurs almost always to their caravan which they cause to come, because of the good and short road, by way of Ahmadabad and cause to cross all those territories of the Rajas ; whatever the cause may be the fact is that at present they complain loudly that there is not much profit in it ; none the less they will not, I think, abandon this factory as the English have done, were it only on account of their spices which they sell there very well, and for the advantage of having some people close to the Court who watch over their business, as it is impossible but that some trouble or other should always arise in one or other of their factories because of the tyranny of the Governors and of their hungry officials.

From all this it will be possible to judge whether it would be advisable to establish a factory there. For my part I think not, especially because, if indigo is wanted, it can always be got in Surat ; or we may do like the Armenians and as the English have done at times, that is to send there from the factory one or two persons for the season of the cutting of the ennil (indigo plant).

Our men may again in Agra separate to gain time to form themselves into companies, whereof one would be destined for Bengal and the other for the Ambassador of Golkonda, and after that for the establishment of a factory at Maslipatan (Masulipatam). When they shall have come to Brempour (Burhanpur), that is to say at ten or twelve days' journey from here, they may take the straight road to Patri, leaving Amengabat (*sic* Aurangabad ?) on their right, because if

they passed by Amengabat they would be obliged perhaps to go to see Sultan Muazzam,<sup>1</sup> the son of the King and general of the army, which cannot be done decently without some present. When they shall be near Golkonda they may also send a man ahead direct to the Dabir (Secretary) Said Mousafar (Sayid Muzaffar), who is there like Jafar Khan in Delhi, and beg him to give instructions for a house for the Ambassador. It is well to know, it seems to me, that the Governor of this Court of Golkonda is at the time a very bad man ; the King never leaves the fortress, and does not allow himself to be seen of anyone and appears as it were to have surrendered the government, so that nothing but injustice and confusion is to be seen there. That is why there will be need of prudence there as much as at Delhi, and perhaps even much more. I think that the Dutch who have there their factory for the last seven or eight years, if they undertook to act against us, would be more able to trouble our business and delay it here than in Delhi. None the less, if the affair is managed with skill, it cannot be but that it will succeed well all the more because I know that the Secretary has a deadly hatred for the Dutch because of the threats which they have uttered in recent years on account of that English ship which they wished to take in the harbour of Masulipatam, when the governor had their factory besieged, threatening them that if they took the ship he would set fire to their factory and would kill them all, and because since then they have never been willing to sign (pledge themselves) to the effect that they would not take the English vessels in the harbour.

I think, then, that to succeed it would be necessary there as at Delhi thoroughly to prepare the mind of the Secretary, making him well understand the motive which has impelled the

<sup>1</sup> Muhamad Muazzam, the second son of Aurangzeb, who succeeded him as Bahadur Shah, was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan in 1663, when he was 20 years of age, and remained there with brief visits to Northern India for ten years. Without any justification M. Castonnet des Fosses has here written "le frère du Roy".

French to come to the Indies and to enumerate fully to him all those reasons mentioned above, and even to present them to him written out on paper so that he may the better digest them and inform the King ; that, it seems to me, is the true way to wring the neck of any rumour which our rivals may have circulated to our prejudice. There are two persons who might well serve as go-between and who are certain to offer to act in that capacity. One of them is called Haknatsar, a Persian, by caste an Armenian, who has there made himself a Muhamadan, but none the less always loves and supports Armenians. He has great opportunities of access to the Secretary and even to the King and is a great intriguer, but takes care in his own interest not to be on good terms with the Dutch ; I know well that though he shows them a friendly countenance he does not love them. The other is that Ambassador of the Mogol who, as they say, plays the little king there ; but he is very much governed by self-interest. In case it were wished to make use of Haknatsar, which would not be amiss, because he is as it were of the household of the Secretary, we should none the less be on our guard not to surrender the whole business into his hands. We ought always when approaching the Secretary to have our own interpreter and not to permit him to be there nor when approaching even the King ; we ought only to beg him as our friend to give a satisfactory explanation of our motives (in coming here) to the Secretary particularly and to promote and speed our business. In case it were wished to make use of the Ambassador of the Mogol here also we should take good care not to place the matter entirely in his hands, not only because there is always some jealousy on the side of the Secretary if he sees that he has any hand in it, but because, as I have said, he is a man who from self-interest may do anything. We ought then to have the wisdom to have him as our friend, were it only so that he might do no harm and for the rest direct our business towards the Secretary.

In case it became evident that the Secretary was not acting

honestly and that our business was being delayed, there is one great remedy, and that is to go straight to Neikam Khan, the general of the army, to make him understand thoroughly in writing our motives and to beg him to lend us his favour against the manœuvres of our rivals ; he is a man of great influence, much devoted to the good of the State, who does not care a rap for the Secretary nor for anyone, and who goes to speak to the King when he thinks it right. In any case our people must not leave Golkonda without going to see him and without making him a small present which will be made to the King. There must be no doubt that it ought not to be equal to that of the Mogol. I don't say either that a present must (? not) be made to the Secretary, for that is still possible. For the rest I can tell you that I know well that the factory of the Dutch at Golkonda is one of the best in the whole of Indistan, partly because of the great quantity of cloth and big chites (chintzes)<sup>1</sup> which can be bought cheap thereabouts and are taken to Masulipatam, and partly because that is the meeting place of all the diamonds. None the less, I do not think that we ought to be in a hurry to establish a factory there because this factory demands factories in Japan, Tonquin, and elsewhere. I forgot to say that the chief of this factory, who is called Nieudole, is the man who founded it . . .<sup>2</sup> He is one of my friends, but I know him and I do not think he will bend his mind to helping us. Provided that our business at Golkonda has been well managed it will not be difficult to establish the factory at Masulipatam ; all the world will be delighted thereat, all the more because the Dutch are hated there. All that will be needed will be to secure the good graces of the Governor by some decent present and to amuse him with great expecta-

<sup>1</sup> Chite = "a sort of Indian cloth printed with wooden blocks, the colours of which are very fast". (Littré), i.e. pintados, v. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> The words concluding this sentence "par son esprit et par ses intigres d'un nommé le narson le couratier" are to me unintelligible.

tions. We have there Monsieur Junet, a French merchant who for the last six or seven years trades there by the favour of the English ; as he is extremely well versed in the trade of the country and as his heart is thoroughly French, and because he hopes much from French support, he can be of great service. We have already together cast our eyes on a house which used to belong to the Danes ; it would not be difficult to get it. Anyhow, he promises mountains and marvels. "Let them only come," he said to me, "with two good ships and I will guarantee that I shall make them have all the freights in the harbour for Persia and for Moka ; for the merchants are expecting them and hate the Dutch ; last year a Dutch ship which from Masulipatam went to Persia had for freight more than forty rupees." <sup>1</sup>

As for the party of our men who will take the road to Bengal, they must know in the first place that coaches are no use in this country of Bengal, there only palankins are used and they are very cheap. One could make use of coaches only from Agra to Patna, that is to say for 22 days' journey from Agra, more or less, for there it is usual to get on board a boat on the Ganges, so that it might be well at Agra to let the coaches go for the Embassy to Golkonda and reserve a palakin for the chief, and for those who will accompany him engage wagons on hire which might be trimmed up with red cloth.

As regards Patna, here are some of the things of which I have written in my diary which for what they are worth may serve for information. Patna is . . . . <sup>2</sup> but it also deserves consideration above all for the great quantity of saltpetre which is got from thereabouts ; so the Dutch and the English have both got their factories there, not in the city itself, but at seven or eight leagues therefrom, where they have this

<sup>1</sup> Whether Rs. 40 was the rate per maund or per quintal or per ton Bernier unfortunately omits to say.

<sup>2</sup> Text corrupt. From here to the end the Memoir was either hastily composed or carelessly transcribed.

saltpetre prepared in order to send it down from there on the Ganges to Bengal of Ongouly (Hugli) where they load vessels with it for Europe. But in spite of this I do not think it advisable to establish a factory there so early, all the more because one can find means, easily enough, to have saltpetre brought from there to Hugli or Qasimbazar. It would all the same be seemly to go to see the Governor Laskar Khan while passing, making him some little present and assuring him that as soon as our ships should have come into Bengal we should come beneath his favour and to build there a factory.<sup>1</sup> He has there in his service a Portuguese who is called Consabel, who is very obliging, a terrible intriguer, and who will willingly give all possible information. He was of great use to us when we passed. It will be known at Patna if Shaista Khan, the Governor of Bengal, is at Rajmahal, which is only seven or eight days' journey from Patna, or whether he is at Dahé, which is eight or nine days' journey lower down or thereabouts, so as to make proper contracts for the boats. If it should happen that Shaista Khan is not in Rajmahal, his son, who is the governor of it, will be there. Our people must not fail to go to see him, making him some small present and begging him to allow us to continue as soon as possible our journey to Dahé because our business is urgent. It would certainly be quicker to go from Rajmahal by land to Maksandabar or Kasimbazar, there where I think we should establish our first factory. But I think it is absolutely necessary to go first of all to pay our respects to Shaista Khan, because the Governors of Kasimbazar and Hugli are subordinate to him. I need not say that we must give him a good present because that is always understood, all the more because he is self-interested and his goodwill is absolutely necessary, so much so that being the uncle of the King he does whatever he likes; on condition that the affair is well managed and that he also is made to understand the motives explained

<sup>1</sup> The grammatical irregularity is in the French text.

above which have obliged us to come to the Indies, for he does not like the Dutch and, as I have said, he is much influenced by self-interest. Then again, although Monsieur Carron may have all the information necessary for the trade of Bengal, I will none the less not forbear to extract from my diary a letter which I have written on Bengal in general, because it may always give a general idea. From that letter it will be apparent, further, that the chief factory of the Dutch is in Hugly ; it will nevertheless be expedient for us to build our first at Kasimbazar, because that is the spot where all the silks and other merchandise come together, and that from Hugly, where the big ships come, there is a canal which goes from Kasimbazar, on which little boats can go, and that by land one can go there comfortably in three days. I will, however, give one small word of warning. Those who go to Kasimbazar must make up their minds from the first to be badly lodged, for there they will not find lodgings to let as at Surat. They must, at least at first, after the rains, set themselves to raise walls with roofs of straw as the Dutch and English did at first and to take great care of fire. For the rest : *andare attento conas mogolie.*<sup>1</sup> There have taken refuge in Bengal so great a number of Portuguese who are ruined, that women overwhelm (burden) the earth about there. There is hardly a Dutchman or Englishman there who has not got women of his own. But in the event he is well caught, for besides losing their souls, they lose also their goods and their bodies, and chiefly if they begin to drink this Bouleponger in quantities and arrack, they become straightway all rotten with the Indian sickness or at least they become all trembling. Good store of Spanish wine must be provided against the bad air and (?) drunk with great moderation.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As it stands this is nonsense. The best conjecture would mean " beware of the snares of the Mogul".

<sup>2</sup> This last sentence is incomplete or corrupt "et encore bien fort mediocrement".



## Note on the Aramaic Treaty of Bar-ga'ya and Mati'el

BY S. LANGDON

FATHER RONZEVALLE has now published the text of the important stela from Sudschin, 14 miles south-east of Aleppo, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, xv, 235–260 (1931). On face Aa Bar-ga'ya, king of K-T-K, and Mati'el, king of Arpad, engage in a treaty before certain gods, most of whom are Babylonian with the exception of **לְנָ** the Aramaic Sun-god and **עַלְיָן** ('Elyōn) "the most high", a title of the same Aramaic deity, the 'Elioun of Sanchounyathōn.<sup>1</sup> In line 10 occur the deities N-K-R and K-D-'-H which may be Aramaic transcriptions of Babylonian, eventually Sumerian deities. Dussaud, *Comptes Rendus*, 1931, 315, identified these gods with the two titles of Tammuz, Nagar, and KA-DI, which occur together regularly in the Tammuz hymns.<sup>2</sup> The readings of **لְנָ** and **אֲ-לֵהֶלְ** which Dussaud took from Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, ii, 168, as Nagar and Kadi, were read *Lamga* and *Kasa* in my edition. *Lamga* is only a phonetic variant of Nagar > Lagar > Lamga(r), and there is no reason why the classical form *Nagar* should not be preferred to the dialectic *Lamga*. Also Zimmern, *Sumerisch-Babylonische Tamuzlieder*, *Berichten der Phil. Hist. Klasse der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* lix, 212, preferred the classical form *Nagar*, and so does Witzel, RA. 10, 173; 16; 176, 7, etc. Zimmern does not commit himself on the reading *Ka-di*, which I read *Ka-sá*, but transcribes *KA-DI*. Witzel like Meissner reads *Ka-di*.

It seems extraordinary that two titles of Tammuz should be used for gods before whom oaths are taken. If the Aramaic transcriptions really do represent these titles then *Nagar*

<sup>1</sup> See *Semitic Mythology*, 66.

<sup>2</sup> See *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, 300, 7 + 9; 304, 16 + 18; 306, 4 + 6; 312, 6 + 7.

and *Kadi* may be right; *Kada'ā* of the Aramaic would not be precisely the correct Sumerian pronunciation. The usual Tammuz title is "*Nagar umun sapar*" "Nagar lord of the net", for which Zimmern, *Kultlieder*, 26 Rev. II, 36, has, . . . *lil !-lá û-mu-un sa-pár*, and 45, 7, . . . *la û-mu-un sa-pár*; hence it is not even certain that *Nagar* is the reading here. *Nagar* is also a title of Ishtar in Schroeder, KAV. 63, iii, 37-9; Weidner, AKF. ii, 74.

Still more uncertain is the reading *Kadi*, in fact it is more than uncertain. In my *Sumerian Liturgical Texts* (PBS. x<sup>2</sup>), 177, 11, *e-zí-ra* stands for <sup>a</sup>*·KA-DI* on the variant, KL. 8, iv, 13 = SBP. 162, 24 = Reissner, SBH. 92, 12, where the Accadian, l. 13, has [ee]-zí !-ra-an.<sup>1</sup> Hence KA has the value *i* = *kabû náku* "speak, wail", and DI the value *sir* "to sing", in this title and the word is *isir*. <sup>a</sup>*KADI* is also a title of Sakkut (Ninurta), CT. 25, 6, 9, or of <sup>a</sup>*Uraš*, ZA. 39, 267. In fact the reading *Kadi* has never been accepted by many scholars; see Landsberger-Bauer, ZA. 37, 73; Zimmern, ZA. 39, 266, n. 4. The deities of the Aramaic transcription, Nakar, *Nikar*, *Nikkar*, and *Kada'ā* remain problematical. They may be a pair corresponding to Marduk-Zarpanit; Nabu-Tašmet; Nergal-Laš, or two male deities corresponding to 'El and 'Elyōn; Shamash and NR.

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<sup>1</sup> So read <sup>a</sup>*Isira-na*, Genouillac, TC. xv, 5, 7-8; 12, 124; Thureau-Dangin, SAK. 36 n), 10.

## The Yuruks

BY ERNST MAX HOPPE, Sofia

BESIDES the Osmanli Turks dispersed in North and South Bulgaria and the Pomaks or Bulgar Mohammedans of the Rhodope Mountains, there are the less known Yuruks, an interesting shepherd race. Traces of them are found in the Rhodope Mountains, where for centuries they were neighbours of the Karakachans or Aromunian nomad shepherds. The place-names Village-of-Yuruks and Tomb-of-Yuruks occur frequently here.

The earliest Turkish settlers in the Balkan Peninsula were soldiers and civil officials to whom land was distributed for settlement and cultivation. Later, Turkish cattle-and-sheep-farmers settled on the high alps and in the milder plains ; these were called Yuruks or Koniari after the name of the town of Iconia or Conia in Asia Minor.

Yuruks are first heard of in the plains and mountains of Turkestan (Central Asia) : thence they wandered south-west, crossed Persia, and settled in Western Asia in the neighbourhood of Conia, Cæsarea, Van, and other towns. Later, they spread over the whole of Western Asia wherever better pastures were to be found. The Yuruks were divided into *Ojaks* (Hearths) and these again into *Semsele* (Families).

The leaders of the *Ojaks* were either elected or hereditary Beys, while those of the *Semsele* were Aghas or Beys from their respective families. The economic laws of the various Hearths differed ; in some Hearths, families were free to settle their household affairs ; in others, these were discussed by the General or Chief Council of the *Ojaks* : this consisted of the leaders of the great families.

After the conquest of Byzantine and Slav lands on the Balkan peninsula by Osmanli Turks, some *Ojaks* with their herds of cattle succeeded in crossing the Dardanelles and settled on the mountains and plains.

The Yuruks of the 78th *Ojak* dwelt in the plains of

Gumuljina-Enidji and on the lofty mountains of Middle Rhodope, while the 79th *Ojak* occupied the plain of Drama-Serres and Salonica and the Western Rhodope. After abandoning their home-country in Turkestan, the Yuruks of the 78th *Ojak* first came to Asia Minor and took possession of land and mountains in the neighbourhood of Conia and Cæsarea. Later, they moved on to Karaman (Asia Minor), then to the environs of Gumuljina and Xanthi. The summer and winter grazing grounds of the Yuruks of this *Ojak* were bounded on the west as follows : by the rivers Noja and Shirokolaska-Reka ; the passes Mesargidik, Novak, Bairameri, Leshtenska ; station Buk-Munjolus ; Sarshaban and the Ægean Sea. To the west of this line lay the pastures of the Yuruks of the 78th *Ojak*.

The religious, economic, and administrative centres of the 78th *Ojak* in the plain were the towns Gumuljina, Shapshikane, Enidji, and Sarshaban. Those of the Yuruks in the Rhodope mountains were the settlements of Chapelar and Bashmakli, also Mount Murshowitz (above the village of Brese), Ahmatitza, Yurukalan, and Bashmandra as far as Bela-Cherkwa. The town of Gumuljina was the chief centre of all Yuruks, the other hill and lowland centres were those of tribes only.

The tribal centre, Ahmatitza, was in later days exchanged for the existing village Valtshewo. The tribal centres in the mountains consisted only of wooden mosques, small huts, and burial-places. Yuruks only visited mosques on Fridays (Jumajagün), at Bairam, or for funerals. The huts and cheese-dairies of these Yuruks were on mountains near tribal mosques, but isolated summer settlements were without burial grounds. It was customary with the Yuruks to bury their dead in the common burial ground near the tribal mosque. Hence it is no wonder that large burial-places are found on certain mountains with hundreds of tombstones ; these burial-places are not therefore, as some mountaineers believe, a consequence of an epidemic or of some catastrophe.

The Yuruks of Gumuljina were peaceable and hospitable shepherds. They were indeed Mohammedans, but not fanatical as other Turks. Christians, especially Smolenes and Rupches from Rhodope were well treated by them, and enjoyed their full confidence. When Christian women or men by chance or from necessity sought shelter or employment with them, Yuruks received them kindly, defended them, and made no attempt upon their honour. Best of all, they left them secure in their Christian faith. It is said that, during the 500 years of Turkish possession of Bulgaria, no Christians could have remained in the mountains of Rhodope had not the Yuruks of the 78th *Ojak* settled in Middle Rhodope. Especially would it have been impossible in the district of Achatchelebi, and on the banks of the Upper Bocha and Asseritza rivers.

The summer huts of Yuruks on the mountains were of wood and exactly like those of the Karakachans. But they stood farther apart so that there was room for little yards in between. Yuruks of Gumuljina might have only one wife and these enjoyed considerable rights in the family circle. Women and girls did not veil their faces nor flee from men whether Moslem or Christian. Men wore the same costume as Christian servants and herds of fifty years ago. The women's costume too was almost the same as that of Christian women. In summer, they wore a white head-dress, which covered the whole back, in winter, red woollen shawls with fringes.

Before Yuruks settled in the Rhodope Mountains, Smolenes and Rupches wore the costume which is now that of the Shops and Bulgars of the villages Erkech and Gulowzi. But after Yuruks had settled there the costume worn in Rhodope was changed for that of the Yuruks, the white colour of the upper part of women's costume was superseded first by black, then by dark blue. Turbans, black scarves, white hats, red girdles, and shawls, the leathern belt for arms and fringes on the *Opankes* worn by shepherds and other Christians of the Rhodope are Yuruk clothes with slight

variations in cut and colour. Not only was style of dress changed for that of the Yuruks, but their names for certain mountains, rivers, streams, and meadows were adopted. Further, those who dwelt on Rhodope used Yuruk ordinances and rules and took over nearly all the Yuruk terms used in sheep-farming. These still remain in use, as it is difficult to find Slav-Bulgar equivalents.

For example, the word "Asia" is in common use by the inhabitants of the Rhodope especially Moslems. Its signification is, however, rather that of European Turkey than the geographical term Asia or Asia Minor, and more particularly the plain of Gumuljina—Xanthi now Thrace. This country is so-called in contradistinction to "Balkan" (mountains) because the Turk of yore has lived, dominated, and still lives as an Asiatic out of Asia distinct from the "Balkanlar" (mountainous regions) whither the Yuruk resorted in summer with his flocks. Besides these traditions the Yuruks of the 78th *Ojak* left other traces. Later, many Yuruks, after they had established themselves in their winter quarters in these Gumuljina-Enidji plains, left off their summer visits to the Balkan mountains with their flocks and families. They neglected their summer pastures, but would not be permanently separated from their flocks nor lose their produce. As already mentioned, the Yuruks had great confidence in the Christians of the Rhodope mountains, the Smolenes and Rupches, and to these they entrusted their numerous flocks to be cared for under conditions advantageous to both parties. The shepherds of Rhodope were proud not so much of their own few sheep as of the great herds of the Yuruks. Later, certain of them began to sell their extensive summer pasture to the mountaineers. The descendants of the Yuruks are the Turks of to-day in the Gumuljina-Xanthi plains, and in the mountains of Rhodope. Many of their Aghas and Beys still retain their hereditary estates and meadows.

## Notes sur les textes sogdiens bouddhiques du British Museum

PAR E. BENVENISTE

LE service que M. Reichelt a rendu aux études sogdiennes par sa publication des textes du British Museum<sup>1</sup> ne peut être pleinement apprécié que de ceux qui, pour avoir assumé une tâche analogue, en connaissent les difficultés. Mais ceux-là savent aussi que tous les obstacles ne cèdent pas à un premier déchiffrement, même sage. La nouveauté des documents, le nombre considérable de mots inédits, surtout de termes abstraits, et, quand il s'agit de traductions, l'absence des originaux, laissent souvent le chercheur démunie. Il n'est pas besoin d'autre justification à un nouvel examen.

Le premier volume de ces textes avait provoqué d'utiles observations de M. Rosenberg (*OLZ.*, 1929, pp. 194-201) et, de ma part (*JA.*, 1929, ii, pp. 188-191), une série de corrections que M. Reichelt a admises en majeure partie (cf. ii, pp. vi-vii). Ces remarques annonçaient une étude plus approfondie, dont les notes suivantes offrent le résultat. On a repris ici les fragments bouddhiques qui forment un ensemble riche et d'une langue à peu près constante, en réservant pour une autre occasion les vieilles lettres, si différentes à tous égards. La discussion suit étroitement la publication de M. Reichelt (désignée par R.) et s'attache à tous les passages où il a semblé que l'interprétation pût être améliorée. Chemin faisant, on a signalé ce que les textes antérieurement connus gagnent à être confrontés avec les nouveaux.

VIMALAKIRTINIRDEÇASŪTRA (R., i, p. 2)

7. *z't 't mierðw* se retrouve comme locution composée dans Dhuta 38 : *styw ēnn z't mierðw pry'wy "ph wyr wyr"* "quoiqu'il s'écarte de l'eau (= océan) de l'amour

<sup>1</sup> *Die sogdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, Heidelberg, i, 1928 ; ii, 1931.

de la naissance (et de la mort)". De là vient en pehlevi manichéen l'expression *zādmurd* qui avait embarrassé Salemann (*Man. Stud.*, Gloss. s.v.) et qui provient de la terminologie bouddhique (cf. Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manich.*, p. 10). Dans *Dhyāna* 161, 236, on en a la variante "zy myry".

52. Dans *JA.*, 1929, ii, p. 190, on avait déjà proposé pour *myδ'k*, que M. Reichelt rend par "gewöhnlicher Mensch", le sens de "laïc" pour répondre à skr. *prthagjana*. Cette suggestion s'est trouvée depuis confirmée par la transcription uigure *midik* qui suppose un doublet sogdien \**myδyk*. F. W. K. Müller traduisait le mot par "Laie" (cf. Bang-Gabain, *SBAW.*, 1930, p. 445). Cf. Dhuta 31, 78, 135, *Dhyāna* 393.

66. 'yw 'zn'kh ny 'ymn pwtystbty m'th βwt 'Pny ms ZK pr'y npyh 'BY' myšnw wyp 'nt'č yuc' n'k mwčk' KZNH 'Pny nyst ZKny čym'ntšnw L "zy'y. Phrase inexactement traduite, à rectifier ainsi : "La science est la mère des bodhisattvas, et l'habileté aux moyens (*upāyakauçalya*) est le père des maîtres qui enseignent l'assemblée entière, de telle sorte qu'il n'y en a aucun qui ne soit né d'eux." Il faut tenir compte du pluriel *pwtystbty* et de *KZNH 'Pny* qui introduit la proposition consécutive.

76. *prw z't* à lire peut-être *prw n't* (= skt. *naṭa*) ? Lire en tout cas *ZKw δrm'yk w'γs w'βt* "il prononce la parole du Dharma" (cf. Reichelt, ii, p. vi).

77. *ZK 'm'š't'kw δ'r'y*, non pas "der, der alles (im Gedächtnis) behält" mais "le fait de tenir . . ." Dans tout ce passage, il s'agit d'abstractions, non de personnes.

96. La traduction ne fixe pas exactement la relation des phrases : "De telle manière qu'il anéantit l'ennemi — souffrance et douleur —, lui à qui en vertu et en vaillance personne ne peut se comparer."

98. *č'wn 'sk' pr'kh 'mw r'ðwh mntry ptr'yzt*, non traduit, doit signifier : "du haut du *pr'kh* (?)<sup>1</sup> il dresse le mantra

<sup>1</sup> A rapprocher probablement de *pr'* *Dhyāna* 260, plur. *pr'u'* 220, également obscur, mais qui paraît se rapporter aussi à quelque construction.

du drapeau." — *r'ðwh* qui correspond à "Siegesbanner" du chinois, est à rapprocher de *rððw* "drapeau" (*VJ.*, 343, 588, 986, 1171).

100. *wnyw'nty* probablement pronom composé de *wny* + *w'nt*. — *przp'r* est le mot transcrit *prnp'r* dans *VJ.*, 167, "tout droit, directement" (*Gramm. sogd.*, ii, p. 155). L'expression paraît signifier ici: "et, droit devant eux, il assume," etc.

101. *nyst ZKny wyn'nçy L' ßy*, non "(die Sonne, für die) nichts ist, was nicht sichtbar wäre", mais "il n'y a personne à qui (*ZKny*) il ne soit visible". La phrase précédente indique déjà qu'il se rend visible à tous, et non qu'il voit tout.

122-7. L'interprétation de cette suite de phrases est à reprendre entièrement, tant pour la fonction de certains mots que pour l'enchaînement des idées. Il faut couper après '*wst'nt* et traduire: "En même temps, le pouvoir (*yn*) du sūtra, de l'écriture, du mantra, et le pouvoir magique et celui de toutes sortes, il les rend tous visibles, de sorte que (*KZNH Pny*) dans ces choses il s'avance et assure aux êtres vivants succès et réussite. Car (*pr'w Pny*), dans le monde, au milieu des règles de toutes les voies et (au milieu) de toutes les connaissances, il sort (= s'avance) comme *vaiçya*."

130. *ß'ðtr*, qui fait suite à une série de *ß'ð* "ou", a le même sens. La conjonction est renforcée par un suffixe de comparatif pour mieux marquer l'alternative.

145. L'obscur *yv'yð* ne serait-il pas à lire simplement *yvn'yð* comme dans *SCE.*, 215 ?

149. *kð 'wy "try myð'ny ZK 'wpð'y riøðt rty yvn'k γwyz'k 'šk'wrð βwt rty ms γvnγ 'kyty 'wy ryz "ßry's'k myð'ny prw ðy'nw šwt rtym's 'yw 'šk'wrðy 'nγvnçyð ptšmyrt*. On trouvera ci-dessous p. 36 des éclaircissements sur le sens de *γwyz'k* qui est un adverbe, non un substantif. On traduira en conséquence: "Que, au milieu du feu, un lotus puisse pousser, c'est extrêmement difficile; or que, au milieu de la concupiscence, on poursuive une méditation, cela est considéré également comme une difficulté."

155. " $\beta'r\beta$  signifie "tromperie", à rapprocher de  $\beta r\beta'nt$  "tromperie", SCE., 273.

157. L'expression  $\gamma w'kkr mrtym'yty w' \delta'kk$  "conducteur des caravaniers" est calquée sur skr. *sārthavāha*, épithète du Bodhisattva transcrit en turc par *sartawagī* et dont le chinois connaît aussi l'équivalent (cf. Bang-Gabain, SBAW., 1931, p. 351). Dans la *Mahāvyutpatti*, xix, 37, d'après une communication de M. Demiéville, les *Tathāgatas* portent entre autres le titre de *sārthavāha ādikarmikānām* "chef de caravane des débutants (ou néophytes)", ce qui éclaire l'emploi de *sārthavāha* appliqué aux bodhisattvas.

164. *rty myšmo 'sk'tr'yk' nym'nty βtr'ynčt* "et il soumet le mépris des (hommes) hautains". Cf. D., 52 čnn  $\gamma w'kh$  *nym'ntyh*.

172.  $k\delta \beta et ZKny wyn'ntk ZKw <ys> 'sp's'k k'mt rty tw'kh 't prm'nh ptyw's'k \beta et$ . Il s'agit d'un stratagème consistant à flatter les manies pour obtenir des conversions. On ne peut attribuer à *wyn'ntk* une valeur verbale, comme le fait M. Reichelt ("wenn er einen sieht"); c'est une forme nominale d'emploi adverbial : "visiblement." Il n'y a pas lieu de chercher un sens à *ys* qui pourrait se lire aussi  $\frac{n}{z}$  (R. p. 11, n. 3) : le copiste, commençant à écrire *'sp's'k* en fin de ligne, a dû reprendre entièrement le mot à la ligne suivante en oubliant d'effacer les deux premières lettres. Le sens de la phrase sera : "S'il y a quelqu'un qui visiblement aime se faire servir (litt. le service), il est son petit (= domestique) et son serviteur."

177. Le chinois établit que  $\beta'wčyk$  signifie "abondant". Donnée précieuse dont la portée mérite d'être signalée. Le radical  $\beta'w-$  repose sur ir. \**bāva-* ou \**bāvah-* "abondance", ce qui met en droit d'annexer à l'iranien le verbe arménien *bavel* "être en abondance, suffire", et de le joindre aux formations nominales arm. *bavandak*, *bovandak*, phl. *bavandak* "accompli", *bavandakih* "perfection" (Ner. *sampūrṇatvam*), *bavandak-mēniśnih* "état d'esprit accompli", Ner. *samp*-

*pūrnamānasatā* (cf. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch*, ii, p. 33). Du même radical \**bav-* sort encore av. *buri-* “abondance ; accomplissement”, skr. *bhūri-*. Ce groupe de mots a dû se séparer de bonne heure de la racine \**bhewə-/bhū-* dont il reflète assez fidèlement le sens primitif “croître, se développer”, tandis que la grande majorité des formes se fixait dans l’acception d’ “exister, être”. — Il n’y a aucun rapport visible entre ce thème *β’w-* et le mot *β’w* qu’on a traduit d’après le chinois par “danger” ou “ crainte ” dans *SCE.*, 290.

190. ’*YKnyβn pts’pt*, laissé en blanc, signifie “comme il vous agrée”, traduction étayée par l’expression similaire *prw ryz* “à votre gré” (l. 189) et par *SCE.*, 486, *prw wyspw . . . ’cō ny šy γtw ’δprm ’wy m’ny ryzt ’Pny pts’pt* “absolument en tout ce qui plaît à son esprit et lui agrée” (trad. à corriger). Le sens de “convenir” se trouve déjà porté au Glossaire de la *Gramm. sogd.*, ii, p. 230. Il faut l’y introduire p. 20.

203. *rty nukr čyw’yδ pyδ’r ZKny L’ βyrt βwt rty L’ ’s ’sty*, etc., forme une phrase indépendante. Le bodhisattva vient de dire que ce qui ne peut prendre ne peut être obtenu. Il conclut : “Voilà pourquoi (*čyw’yδ pyδ’r*) il ne peut être obtenu.”

204. *pysp’y* n’est pas “das Verlieren”, mais “le fait de rejeter”, conformément à l’étymologie (av. *spā-*) et aux autres exemples : *p’spy* “il rejeta” *D.*, 72, *p’spy’t* *Dhyāna* 399, *pspy’* *Dhuta* 94.

207. Le nom du bodhisattva *w’r βyrt* signifie “succès obtenu”.

### DHUTA (R., i, p. 16)

Sur le titre éventuel de ce sūtra, voir ci-dessous, p. 39.

M. Reichelt a laissé sans traduction les 23 premières lignes, en partie mutilées. On tentera d’en donner ici une version aussi fidèle que l’état du manuscrit et les difficultés du vocabulaire le permettent. La fin de certaines lignes se laisse restituer avec vraisemblance.

- p //  
 čnn γ //  
 rtyn wyc'wγtk /'w //βy ///čyh //  
 wyrmn'w'k 'Pnyn "y'wštk pr δw' wkry L' //  
 5. p'zn šm'rt rty ZKw wytγwysry βt'm prγnh //  
 prγnh βyrt ZKnyc' 'yw 'pw prw'r "tr nyz'y[t ZKnyc' ZKh  
 wytγwy ?]  
 sryβt'm nmy sočt rty nwkr L' wyč'y zn'kh nw //  
 wyč'y wyčt prγ'npy zn'kh γwynty rty nwkr ZK p'zn [γwt'w  
 pwytstβ]  
 k'w rγwšny wn'y pwytstβ KZNH w'β 'zw ny wyδ'γty  
 'yw [ZKh my'z'n ?]  
 10. sm'wtryh γwyz'kw nyy s'm'ry tγt'ym ZKnyc' δrm' ēkkr'  
 zn'[kh γwynty ?]  
 ZKnyc' L' šm'rt L' prβ'yrt βwt 'YKnyc' 'wy wytγwy sryβt'm  
 m //  
 pwty "z'yt rty nwkr ZK rγwšny wn'y pwytstβ KZNH w'β  
 kt'm ny 'yw  
 ZKnyc' prγ'npy zn'kh γwynty 'Pny kt'm ZK L' wyč'y  
 zn'kh 'Pny kt'm  
 ZK δrm'yk' ēkkr' zn'kh || rtyšy pčβ'nt βr' KZNH w'β  
 'yw 'ywšw wkry  
 15. pt'zn p'zn ZKnyc' r'm'nt wyčt m'yδ 'YKnyc' 'myn wrtny  
 ZKh sγrh  
 prγ'npy zn'kh γwynty 'Pny kδ ZK p'zn γwt'w r'm'nt  
 'skwty L' wyčt  
 m'yδ 'YKnyc' 'wyn rγ'kyh ZK 'ntβwrtk L' wyč'y zn'kh  
 γwynty 'Pny  
 'myn 'yw wkry wyy ZK wγwšw βwt 'Pny wγwšw y'wr  
 wγwšw 30 wγwšw  
 βwt 'ywγwšw y'w pšmyrty 'YKnyc' 'myn rγ'ky ZK kywony'  
 ZKnyc' δrm'yk' ēkkr'  
 20. zn'kh γwynty rty nwkr ZK pnč wkry ptγ'wδ rγ'kh  
 pšmyrty 'Pny γwony  
 ZKnyc' ptk'r'kh nyst γ'w 'Pny ZK 'yw wkry p'zn ZKnyc'  
 šk'rty rty 'mw wyspw

w'tδ'r "z'wnt βδ'yzt k'w zn'kh ws'ws pr'n'yt rty nwkr  
 šm'γw pvtystβy  
 s'ēt 'Pny pr'm'yδ wkry šw'yšδ'.

*Traduction*

- de . . . . .  
 et sage . . . . .  
 tranquille et agité dans le double . . . . .  
 5. esprit pense. Et le signe de la douleur et de la peine . . .  
 obtient le signe, et de lui sort le feu sans écoulement,  
 [qui de la douleur]  
 et de la peine consume le . . . Or la science sans  
 ébranlement . . . . .  
 ébranlement ébranle, s'appelle la science de l'habileté  
 aux moyens. Là-dessus, [le bodhisattva Roi] de  
 l'Esprit  
 au bodhisattva Faiseur de Lumière parla ainsi : "Moi,  
 alors, dans  
 10. la samādhi extrêmement profonde du Grand Océan je  
 suis entré, [laquelle s'appelle] science du dharmacakra  
 qui ne peut être conçue ni exposée, comme dans la douleur  
 et la peine . . .  
 naît Bouddha. Alors le bodhisattva Faiseur de Lumière  
 parla ainsi : "Qu'appelle-t-on  
 la science de l'habileté aux moyens, la science du non-  
 ébranlement, et  
 la science du dharmacakra ?" Il lui répondit en ces  
 termes : "L'esprit du  
 15. sextuple entendement qui toujours s'agit, comme du  
 char le . . . ,  
 s'appelle science de l'habileté aux moyens. Mais si  
 l'esprit reste toujours le maître, ne s'ébranle pas  
 comme dans le . . . le . . . , cela s'appelle science du  
 non-ébranlement.  
 La racine simple en a six, et six fois six font trente-six.  
 Cela est

considéré comme le . . . du . . . , qui s'appelle science  
du dharmacakra.

20. Et les obstructions quintuples comptent comme le . . .  
Celui

qui n'a pas d'apparition, il poursuit l'esprit simple et  
nettoie toutes ces

créatures vivantes et les mène au . . . de la connaissance.

Or vous, bodhisattvas,  
il faut que vous procédiez de cette manière.

#### Notes

5. L'expression extrêmement fréquente *wytγwy sryβt'm* et le rapport évident des deux membres de phrases rendent la restitution aisée. — *prw''r* (ou *'pw prw''r*) répond à skr. *āsrava* (ou *anāsrava*) pour lequel j'ai adopté la traduction "écoulement" que donne M. Sylvain Lévi (*Mahāyānasūtrālāmīkāra*, t. ii, p. 75, n. 1).

8. Le nom du bodhisattva est restitué d'après 50-51.

9. On a le choix pour la restitution entre la transcription *mγ''n* (*VJ.*, 1000), ou la traduction par *mz'yγ*.

10. C'est ici le lieu de discuter le sens du mot *γwyz'kw* qui, dans ces textes, s'unit souvent à *nyγ*. M. Reichelt l'a rendu partout par "Frage" et cela n'est pas sans produire quelques étrangetés. L'erreur se trouvait déjà commise dans le *VJ.* et le *SCE.*, où elle provenait d'un rapprochement avec *γwyz-* "demander". Il existe bien un nom d'action de *γwyz-*, soit *γwyz'y*: ainsi *VJ.*, 120, *pr δβ'r γwyz'y* "pour demander un don". Mais nous avons ici un mot distinct, écrit toujours *γwyz'kw* ou *γwyz'w* et pourvu d'un emploi nettement adverbial. Le sens constant en est "extrêmement, tout à fait" ainsi qu'il résulte du relevé suivant, établi d'après le discours dix fois répété des brahmanes au prince *Suδāśan* dans le *VJ.*:

412, 490	<i>γwyz'kw</i>	<i>šyrnk'r'y</i>
9c, 64c, 554, 669, 3e	<i>prnr</i>	<i>šyr'nk'r'kw</i>
48d, 722	<i>čnsty</i>	<i>šyr'nk'r'y</i>
612	<i>tr'ypw</i>	<i>šyr'nk'r'y</i>

*ywyz'kw* alterne donc avec les adverbes *prnr*, *čnsty* et *tr'ypw* qui signifient tous "au plus haut point, tout à fait". Tous les exemples de *ywyz'kw* admettent cette valeur, et celle-là seulement. Il y a intérêt à procéder à une vérification complète : *VJ.*, 20a, 824 *ywyz'kw z'ry 'sy* ('sy'nt) "il fut pris d'une extrême pitié"; — 1045 *ywyz'w srδm'n* "extrêmement joyeux"; — *SCE.*, 185 *ywyz'kw yr'n ZK 'YKny 'ywyz'wncýð 't rty nwkr . . .* "c'est extrêmement grave. S'il en est ainsi, alors . . ."; — *VN.*, 150 *ywn'k ywyz'k 'sk'wrδ þiat* "une telle chose est extrêmement difficile"; — *Dhuta* 10, 58, 222, 293, *ywyz'kw nyγ (nγy)* "extrêmement profond"; — 77 *ēw ZKw δrm prβ'yrt ywyz'kw nyγ 'yw sk'wrδ čnn w yrβ' sk'wrδ čnn pyr* "le dharma qu'il expose est extrêmement profond, difficile à comprendre, difficile à croire" (trad. R. à corriger); *Dhyāna* 179 *ywyz'kw kršn'w* "extrêmement beau"; — 207 *ywyz'kw rywšny* "extrêmement lumineux".

15. Ici apparaissent des mots inconnus dont le contexte n'éclaire pas le sens : *syrh* (partie mobile d'un char, cf. *VJ.*, 770), *rγ'k-* 17, 20, *'ntþurthk* 17, *kyweny* 19, tous mots concrets.

18. Le sens exact de cette multiplication est obscurci par l'énoncé problématique de la comparaison. En particulier ou ne discerne pas, au début de la l. 18, ce qui est au nombre de six. Quoi qu'il en soit, cette sextuple matière est multipliée par l'esprit de sextuple entendement (*'yw 'ywšw ukry ptz'n p'zn* 14-15).

21. *'w*, obscur pour la fonction comme pour le sens, ne doit pas avoir de rapport avec *'wt* 34.

22. J'ai traduit *þδ'yz-* par "nettoyer". Dans un autre endroit du même texte, l. 289, M. Reichelt l'a traduit par "beschmutzen", ce qui ne va ni à ce passage-ci, ni à celui-là, et ne s'accorde pas non plus avec l'étymologie — d'ailleurs exacte — que M. Reichelt en a donnée : *\*fra-ðēz-*, av. *daiz-* (p. 31, n. 4). Dans les deux cas, il s'agit d'une action bien-faisante, et en 289 (cf. ci-dessous p. 43), d'une opération qui fait apparaître l'or pur mêlé au sable. En l'interprétant

par "dégager, nettoyer", on rend à *fra-* la valeur d'abolition qu'il a fréquemment dans les composés avestiques. En outre, la phrase explicative qui suit fait allusion à la "saleté" (*rym*).

25. Le terme fréquent *kuttr* (< skr. *gotra*) est rendu littéralement par "Sippe". Sur la valeur technique du mot, cf. Obermiller, *Acta Orientalia*, ix, 1931, p. 96 sqq.

27. *yw'r ny 'ws'γty p'zn γwt* signifie non "aber es fehlt der geläuterte Geist", mais "sauf si l'esprit purifié manque". Cet *yw'r* introduit une restriction, comme on le voit à la phrase suivante : "Car, si l'esprit purifié est là . . ."

30. D'après le contexte, ici et l. 38, *zwβ'kh* doit désigner une impureté. — Il y aurait à examiner si le ms. porte bien *pw'βtt* et non *pw'rtt* comme dans une phrase de sens analogue, l. 37.

52. Il n'y a ici rien qui réponde au "Mensch der spätern Zeit". La phrase est à couper ainsi : "Bien que ce ne soit pas différent (*styw L' ny'z'nk ZK* [= 'yw]), cependant (*pyšt*) . . ." Même construction *VN.*, 105-6.

55. *m'skh* désigne sûrement quelque plante ou une partie de la plante, d'après les termes parallèles *wyγh 't βyz'k*. Cf. 94, 95 et surtout 258, 259 avec le verbe *rwδ-* "croître".

65. L'expression *mryy 't my'wn* (cf. 67, 72, 73) "gleichmässig und entsprechend" permet d'attribuer définitivement à *mryy* le sens de "pareil, égal", et de rendre plus correctement *SCE.*, 65 : *ZKny sy 'yw p'zn 'ywznk' mryy L' βwt* "leur esprit n'est pas pareil (et) d'une seule sorte". Cf. aussi *D.*, 28, *pwryy 't mry'y* "pleins et égaux", 54 *δntk . . . mryy pts'γtk* "des dents disposées de manière égale"; *Dhyāna* 18 *ZKw ny'wδn mryy wyδ'yr't* "qu'il mette son vêtement en ordre", et *Padm.*, 52. Sous la forme adverbiale *mryw* et avec le sens de "pareillement, comme", le mot se rencontre dans un passage non traduit du fragment de Rustem (R., ii, p. 63), l. 12 : *wyδ'γty zyw'rt 'yw rwstmy βr' z'w'rt prw δywt mryw δy'n śryw prw nys'yr* "alors soudain le cheval de Rustem se retourna contre les dévs, comme un lion

enflammé<sup>1</sup> sur une proie” ; ibid. l. 14 *mryw w'ryn'k* “comme un faucon”. A comparer chr. *mrxy* “égal, uni” dans Jean, i, 23, *mrxy wnt'* “εὐθύνατε (τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου)” Müller, *S.T.*, p. 58, l. 10.

72. Ce passage recèle une donnée importante. Le Bouddha parle ainsi : ’zw kδ’čw prw ’nyw pwtystβt L’ prβ’yrt δ’rm yw’r ny kδry prw δ’w t’ RBk prβ’r mryy’ t mγ’wn pwestk pyšt ‘wyn p’zny γwt’w pwtystβ, etc. M. Reichelt comprend : “Ich habe es den andern Bodhisattvas nie dargelegt. Aber jetzt ist es in dem gleichmässigen und entsprechenden Sūtra des Dhuta des Mahāyāna niedergeschrieben. Das Wissen des Bodhisattvas, etc.” Il est invraisemblable que *pyšt* signifie ici “écrit”. Le sogdien bouddhique emploie ordinairement *npyšt* (*np’γšt*) en ce sens et l’on attendrait un verbe (*sty* ou *’yw*) après le participe. Il manquerait en outre une conjonction pour introduire la phrase suivante. Autant de raisons pour considérer *pyšt* comme la conjonction “puis, or”, et pour terminer la phrase à *pwestk*. Elle signifiera donc : “Je ne l’ai jamais exposé aux autres Bodhisattvas, sinon (*yw’r ny*) maintenant dans le présent<sup>2</sup> Sūtra du Dhuta du Mahāyāna.” Nous avons donc ici le titre même du traité sogdien : δwt’ RBk prβ’r *pwestk* qui doit correspondre à un titre sanskrit tel que \*Mahāyānadhutasūtra. J’ignore si la littérature bouddhique contient un écrit semblable.

77. Cf. ci-dessus, p. 37.

90. *γwy’r* = “exactement”.

92. “Le vrai signe de toute loi” (et non “dieses Gesetzes”).

101. *’mw pty’wδ ’Pny ’rδ’r ’Pny tys t’rčh γ’n’kh wyt’pt*, d’après l’ordre des mots, doit se traduire : “il illumine la maison obscure du *pty’wδ* et de l’ *’rδ’r* et du *tys*.” — Le terme *pty’wδ* (cf. 105) s’apparente à ”*γ’wδ* qui est traduit par “Bedeckung” (cf. Rosenberg, *OLZ.*, 1929, p. 197) et répond à skr. *āvaraṇa* “obstruction”. Les deux mots, contenant

<sup>1</sup> δy’n, cf. av. *dag-* “brûler”.

<sup>2</sup> Sur l’expression *mryy’ t mγ’wn* cf. l’observation précédente. Il s’agit ici d’une locution redondante signifiant simplement “un pareil, ce”.

l'idée de "recouvrir, cacher", doivent avoir un sens analogue.

102. "Ce qui est lumineux a une lumière infinie et le rayonnement de l'esprit infini s'appelle (*γwynty*) le savoir du *nirvāna*."

130. Le sens de *ptpt'yn* n'est pas "widerwillig" mais "séparément, distinctement", d'accord avec le contexte. Voir la discussion de *pt'yn*, ci-dessous, p. 57. L'adjectif dérivé *ptpt'yn'čwy* (l. 34), *ptpt'yn'w'k* (SCE., 277) signifiera donc "séparé > hostile".

132. *šyšt'k* non "abgelenkt", mais "dispersé". Cf. ci-dessous p. 45.

133. *'ytčγ'nty γwynty* = "il s'appelle icchanda". (Cf. R., ii, p. vi.)

151. *kβnw kβnw*, de même que *kβny kβny*, Frgm. iii, p. 62, l. 21, non pas "nur wenig", mais "peu à peu".

161. Il est probable que la répétition de *p'zny* est une distraction du copiste. "Et dans son esprit, la règle de la réflexion ne s'arrête pas."

162. *nukr wyzru wyn γwynty rty čnn mz'yγ šyr'k t z'ry m'n ZKw wytγwy ny srybt'm kwttr ptšmyrty*, à reprendre ainsi : "Alors cela s'appelle la vue droite et, à cause du grand esprit bon et compatissant, cela est considéré comme le gotra de la peine et de la douleur."

166. Le scribe a répété par erreur *'Pnyšy ZKw*.

180. Dans JA., 1929, ii, p. 191, le sens de *'pstkr'k* a été rectifié à propos de VN., 75 : *\*upastā-kara-* "qui prête appui, auxiliaire". Dès lors *myn puty prw m'n prw'yrt'y 'pstkr'k βwt* se traduira : "Il est un auxiliaire du Bouddha dans la conversion des esprits." Il faut réunir en une locution *m'n prw'yrt-* (cf. 147 et SCE., p. 93) et prendre *prw'yrt'y* pour un nom d'action.

182. *'syh*, non "Bewusstsein", mais "mémoire". Corriger ainsi dans VJ., 206, 275, ZKw *'syh βyr-* "recouvrer la mémoire". Une preuve manifeste en est *Dhyāna 5 rty šy s'čt pr'tymwks pr 'syh sγwn'y*, à rectifier en "il doit réciter le

prātimokṣa par cœur" (cf. 392), et une confirmation, le chr. šy' "souvenir" dans Jean xvi, 21, šy' ny' βρτ wy' škury' "οὐκέτι μνημονεύει τῆς θλίψεως" (Müller, S.T., p. 73, l. 8). Cf. la note à 284.

197. *'pr'w* = "alors".

200. *kuzpy* est à rapprocher de Dhyāna 67 *pro kuzp'w'y* "in Bücken".

211. *ptnw* peut-être simplement < skr. *pattana* "ville".

222. Sur γιωγ'κιο nyγ, cf. ci-dessus, p. 36. — La phrase non traduite l. 223 *rty'zw ēnw ryn'w Pnyn ywn'k sβr'ēk* "*prs'w* signifie "et moi c'est de bon gré(?) que j'ai soulevé cette difficulté". Le sens de l'expression adverbiale *ēnn ryn'w* (cf. VJ., 177, 1409) ne peut encore être fixé précisément, mais tout le reste est en ordre, contrairement à ce que dit la n. du passage.

238. *'wyh m'ny ny' šm'r'kh n' šm'r'δ' Pnyβn'zw prβ'yr'n.* M. Reichelt coupe à tort la phrase en deux; le ms. porte après *prβ'yr'n* un signe de séparation qui empêche de joindre le verbe aux mots suivants. Traduire: "ne pensez pas en esprit une autre pensée que celle que je vais vous exposer."

241. *mrt's'r* omis dans la traduction: *ēnn γrβ krp' mrt's'r* = "depuis de nombreux kalpas jusqu'à maintenant" (litt. "vers ici").

249. Phrase difficile: *'myh pδkyh pδkyh ZK"mtvč prγnh nyst rty'yw δyβtγ' γdnyw L' γrβ'nt rty ZK pyrnm'yēk' p'zn "z'yt 'my' pyštr'yēk' 'nβ'nt L' wnty čyv'yδ pyδ'r ZKnγ L' βut rty ZK p'zn prysty' YK p'zn prγnh L' "z'yt rty γyδ "mtvč prγnh βut.* Ce qui est à traduire littéralement: "Chacune de ces règles n'a pas un signe véritable et elles ne se comprennent pas l'une l'autre. Et l'esprit antérieur naît et ne forme pas la cause de (l'esprit) postérieur. Voilà pourquoi ce dernier n'existe pas, et l'esprit reste. Quand le signe de l'esprit ne naît pas, cela est le véritable signe."

257. La traduction laisse en blanc trois lignes où, il est vrai, les mots importants sont pour la plupart inconnus: *ZKh pr'γz' rwerh L' rwδt rty'wy nyy kysn'k nγrueβsty rtyšy mokr*

*ZK δynδ'r mrtym'k prw γwp' prγ'npy čnn "γzy mšky ZKw wyγh 't βyz'k 'βškrt rtykδ ZK "γzy mškh L' rwδt rty 'my p'znyh prynh 'ws'wytk 't zp'rt βwt.* On n'en peut offrir qu'une interprétation en partie conjecturale : "La remarquable plante de guérison ne pousse pas et dans le profond désert (?) elle se dessèche (?). Et le religieux, grâce à sa bonne habileté aux moyens, écarte de la plante (?) du commencement la racine et la tige. Quand la plante du commencement (?) ne pousse pas, dans le signe de l'esprit il (l'homme) est pur et saint." Pour *mškh*, cf. ci-dessus, p. 38.

272. *ZKw wytγwv sryβl'm s'n syδt rty 'myn s'n sry ZKw 'βšy'ws βyrt pr'w 'Pny kδ ZK s'n prw γwt'w βwt nwkr prw'nwth βwt.* "Il anéantit son ennemi, la douleur et souffrance, et sur la tête (= le chef) de l'ennemi il obtient la domination. Car quand l'ennemi est sans roi, il est sans soutien." — *syδ-* est à rapprocher de l'av. *said-* "anéantir". — Le sens donné à *'βšy'ws* ressort du contexte et de *VJ.*, 1495 : *čyw'yδ pyδ'r 'zw nw'wyn m'n 'βšy'ws 'krt'ym* " (J'ai tout donné et j'ai beaucoup souffert). Voilà pourquoi je suis devenu victorieux de mon esprit." — Sur *'nwth* "appui", v. *JA.*, 1930, ii, pp. 293-4, et déjà Rosenberg, *OLZ.*, 1929, p. 199.

278. Le *pystr'yčk' p'yn'k δynδ'r* est le religieux qui observe la croyance postérieure, tardive, laquelle est synonyme d'aveuglement (v. l. 115). — *p'yn'k* est le dérivé en *-n'k* de *p'y-* 120.

283. "*z't ptγrβty*, non "der Edle versteht", mais "il comprend parfaitement". Le même sens de "*z't* l. 116 et *Dhyāna* 34, 49, 166, etc.

284. *L' βr'wčy wnty* ne peut signifier "kein Gedenken verursacht". La même expression, avec une menue différence graphique, *βr'wščy wnty*, se lit l. 279, mais cette fois sans traduction. Ces deux exemples mettent sur la voie du sens cherché. En 279, *βr'wščy w-* se trouve parallèle à *pn'yš-* "perdre"; en 284, à *p'r'yč-* "laisser, abandonner", et dans les deux cas il s'agit d'un acte mental qui s'oppose

à *śm”r-* “réfléchir, garder dans l'esprit”. La traduction qui se présente aussitôt est “oublier”. Pour que cette conjecture devienne certitude, lisons Dhyāna 167 : *ćnn pwt'yšty ZKw ḍrm ptγwšt rtyšw pr 'śyh ḍ'r' Pny fr'wyšcy L' wnty k'm* qu'il faut entendre ainsi : “il entend la loi des Bouddhas, la garde en sa mémoire et ne doit pas l'oublier.” Ainsi *βr'wšcy wn-* est le contraire de *pr 'śyh ḍ'r-* (sur lequel v. plus haut, p. 40.) Notre passage doit donc se traduire “Voilà la loi correcte, telle qu'il la comprend parfaitement, la loi bouddhique que en aucun cas il ne rejette ni n'oublie. C'est pourquoi cela s'appelle *t-*.”

285. *'Pny ms w'γwn'k 'γw ZKny wtyγvy sryβt'm βδ'yštk βwt m'yδ 'YKny ZKw zyrn šykth βδ'yž' k'm pyrnm ZKw st'npyr'k pγ'rš rty ZK kr'n zyrn 'prw wyn'néy βwt.* Comparaison qui, contrairement à la n. du passage, s'ordonne bien, à condition qu'on rectifie le sens des deux mots principaux, *βδ'yž-* et *šykth*. Le premier, comme on l'a vu à propos de la l. 22, signifie, non “beschmützen”, mais au contraire “nettoyer”. — *šykth* ne désigne certainement pas l’ “épine” : que voudrait dire cette “épine d'or” ? Il faut distinguer deux mots qui ont été rapprochés à tort dans le glossaire du *SCE.*, p. 71a : *'sk-* “épine”, et *šykth* n'ont rien de commun. Dans *VJ.*, 780, 1105, 1266, *šykth* accompagne *snk-* “pierre” et dans *VJ.*, 902, il caractérise le désert. Il apparaît dès lors que *šykth* répond à skr. *sikatā* “sable, gravier”, v. p. *θikā-* (cf. *BSL.*, xxx, p. 60) et que *zyrn šykth* signifie “sable aurifère”. — Pour *st'npyr'k* nous garderons, faute de mieux, la traduction “avec obstination” que paraît recommander *'st'np* “obstiné” (Dhyāna 169), sans nous dissimuler toutefois qu'un mot signifiant “impureté” satisferait mieux au contexte et à la syntaxe. On aboutit donc à traduire : “Tel il est, celui qui se trouve nettoyé de la souffrance et de la douleur ; de même que, si l'on veut nettoyer le sable aurifère, il faut d'abord le dégager [de ses impuretés] avec obstination (?) ; alors seulement l'or pur apparaît.” On reconnaît là une comparaison qui évoque

par exemple celle de l'*Uttaratantra*, trad. Obermiller, *Acta Orientalia*, ix, 1931, p. 121 :

" Just as fine grains of gold, invisible among stones and sand,  
come to be seen if they are duly purified,  
in the same way, in the world of living beings,  
(the manifestation of) the Buddha (is perceived)."

295. Phrase incomplètement traduite et dont le sens de *γνωγ'ω*, fixé ci-dessus, p. 36, modifie sensiblement l'interprétation : *rty [pr] δ[s'] kyr''n βwmh myšnw ptv'yšty γνωγ'ω nyγ δrm pč'n 's[t ZK]ny L' 'šm'rt L' prβ'yrt β'y rty yw'k wypw 'myn ptv'y šy'ry [t z'ry] m'n "γδ'k z'wr 'γw ZKny m'γw k'w 'r'wspw r'δh ZKh 'šyh βyr[ym ?]*. " Et dans les dix régions du monde, les Bouddhas ont le trésor du dharma extrêmement profond, qui ne peut être conçu ni exposé. Et tout ceci, dans l'esprit bon et compatissant du Bouddha, est la force du vœu, que nous garderons en mémoire sur la voie de la perfection." — La restitution *šy'ry [t z'ry] m'n* s'inspire de 75 *šy'k t z'ry m'n*.

### DHYĀNA (R., i, p. 34)

5-6. Sur cette phrase, cf. ci-dessus, p. 40 fin.

14. Invocation faite au Bouddha par le religieux, après avoir fait brûler de l'encens : *nm'w mz'yγ prnβyrt' mn' mz'yγ γνωγ'k ptβy 'šcy'n'k wrzrw mγwn ptβystk mz'yγ z'ry sy'yn'y 'βcnpδy γνωγ'str' KZNH "γ'yδ'm 'Pny čnn z'ry p'zn pr'yβ'k p'w δrywškw "γwnt ny 'ypγrs'k m'yn.* " Hommage, grand glorieux, mon grand maître, digne (?) de respect, informé de ce qui est droit, grand compatissant, maître du monde, je fais ce vœu : puisses-tu, par compassion, rester comme un nuage sur les bhikṣus, protecteur et . . . ." La traduction suggérée pour *'šcy'n'k*, toute provisoire qu'elle est, ne paraît rencontrer aucune difficulté ici ni dans VJ., 1095, où *wnδ' k'm z't mo 'šcy'n'k 'rkh* pourrait signifier " vous ferez, enfants, un travail indigne ". — Pour *pr'yβ'k* "nuage", cf. 176, Frgm. iii, 2, *Padm.*, 47. On en rapprochera sace

*pryaure, pyaure* "nuage", donc <\*pari-aura-ka-. La comparaison s'explique par le *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra*, trad. S. Lévi, ii, p. 68, où la *buddhatā* est assimilée à un grand nuage, en tant que signe des moissons du bien. — 'yp̄rs'k à comparer peut-être à l'obscur *pr̄rs'y* 78.

23. *L' šyš't* = "qu'il ne se disperse pas." Passif de š- "disperser" 175, *Padm.*, 45, 48, et chr. Jean xvi, 32, *qt š'št* δβ'ny βwtq' "ίνα σκορπισθῆτε" (Müller, *ST.*, p. 75, l. 18). Corriger šyš'tk Dhuta 132 en "dispersé".

34. *ZKw zym'n'k ptkr'k p'δ 'nk'wst*. L'ordre des mots exige qu'on traduise : "les orteils de l'image d'or."

43. *γwyr''rδyn'k* reparaît l. 337, avec un suffixe un peu différent sous la forme *γwyr''rδmyn'k*, en parlant d'un miroir ("δyn'k). Il contient évidemment *γwyr* "soleil" et *'rδ-* "éclat" (cf. *'rδ'yp-* "briller"), et doit signifier "éblouissant" ou quelque chose de semblable.

60. Si la formation de *wyčsm'y* est obscure, le sens paraît se dégager du contexte. Il faut d'abord en rapprocher *wyδr'wsm'y* qui est employé dans des conditions identiques, l. 64 et 179. On attendrait sans doute -š- ou -ž-, non -đ-, comme substitut récent de -đr- (= -θr- ou -đr-). Mais une dissimilation s'est probablement produite au contact de -s-. Dans ces trois exemples, le mot alterne avec *ptkr'k* "image". Aux ll. 61 sqq. le méditant doit voir successivement une, deux, puis trois images (*ptkr'k*) et continuer à se concentrer jusqu'à ce qu'il voie dix *wyδr'wsm'y*. Un peu plus haut (57), il doit penser fortement aux pieds du Bouddha, et avoir continuellement devant les yeux le *wyčsm'y* de ces pieds. En 179, il est question d'un rayonnement doré qui prend l'apparence des sept *wyδr'wsm'y* du Bouddha. On ne s'égarera probablement pas en le traduisant par "image" ou "apparition".

69. Le verbe *prsm'y* doit se rapporter à l'idée d'orner, d'embellir. Cf. *'psm'k* 222 : l'un des bodhisattvas a les mains pleines de *'psm'k* blancs, l'autre, de fleurs blanches.

78. Une vérification du ms. permettrait peut-être de lire "*mtyč* "vraie" au lieu de "*styč* ?

139. *čerh' yep'ryk' zyrnyon* = "corps entièrement doré." Litt. "d'une seule pièce".

140. *wyt'y*, traduit par "erwähnt", est le participe, non de *wě-* "dire", mais de *wč-* "envoyer, émettre" qu'on lit par exemple l. 138 et 149. Donc *mz'yy rywšny 'rđ'yp'* *wyt'y* signifie "(avec) un grand éclat lumineux qui en rayonne". Comparer les phrases analogues : 148 *ZKw rywšny'k' rđ'yp'kh wčynt* "dass sie den Lichtglanz aussenden sollen", et 151 *ZKw rywšny 'rđ'yp'kh wytw δ'r'nt* "den Lichtglanz ausgesendet haben".

154. Le terme *'yšnyrk* reste sans traduction dans les passages où il est employé, seul ou dans l'expression *'yšnyrk' rđ'yr* "monde de *'yšnyrk*", l. 85, 154, 224, 226, 333, 371. J'avais déjà proposé de l'interpréter par "signe" (JA., 1929, ii, p. 191), car, notamment en 333, le mot est accompagné de *wyn'ncý* "visible". Depuis, M. Hansen (*Journ. Soc. finno-ougri.*, xliv, 1930, p. 33) a suggéré le sens très voisin de "Erscheinung". J'aurais pu également m'appuyer sur un passage du texte chrétien transcrit chez Salemann, *Bull. Acad. St. Petersb.*, 1907, p. 535, l. 10 : *'t šy xšnyrq xyð xčy* "son signe est le suivant". Cette traduction se trouvait confirmée par avance, grâce à un fragment pehlevi-sogdien publié par Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Stellung Jesu*, p. 71 fin, où sogd. *'xšyrkh* [sic ; à lire *'xšnyrk*] équivaut à phl. *nišān* "signe".

159. Le mot *'βδ'ys* (*pδ'ys*) non traduit l. 159, 349, 354, 371, 377 appelle une remarque analogue. Le sens de "apparition" (JA., 1929, ii, p. 191) convient partout : on notera en particulier que *'βδ'ys* se groupe avec *prynh* "signe" (159), avec *wyn-* "voir" (349, 354), avec *'yšnyrk* (371). L'étymologie en est transparente : \**avi-daisa-*, cf. phl. T. *aþdēs-* "montrer". Signalons à ce propos que l'emprunt arm. *despan*, arabe *dusfān* "messager", inexplicable chez Hübschmann, *Arm. Gramm.*, p. 140, remonte à \**daisa-pāna-* "qui assure le message".

167. Sur cette phrase, cf. les n. à Dhuta 182 et 284.

189. *ZKw pwt'yšt ryth 'nkm'ny wyn'nt k'm* “(alle Lebewesen) werden das Gesicht der Buddhas frei sehen”. M. Reichelt s'appuie sur chr. 'ngm'n- pour rendre 'nkm'ny par “frei”. Mais l'exemple chrétien (Müller, *ST.*, p. 74, l. 1 sqq.) impose une autre conclusion: Jean xvi, 25, *ny Ŋynq' dn Šm'x prw pr przb̄rt yw'r ryt 'ngm'ny' nyžtung' qw Šm'x s' ēn βg' p̄tr' pyd'r* “οὐκέτι ἐν παροιμίαις λαλήσω ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ παρησίᾳ περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπαγγελῶ ὑμῖν”. C'est donc *ryt 'ngm'ny'* et non *'ngm'ny'* seul qui rend *παρησίᾳ*. La phrase bouddhique se traduire: “ils verront ouvertement les Bouddhas.”

193. *fr'yz . . . prβ'yr't* = “il commença à exposer”, au lieu de “er legte . . . dar”.

207. *šy γwnc m'yδ 'YKny 'sp'ytk "pkynčw γwyz'kw rγwšny pry"βγwnc'k*. Sur *γwyz'kw* cf. n. à Dhuta 10. — "pkynčw est le féminin de "pkyn'k 362 formé de "p- et du suffixe -kyn connu par *z'wrkyn*, *ny'zkyn*, *pδ'yštkyn*, etc. Etant donné les adjectifs voisins *'sp'ytk* et *rγwšny*, on le traduira par “transparent” ou “d'un éclat liquide”. Donc “sa beauté est pareille à un . . . blanc, transparent (?) , extrêmement lumineux”. Quant à *pry"βγwnc'k*, il est difficile de rapprocher *pry"β-* du nom du “nuage” *pr'yβ'k* (ci-dessus, note à l. 14) qui a une autre graphie. On pensera plutôt à quelque nom de pierre précieuse.

215. *pδ'yškyn* est identique à *pδ'štkyn*, *pδ'yškyn* “spontané”, *SCE.*, 500, 502. Employé ici adverbialement, il qualifie la spontanéité de l'éclat marqué par *rvežγwcn'y*.

223. Il est certain en tout cas que "*w'ys* n'est pas un substantif à grouper avec '*sprym'y*', ce que ferait croire la traduction de M. Reichelt. On doit couper après '*sprym'y*' et interpréter *rty "w'ys yw'n'k Šm'r'kh zmniw* comme une phrase nouvelle: “et . . . du moment de cette pensée.” Il apparaît dès lors que "*w'ys* peut se comparer à oss. *ānwáχs*, *āwuwáχs* “près, environ” (chez Miller, *Spr. der Oss.*, p. 31, Miller-Freiman, *Oss. Wb.*, i, p. 85). L'autre exemple Dhuta 229 admet aussi cette signification: "*w'ys čnn 'prtmyh m'γh* 15

"environ depuis le 15 du premier mois". C'est probablement le même mot que "*w'γš*", Frgm. iii, l. 88, *kw ruc'yn "w'γš* "près de la fenêtre". Si ce rapprochement est fondé, il faut séparer oss. *ānwāχs* de skr. *pakṣa-* "côté"; le -*w-* sogdien ne peut remonter à ir. \**p-*. Salemann (cf. Rosenberg, *Izv.*, 1918, p. 831) a expliqué justement par skr. *pakṣa-* le sogd. '*pkš-* "côté" dans *VJ.*, 8, *mn' ZKwyh γw'r'nt 'pkšy' tys* "il est entré dans mon côté droit". Mais il s'agit évidemment d'un emprunt : le groupe *-kš-* ne peut être iranien.

264. La traduction omet *pčwštu* "soudain". Ci-dessous, p. 49 fin.

298. Le texte porte "ma tête" (*mn' srw*). Introduction du discours direct comme dans *VJ.*, 1322-3.

344. On serait tenté d'abord de comprendre *ZK ptsy'w wnh* comme "l'arbre ombreux", mais les autres comparaisons se rapportent toutes à des objets illusoires : l'écume de la mer, le reflet de la lune dans l'eau, etc. On doit donc entendre "l'arbre (ou la forêt) semblable à une ombre, évanescence(e)".

369. *tγw pyštre mern'k čyk mrtym'k 'yš*, non "du bist später ein gläubiger Mensch (?)", mais "tu es un homme de la croyance future".

387. *γyδ γh ptšyšt pt'yč's'r wyn'nčy s'm'r γwynty*. La traduction est à corriger non seulement pour le sens de *γwynty*, mais pour l'ordre des mots précédents : ce n'est pas à *s'm'r* que *wyn'nčy* se rapporte, mais à *ptšyšt*: "Cela s'appelle samādhi des B. visibles devant les yeux (*pt'yč's'r*)."

392. *'syh* = "mémoire". Cf. ci-dessus, n. à Dhuta 182.

### FRAGMENT IIa (R., i, p. 58)

8. Le paysan se plaint de sa pauvreté. Le riche pêcheur lui offre autant d'argent qu'il en désire. A cette proposition le paysan répond par une phrase qui met le pêcheur en colère et qui est : *'ky' 'tn 'γw pwrč γrβ βwt Pny γ'mkyn L' ptšmytry rtγw ðštw'n 'pw pwrč ȝ't γwynty*. M. Reichelt traduit : "Wer viele Schulden hat und unbedacht nicht zählt, (den) bittet

der Arme ohne Schulden gern." Comme dans les nombreux exemples signalés, *JA.*, 1929, ii, p. 189 (cf. R., ii, p. vi), ce *γwynty* (non *γwyzty*) signifie "il s'appelle" (oss. *χuīn*, *χuyun* "s'appeler"). On observe alors un parallélisme régulier entre les expressions des deux phrases : *pwrč yrβ* : *'pw pwrč* — *γ'mkyn* : *δštew'n* — *plšmyrty* : *γwynty*, ce qui livre le sens de la réponse : "Celui qui a beaucoup de torts n'est pas considéré comme fortuné ; mais le pauvre sans torts est appelé heureux."

12. Dans le composé *kyrmβwṇ* qui désigne le gîte des serpents, *βwṇ* signifie certainement "trou". Cf. l. 13 *'γw kyrny ēnn βwonyh nyž'y* "le serpent sortit du trou". L'expression *zw̄y βwṇ* "pore(s)" *Dhyāna* 210 etc., ne peut se comprendre que si *βwṇ* veut dire "trou" et *zw̄y βwṇ*, "trou de poil". (Sur *zw̄-*, cf. Hansen, *ZII.*, vii, 1929, p. 89). C'est ce que j'avais déjà suggéré (*JA.*, 1929, ii, p. 191) pour *Frgm.* iii, l. 64 et 75 (R., i, p. 64) où la phrase suivante est décisive : *rtyšw βwṇ kwṇ'y rty mγzy nšk'w'y* "(il prendra une tête d'animal), il y fera un trou et en extraira la cervelle". Les traductions par "Unterlage" (Reichelt) ou par "zu unterst" (Rosenberg, *OLZ.*, 1929, p. 200) sont à écarter l'une et l'autre.

13. *w'βs* "il s'endormit" (av. *χ<sup>a</sup>fs-*, pers. *χuspiδān*, oss. *χussun*, sacé *hūs-*) montre une forme curieuse sans *χ-*, en face de *γwβn-* "rêve" (av. *χ<sup>a</sup>fna-*), v. *BSL.*, xxx, 1930, p. 75 sqq. L'opposition *γwβn-* : *w'βs-* se réfléchit dans yagn. *χumn-* : *ūfs-*; cf. aussi bal. *vafsaγ*.

15. *wyc* non "wand sich", mais "s'agita, tressaillit" comme dans *VJ.*, 1002, 1006, 1051, et d'accord avec l'étymologie : ir. \**vaič-*, skr. *vec-* "agiter, secouer", bal. *gēcaγ*, pers. *bēχtān*. Pour d'autres formes, v. Morgenstierne, *Etym. voc. of Pashto*, p. 63, s.v. *pēzēl* et *Indo-iran. front. langu.*, i, p. 280b, s.v. *parič-*.

Sur l'étymologie de l'adverbe *pčwštū* (l. 15, 22), on ne peut que s'accorder avec M. Reichelt (p. 9, n. 2) qui le tire de *pč-wz-* "rencontrer". Mais la traduction correcte nous paraît

être "soudain, inopinément" (litt. "à la rencontre") et rend compte de tous les exemples : *p̄c̄w̄st̄w'γw̄ m̄rty . . . wyē* "soudain l'homme tressaillit"; 22 *p̄c̄w̄st̄w . . . p̄c̄ȳwz* "il rencontra soudain"; — *VN.*, 142 *p̄c̄w̄st̄w wytr' t* "il s'avança soudain"; — *Dhyāna* 264 *p̄c̄w̄st̄w . . . p̄w̄t̄ȳst̄ nyzȳnt k̄m* "soudain les Bouddhas sortiront".

### FRAGMENT III (R., i, p. 62)

Débris d'un texte magique assez négligemment rédigé, semble-t-il, et où abondent les mots inconnus, ce morceau me paraît se rattacher aux *Mahāmeghasūtras* (Nanjo, nos. 186-188) dont un spécimen a été traduit par C. Bendall, *JRAS.*, 1880, p. 288 sqq.

12. Phrase mal coupée : "Quand tout aura été accompli, alors (*rtȳ nekr*)," etc. Le copiste a par erreur mis un signe de ponctuation après *β't*, comme à la l. 20 après *w'r't*.

16. *w's'y* est correctement rapproché (n. 3) d'oss. *vasin*, *vasun* "hurler", et remonte à ir. \**vās-*, cf. skr. *vācati* "mugir". Il ne peut donc rien avoir de commun avec pers. *vāzīdān*, ir. *vaz-* (Rosenberg, *OLZ.*, 1929, p. 199).

18. Le mot *γry'γh* dont il y aurait grand avantage à connaître la valeur technique, pourrait évidemment admettre cette analyse en *γr-γ'γh* "source de montagne" que M. Rosenberg suggère (*OLZ.*, 1929, p. 200). Mais le sens n'en reçoit aucune clarté. Tout porte à croire qu'on désignait ainsi une construction destinée aux opérations magiques et qui comportait une porte (*δbrw*) et une fenêtre (*rwčn-* 87). Il est significatif que le texte parle l. 67 de *γ'n'kh* "maison" au lieu de *γry'γh*: et *γry'γh* est le seul mot de ce fragment qui, en raison de ses caractéristiques, puisse avoir *γ'n'kh* comme substitut. Dès lors il est permis de penser à un dérivé sogdien de skr. *grha-* emprunté.

19. Il n'y a aucune raison de croire que *prw'y* soit pour *prwy' y* ou *prw'y' y*, car le verbe ne signifie pas "éteindre" mais "enrouler, entourer", cf. *prw'yt* "il enroule", *SCE.*, 324, et chr. *prwyðr̄t* "il a entouré" (Corriger trād. Müller,

p. 19, l. 15). Donc "il doit enrouler les . . . avec une fourrure noire". Les textes magiques de l'Inde connaissent aussi l'usage d'un vêtement noir en pareil cas (Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 120).

23. Corriger : "Et le sorcier (*čdy kr'y mrty*) doit l'agiter sept fois du côté du levant et sept fois du côté du couchant." Cf. ci-dessous, p. 65.

39. M. Rosenberg (loc. cit., p. 400) pense que *muškynč*, que M. Reichelt compare justement avec *muškyšč* "chat sauvage" (*SCE.*, 330, 359), signifie "chauve-souris" (pers. موش). Mais le sens est indubitablement "chat sauvage". Dans *SCE.*, 330, *muškyšč* entre dans une série de noms de fauves. Les textes chinois et tibétain portent également "chat sauvage" (cf. Pelliot, *SCE.*, p. 64, n. 136). Au surplus, c'est ce même mot qui reparaît dans uig. *miškič* comme nom d'une espèce de chat, chez Rachmati, *SBAW.*, 1930, p. 456, l. 57 et p. 467.

42. *č'wn 'yw kws* sûrement = "d'un côté" non "an ein Gefäss" (cf. *JA.*, 1929, ii, p. 191, et Rosenberg, *OLZ.*, 1929, p. 600). Ce *kws* "côté" équivaut évidemment à phl. *kōs*, *pātkōs*, arm. *koys*, et alterne avec s.chr. *qws*, phl. *hamkōs* (sur lequel v. Nyberg, *Hilfsb. des Pehl.*, ii, p. 102). De *kws* dérive *kws'y* dans *ētβ'r kws'y* "à quatre côtés" (*Padm.*, 28; trad. Müller à rectifier, cf. *Gramm. sogd.*, ii, 94). Il existe un autre *kws* "tambour" (*O<sup>2</sup>.* 17, Dhuta 272) = sacre *kūs*, pers. *kūs*. Mais le prétendu *kws* "vase" (Rosenberg, *Izv.*, 1920, p. 419) doit disparaître. Le seul exemple en est *VJ.*, 19b, *rty WR kws kws βγ'n'yk čntn βwδδh swys'y 'skun* à traduire en réalité : "et de chaque côté (ou à chaque angle) brûlait le parfum du santal divin." Ne connaissant aucun autre exemple, Gauthiot était excusable de le rendre au jugé par "vase". D'ailleurs aucun nom semblable du vase ne paraît attesté en iranien : oss. *k'ōs*, *k'ūs* est un emprunt caucasicque (Miller, *Spr. der Oss.*, p. 27, § 25, 3d) et pers. *kāsā*, un emprunt sémitique : aram. *ks'* (Nöldeke, *Pers. Stud.*, ii, p. 38).

50. A la suite de Gauthiot dans *VJ.*, 296, 1074, M. Reichelt prend *wyδp't* pour un adjectif signifiant "conscient" et c'est ainsi aussi que je l'ai traduit *Gramm. sogd.*, ii, p. 107. Le présent exemple doit nous y faire renoncer. Ce sens ne convient à aucun égard. Il faut reconnaître dans *wyδp't* une conjonction ou un adverbe, formé probablement du démonstratif *wyδ* et de la postposition *pati*. Le sens en serait approximativement "là-dessus" ou "aussitôt". Seul un mot de cette fonction convient à la syntaxe des deux exemples. Ici : *rty kδ' δβ't pts'r γw srt "γz'y krty rty wyδp't . . .* "si par contre il commence peut-être (*δβ't*) à faire froid, il faut aussitôt (?) . . ." ; — *VJ.*, 296, 1074, *wyδp'tw ny γw swδ'sn KZNH w'β* "aussitôt (?) Suðāšan lui dit". La réponse de Suðāšan doit être immédiate, sa femme menaçant de se tuer s'il ne parle pas.—Corriger aussi *wyδp't* chez Hansen, *Journ. Soc. finno-ougri.*, xlivi, 1930, p. 18, § 14, l. 6, et p. 19, § 17, l. 1.

51. Je ne suis pas en mesure de fournir le sens de *p'styt* qui reparaît l. 56. Mais ni la suite des idées ni la syntaxe de la phrase ne s'accordent de l'interprétation de M. Reichelt qui prend *p'styt* pour le pluriel du participe *p'stk-* de *p's-* "jeter", et traduit *ZKw w't γypδ p'styt* par "die vom Wind geworfenen (?)": *p'styt* ne se rapporterait alors à aucun substantif et *ZKw w't* signifierait étrangement "par le vent". Il est très probable en effet que *p'styt* est un pluriel, mais c'est sûrement le pluriel d'un *substantif*, dont la signification reste à déterminer. La phrase se traduira : "il faut retirer (*syw'y*) entièrement les *p'styt* du vent." Chr. *p'st'y-* "préparer" doit être différent.

57. Le sens de *'nś'yp-* est à rectifier d'après les autres exemples. Dans *VN.*, 75, M. Reichelt a reconnu dans les *čtβ'r wkry 'nś'yp* les quatre *samgrahavastu*, que M. S. Lévi rend par "matières de rapprochement" dans le *Mahāyāna-sūtrālamkāra*, ii, p. 201 : "Il y a quatre matières de rapprochement : don, bonnes paroles, conduite dans le sens, sens en commun." Donc *Dhyāna* 45, 275, *ZKw p'zn 'nś'yp-*

signifiera "rapprocher, c'est à dire attacher, appliquer son esprit" et non "besänftigen". C'est ainsi qu'il faut comprendre ici aussi le verbe, dont un emploi plus net figure l. 67 : "(Il doit mélanger toutes ces matières) *rtyšw ZKw γ' n'kyh 'nš'yp'y* = et les appliquer sur la maison."

60. Les noms des ingrédients qui sont énumérés ici l. 75 ont été identifiés en partie par l'éditeur, en partie dans *JA.*, 1929, ii, pp. 191-2 (cf. R., ii, p. vii). Sur *kp'wr* "camphre", pali *kappūra* (skr. *karpūra*), hindi *kapūr*, pers. arab. turk *kāfūr*, cf. Pagel, *ZII.*, i, 1922, p. 246 sqq. — Sur *kwerkunph* "safran", pers. *kurkum*, skr. *kuṇkuma-*, etc., cf. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*, p. 264 sqq., Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 321 sqq.

64, 75. Sur *βwən*, v. ci-dessus, p. 49.

86. Rien n'autorise à supposer que le texte soit dérangé. On traduira littéralement : "Il faut dresser (*p'δy 'wsty*) en l'air (*'sky s'r*), près de la fenêtre de la *γrγ'γh* (*ZKw γrγ'γh rwčnyh nβ'ynth*), une longue poutre (*'yw βrz'kw δ'ruckw*)."

88. Sur "*w'γš*", cf. ci-dessus, p. 47.

91. *np'wn* est probablement le nom d'un récipient contenant l'eau rituelle. Sur l'usage d'ustensiles analogues dans les pratiques de l'Inde, cf. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 172.

#### FRAGMENTS IV, V, VI (R., i, pp. 68-70)

On ne peut dire sans avoir vu les originaux si ces trois petits fragments ont appartenu au même manuscrit. Il semble, d'après les indications données sur le papier et sur l'écriture, que v et vi au moins sont de la même main. En tout cas ils ont ceci de commun que, tous les trois, ils font mention du "pieux *Zr'wšč*" (*Zaraθuštra*) dont le nom<sup>1</sup> apparaît ainsi pour la première fois en sogdien.

Le premier de ces textes (iv) ne soulève aucune difficulté d'interprétation. A partir de la l. 3, il porte :

"Alors, tandis que le roi des Dieux, *'rs'ysty*, le bon Dieu suprême, se trouvait en bonne pensée dans le paradis parfumé,

<sup>1</sup> Sur la forme de ce nom, voir provisoirement Gauthiot, *MSL.*, xvi, p. 318 et Bang, *Muséon*, xxxvii, 1924, p. 113 sqq.

le pieux et accompli Zrwšč se présenta. Il lui fit hommage du genou gauche au droit, puis du genou droit au gauche, et lui dit : ‘ Dieu, bienfaisant législateur, . . . ’ ”

M. Reichelt observe à présent (ii, p. vii) : “ *'ls'ysty* steht offenbar für *'lm'ysty* — O(h)rmizd (Schaeder briefl.). Danach liegen vielleicht nicht-buddh. Texte vor. Nach R[osenberg] muten alle drei Fragmente stark mazdeistisch an. Schaeder hält das Fr. iv für manichäisch.”

Si le ms. autorise la lecture *'ym'ysty*, — et l'on ne voit pas quel autre nom divin viendrait en question —, l'équivalence avec Ohrmizd peut passer pour établie et semblerait accentuer la couleur mazdéenne du fragment. Mais un examen plus attentif en fait juger autrement. En fait, il est vraisemblable que iv, v et vi s'ordonnent successivement et que Zoroastre, en réponse à ses questions, reçoit du Dieu suprême des éclaircissements sur les péchés graves : le troisième est l'impudicité (v) ; le cinquième, le mensonge (vi). Les trois fragments doivent donc être considérés ensemble et l'on ne peut guère porter sur iv une appréciation à laquelle v et vi échapperait. Dès lors, tous les indices positifs témoignent d'une origine bouddhique : la forme de salutation, les expressions *pr šyr'kw šm'r'kh*, *'krt'nyh*, *šyr'nkr'k*, *šyr'krtyh*, [*pr'ym'y*]δ *βwmb*, l'énumération des péchés. En outre, le premier fragment commence par deux lignes obscures que M. Reichelt n'a pas interprétées : . . . *moyšt mršt'y wšt'y wšt'y 'štwym'y twr'y 'ywšt'yrtm*. Cette suite de mots incompréhensibles ne paraît fournir aucun sens en sogdien. Je me hasarde à supposer qu'il s'y cache du sanskrit. De plus compétents auront à se prononcer là-dessus et tenteront peut-être une restitution dont on peut prévoir la difficulté : le fragment de la *Nilakanthadhāraṇī* en écriture sogdienne publié par L. de la Vallée-Poussin et R. Gauthiot, *JRAS.*, 1912, p. 629 sqq., a révélé l'étrange aspect que prennent les mots sanskrits les plus familiers sous le déguisement sogdien. Il est permis de conjecturer que les finales en *-y* recouvrent des désinences skr. en *-e* ou en

-āya, que *mr̥st'y* est peut-être une forme de *mr̥sti-* et que 'śtw- contient le premier terme d'un composé en *astau-*. Si l'hypothèse venait à se confirmer, le caractère bouddhique des trois fragments ne préterait plus à discussion.

Ceux qui leur assignent une origine mazdéenne ou manichéenne, se fondent uniquement sur les noms de *zrušč* et *'rmysty*. Mais l'argument est inégal à une pareille conclusion. Le vocabulaire du bouddhisme sogdien prouve que la propagande bouddhique en Sogdiane s'est exercée dans un milieu mazdéen ou zervanite et qu'elle n'y a progressé qu'au prix d'adaptations incessantes. Que l'on pense à *zrw'*, av. *Zruan-*, devenu le nom de Brahma ; à l'expression purement mazdéenne *rγwšnγrδmn-* < av. *rauχšna-garō-dmāna-*, appliquée au paradis bouddhique ; à *δym'yth* "daχmas" (Dhuta 212) ; à *ptkwyn-*, litt. "ennemi des *Kavis*"<sup>1</sup> qui qualifie l' "hérétique", à *prn* "gloire", et l'on s'étonnera moins de voir Œhrmazd et Zartušt prendre respectivement la place du Bouddha (ou de Brahma) et d'Ānanda. Rappelons aussi que Sir Aurel Stein a trouvé, dans une peinture du Khotan, le héros Rustam déguisé en bodhisattva (*Ehrengabe W. Geiger*, 1931, p. 267 sqq.).

Pour faciliter la discussion, je crois opportun de traduire les fragments v et vi, dont M. Reichelt n'a donné que la transcription. La comparaison des deux textes où reviennent les mêmes formules a suggéré quelques restitutions, qui n'ajoutent malheureusement rien d'important aux parties conservées, mais permettent de restaurer une ou deux phrases suivies.

V. *w* ////////////

*yerty* ՚ ////////////

*'sklty* ! ! ! [ *rt'w* ] *zr'wšč* *yw*

*čstyk* *yr'n* *ynt'k* *'krt'nyh*

*ywn'γ* *ny* *yw* *mrtym'k* *tr[.z]yn* *'ynč* *škr'y*

*β'y* *ny* *pw* *šβ'r* *r'hyh* *ny* *yw* *yrβ* ////////////

<sup>1</sup> Gramm. sogd., ii, p. 169. Etymologie déjà proposée par H. H. Schaeder, ZDMG., NF., vii, 1928, p. xciv.

*βn' yš'y ny γrβ γ'n'kh'. . . wr|||||  
čnn wyr' pt'yn kwn'y ny γw "βrys'k  
mync m'n L' ptr'mt kwn'y rtyšw  
čtnr ZKh šyr'krtyh 'krčh β'y  
ZKn pry "βrys'k pw šβ'r p|||||  
mrtymk rty šy γw rw'n čn|||||  
||||| žrđ nr'k' čst |||||  
||||| /kđ |||||*

VI. /////////////// *μτ γτβ w'β'γδ p* //////////////////

'r'w zr'wšč pnčmyk γ[r'n γn'k' krt'nyh] čyw'[y]δ  
mys'tr čst ny r// zγm' w////////// zβ'k' m///  
p'rny γw zγm's'[k mrtγ]mk ////////// šty ny ms  
βwt ny šy ms p///č///δ//////// tm' ZK  
nř'k' čst rty ms ZK . . . . . βřl' mrtym'k  
[pr'y'm'y]δ βwmh hγrβ ynl'k' krtie δ'rt rty ms čnn  
[čyw'yδ?] pyδ'r // rwýšn'γrδmnw ZK p. . . .  
'krty ny  
//////////pyδ'r čsty ny  
čyw'yδ

### *Traduction*

il mange . . . . .  
se trouve . . . . [virtueux] Zrwšć, la  
troisième grave mauvaise action est :  
l'homme qui obstinément (?) poursuit les femmes  
et sans honte . . . et qui beaucoup de . . .  
détruit et beaucoup de maisons . . .  
du mari il détourne (?) et l'esprit de lubricité  
il n'apaise (?) pas et par lui  
quelque bonne action qui soit faite,  
l'homme qui aime la lubricité sans honte, . . .  
son âme de . . . . .  
. . . . est vain . . . .

VI. . . . . combien nombreux . . . . .  
· · · · · vertueux Zrwść, la cinquième g[rave  
mauvaise action]

est plus grande que celle-là . . . . mensonge . . . .  
langue . . . .  
car [l'homme] menteur . . . . et aussi  
il est et à lui aussi . . . . enfer le  
est vain et aussi le . . . . homme  
épris de . . . .  
[dans ce] monde, il a fait beaucoup (?) de mal et aussi  
à cause  
[de cela], . . . . paradis lumineux le . . . . fait et  
. . . . à cause de . . . . est et de cela

*Notes*

V. 3. Pour [*rt'w*] cf. vi, 2.

5. La restitution *tr[']zyn* s'appuie sur *SCE.*, 332 (cf. n. p. 92), mais le sens, là et ici, reste douteux.

7. *βn'yš-* = *pn'yš-* " perdre ", yagn. *pinēš-*.

8. *pt'yn* me paraît, malgré l'état du texte, révéler ici son sens véritable, qui ne se montre pas aussi clairement dans *SCE.*

67. Ici l'idée est clairement que l'homme sensuel rend les femmes infidèles à leur mari : *čnn wyr' pt'yn kr-* doit donc signifier " rendre différent du mari ". Il devient aisément de reconnaître dans *pt'yn* un adjectif et de le rapprocher d'av. *patina-* " différent, séparé " (Bartholomae, col. 833). Reprenons maintenant *SCE.*, 67 : *čym'yδ pyδ'r pytsrδ ZKw NLPw 't ZKw RYPw znk'n pt'yn pt'yn 'ny'znk' ZK ptwry βwt.* Il est manifeste que *pt'yn pt'yn* sert à renforcer *'ny'znk'* et qu'il faut traduire : " C'est pourquoi dans la suite la rétribution est de mille et de dix mille sortes distinctement différentes." Le rapprochement avec s. man. *pδynd* " degré " <sup>1</sup> impliqué par la traduction du Glossaire (*SCE.*, p. 81b) et proposé aussi par M. Reichelt (*ZII.*, iv, p. 246) est à écarter.

9. *ptr'm-*, traduction hypothétique par *rām-* " tranquillité, bonheur ".

10. *'krčh* probablement pour *'krtčh*.

VI. 2. Les mots suppléés sont tirés de la phrase parallèle v, 3.

<sup>1</sup> F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriftenreste*, ii, p. 98, l. 2.

3. La forme singulière *est* (l. 3, 6, 9 et V, 13) qui, à ma connaissance, ne se rencontre pas ailleurs, paraît ne pouvoir signifier que "est". En particulier la l. 3 n'admet pas d'autre sens. Mais l'origine en est problématique. Il s'agit sans doute d'une forme dialectale où *'st(y)* est précédé de quelque préverbe (*ati-?*). — *nr'k'*, écrit aussi *nr'nk-*. Cf. par exemple *V.J.*, 1326, 1329.

7. [*pr'ym'yδ*] cf. *Padm.* 18 *pr'ym'yδ ywk*.

#### SŪTRA CONDAMNANT LES BOISSONS ENVIRANTES

(R., ii, p. 68)

7. *'yšnk-* probablement "sans connaissance, hébété".

12. *tvrδn* avec *zβ'k* "langue" doit signifier "embarrassée, paralysée", *yw't* rend la même idée pour les mains ; c'est le participe de *yw'* "mutiler, endommager, mettre hors d'usage". A la l. 24 *ZK wyspy'stkpys'yt yw'tt βnt* "tous ses sens sont mutilés, endommagés".

25. La comparaison n'est pas traduite : *m'yδ 'YKnym*s *ZK y'yy ywt'w zy'ms'y rty ZNh 'nytk 'wt'k 'wyn prδ'β'k s'ny pnsy'n βnt* "(les sens sont vaincus), comme, (quand) un vaillant chef est dissipé, tous ses domaines sont sacrifiés (*pnsy'n* de *nas-*) à un ennemi trompeur (? de *dab-?*)".

Le colophon offre de sérieuses difficultés. M. Reichelt en a tiré la principale donnée : la date (728 après J.-C.) de la traduction. Cf. Pelliot, *T'oung-Pao*, 1932, p. 462. Il reste un bon nombre de points obscurs, qu'on peut dès à présent tenter d'élucider. Le titre du sūtra est suivi de ces mots : *sr̄emyk βry pretty'n γwyštk δst'wβry zγty ctβ'r k'γδy*. Les deux derniers *ctβ'r k'γδy* signifient évidemment "quatre papiers" (pers. *kāya*<sup>1</sup>) et se rapportent aux quatre feuilles de papier dont l'assemblage constitue le rouleau (*prw'rt*) ; cf. Pelliot, loc. cit. Dans le reste de la phrase, je crois comprendre que la rédaction ou la copie du sūtra a été "dite" (*zγty*, oss. *zāγin*, *zāγun* "dire"), probablement ordonnée, par un

<sup>1</sup> Sur ce mot, cf. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 557 sqq., et Sköld, *Lehnwörterstudien*.

*dst'w̄β̄r* (phl. *dastəβ̄ar*) qui était le "maître" (*γνώστκ*) nommé *petty'n* ("Faveur du Bouddha") et que celui-ci était en outre qualifié de *sr̄cmyk β̄ry* "premier *β̄ry*". Ce mot, inconnu jusqu'ici, indiquerait-il le rôle que le maître *petty'n* aurait joué dans la rédaction ou la révision du texte ?

On lit ensuite : *k'w sryč'nčh knδh 'wyn β̄yy β̄yp'ur γ'y 'nkwyn 16 myk sr̄δy 'npr n'k' sr̄δy 'prtmc m'γyh m'δ ny ZK* "n kwttr'k ētβ'r'tsr'n wp's'y 'wyn ny'nčynt 'ēry s'r 'r'γs't ny ny'δ'kh β̄wrtw ny čnywčm'ny ptškw't δ'rt rtyšw 'prw ZK ny'nčynt pykšw ēwn 'yntk'w prw sγwδy'n'k np'yk prw'st δ'rt wsn δrmyk 'rδ'r wyspmjšnw w'tδ'r 'zvnty šyrγwzty' pyδ'r.

Le nom de la ville *sryč'nčh* a la forme d'un adjectif féminin en *-anč* et suppose un masc. \**sryč'k* qui serait dérivé soit de *Sry-* soit de *Sryč-*. Comme un nom de ville de cette dernière consonance ne paraît pas connu, on pourrait l'identifier à *Saraγ*, comme l'a suggéré M. Pelliot (*T'oung-Pao*, 1932, p. 458). Dans ce cas, *sryč'nčh* comporterait un double suffixe. — Dans le même compte-rendu, M. Pelliot a fait observer que la 16<sup>e</sup> année du règne de K'ai-Yuan (*γ'y 'nkwyn*) était une année du dragon, non du serpent. Il est donc possible que l'obscur "*npr* doive se joindre à *n'k'* (= *nāga*) en une expression "*npr n'k'* signifiant "dragon". — Ce qui se trouve entre *ZK* et *wp's'y* forme le nom de l'*upāsaka* qui, d'après le contexte, était indien ou en tout cas, connaissait le texte indien. Son nom ne permet pas de se prononcer sur son origine : *kwttr'k* contient *gotra*, mais dans *ētβ'r'tsr'n* on ne peut isoler avec sûreté que *ētβ'r* qui peut être iranien aussi bien qu'indien. En revanche il est vraisemblable que *ny'nčynt 'ēry* représente \**Jñānacinta Ācārya*, comme M. Reichelt l'a transcrit. — Le verbe "*r'γs-*", laissé sans traduction, n'a aucun rapport visible avec *prys-* "rester" (*Dhyāna* 348), yagn. *piraxs-*, *piraxt*. Dans *Dhyāna* 186, M. Reichelt l'a rendu par "befreit werden", ce qui ne satisfait à aucun des deux passages. L'auteur du colophon l'a employé concurremment avec des verbes qui aident à en

fixer la valeur. Ici "*r'ys-*" est actif, comporte un régime indirect (*wyn ny'nçynt "çry*), un régime direct qui est le sūtra, et se trouve parallèle à *ptškw't ð'rt*. L'idée est donc celle d'enseigner, d'exposer une matière religieuse. Reprenons maintenant Dhyāna 186 : *ZKw pety ptkr'k sm'r'kh ðrmh 'sptk prβ'yr KZNH 'Pny ç'n'w 'sw pety prβ'yr'y rty ZKw w'tð'r "zwnh 'ywγwnçyð "r'ys'nt KZNH ny nwś'w ZKw ptwl'yst 'βçnpδy γwysirt pçwz'nt* " Expose le dharma accompli de la méditation sur les images du Bouddha, de sorte que, quand le Bouddha l'exposera, les êtres vivants *l'apprennent*, pour qu'ils rencontrent éternellement les Bouddhas, maîtres du monde ". On voit que "*r'ys-*" exprime ici aussi une notion corrélatrice à celle d' "exposer" (*prβ'yr-*). Cependant le passage ne laisse pas voir si le verbe a bien les deux emplois du fr. *apprendre* (= *learn* et *teach*) ou seulement celui d' "exposer, enseigner". Il faut modifier en conséquence la traduction du dérivé "*r'ys'k* : Dhuta 85 *rtyn 'ytçs'nt β't 'pw "r'ys'k wy'k* " et il est *icchāntika*, sans lieu d'instruction ", et non " ohne Ort der Befreiung ". Car dans les lignes qui précédent, il s'agit de celui qui est stupide et ne comprend pas l'enseignement qu'on lui donne. — De *nγ'ð'kh* on rapprochera phl. T. *niγāð* " prière ". — *çnywçm'ny* représente la jonction de trois mots resserrés en fin de ligne : *çn(n) γwç m'ny* " avec un esprit bienveillant ", cf. Dhyāna 71 *şyr'y γwèy γwrt* " gute (und) feine Speisen ". — *rtysw 'pw . . . pw' st ð'rt* ne peut signifier " für ihn hat (es) . . . übersetzt ", mais simplement : " et alors (*pw*) il l'a traduit ." — La graphie de l'adjectif " sogdien ", *sγwδy'n'k* à côté de *swγδyk*- dans les lettres, obéit au même principe que *ðγwth* = \**ðuyd* ; *sγws-* = \**suχs-* ; *rγwśn-* = \**rōχśn-*, etc. Sur les transcriptions variées du nom de la Sogdiane, cf. Bailey, *BSOS.*, vi, 4, 1932, p. 948, aux listes de qui manquent cependant les formes sanskrites *Sūlika*, *Cūlika*, etc. Cf. P. C. Bagchi, *Journ. of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, xxi, 1931, pp. 1-10.

Le colophon pourrait donc se traduire : " Dans la ville de Saray (?), dans la 16<sup>e</sup> année de l'empereur K'ai-Yuan,

année du dragon, premier mois, c'est ainsi que l'upāsaka "n *kuttr'k* ēt $\beta$ 'r'tsr'n à Jñānacinta Ācārya l'a enseigné, l'a porté(?) en prière, et l'a prononcé de bon cœur. Puis Jñānacinta l'a traduit de l'indien en écriture (= version) sogdienne par bienveillance pour toutes les créatures de l'univers du dharma."

VAJRACCHEDIKĀ (R., ii, p. 72)

- ynčt . . . . . y kt'rw čwn mryy z'tk "zytk  
[kt'rw čwn z'kδ'nk "zytk] kt'r nβt'k 'Pny prw 'βδ'ymtyh  
"zytk  
[kt'rw γwnč 'Pny pw γwnč kt'r 'šm'r'kh 'Pny pw 'šm'r'kh  
kt'rw

5. [L' 'šm'r'kh 'Pny] L' pw 'šm'r'kh 'zwtn wn'kw wn'n 'Pny  
wysp'  
[k'w mwkš nyrβ]n tys'nt 'Pny wyδy'nt rty 'ywγwnčyδ γrβy  
'Pny pw ptš[m'r] 't pw "y'm w'tδ'r "zwn wyδy'nt rty pyšt  
kδ "mtyčw 'prs'yk'm nyst w'tδ'r "zwn ZKnyn wyδy'y  
pr'w w  
ny sywpwδ'y 'Pny kδ 'myn ptystβ 'yw 'zw βrynh βwt  
'Pny y

10. mrtymk prynh βwt 'Pny w'tδ'r "zwn prynh 't 'yt'uk'  
prynh rty nwkr L' ptystβ βwt rty ms sywpwδ'y čwn  
kδry k'w 'yδ'wćw L' 'skwty w'γwn'k ZKn δβ'r δβ'r'y rty ms  
'wy γwnčy L' 'skwty 'Pny δβ'r δβ'r'y rtms 'w wnγr  
't βwδh 'Pny 'zβ'kh 't 'ps'w pδkyh L' 'skwty 'Pny δβ'r  
15. δβ'r'y rty nwkr sywpwδ'y kδ ZK ptystβ ZKw δβ'r  
δβ'r'y  
γwnčyδ k'w prynh L' 'skwty pr'w 'Pny kδ ptystβ 'wy  
prynh  
L' 'skwty ZKw δβ'r δβ'r'y 'tšy ZKh šyr'krtyh L' 'šm'rt  
L' prβ'yrt βwt rty nwkr sywpwδ'y 'čw "p'y prw 'sky  
kyr'nw  
'šm'rt 'Pny prβ'yrt β'y kt'r L' L' 'βč'npδy γwystr  
20. 'čw w prw nšmy 't br's 't p'sy kyr'n 'Pny prw

ētβ'r kyr'n krh'kh 'Pny 'sky 't ē'ðr ZK w'r'k ''k'č  
 ''p't β'y kt'r L' L' 'βēnpδy γwystr rty nwkr sywpwδ'y  
 kδ δ  
 ZK pwtystβ 'wy prynh L' 'sty 'skwty ZKw δβ'r δβ'rty  
 rtms  
 ZK syr'krtyh 'nγwñcγδ γw KZNH 'Pny L' 'sm'rt L'  
 prβ'y

25. r't βwt rty nwkr ZK sywpwδ'y ZK pwtystβ ZK yw'k 'nγwñ  
 'k βwt prymyδ wkry 'skwty rtms 'cw ''p'y'y sywpwδ'y y

### *Traduction*

.....  
 ..... ou nés d'un œuf

[ou nés de la matrice] ou (de) l'humidité, et nés par miracle,

[ou avec un corps] et sans corps, ou pensants et non pensants, ou

5. [ni pensants ni] sans pensée, je les rendrai tels que tous [au mokṣa nirvā]na ils entrent et disparaissent et une telle quantité

d'êtres vivants sans nombre et sans fin disparaissent.  
 Cependant,

si tu veux savoir la vérité, il n'y a pas d'être vivant qui disparaisse, car,

Subhūti, si le bodhisattva a le signe du moi et (s'il)

10. a le signe de l'homme et le signe de l'être vivant et du vieillard

le signe, alors il n'est pas bodhisattva. Et puis, Subhūti,  
 à partir

de maintenant jusqu'à la vieillesse, c'est sans demeurer qu'il doit donner, et

c'est sans demeurer dans le corps qu'il donne et c'est sans demeurer

dans la loi de la voix, de l'odorat, du goût et du toucher qu'il donne.

15. Donc, Subhūti, si le bodhisattva donne, c'est de telle manière qu'il ne demeure pas dans les signes, car quand le bodhisattva sans demeurer dans les signes, donne, son mérite ne peut être conçu ni décrit. Ainsi, Subhūti, que penses-tu ? est-ce que à l'est [l'espace] peut être conçu et décrit, ou non ? — Non, maître du monde.
20. — Est-ce que au sud, à l'ouest, au nord, dans les quatre directions, vers le haut et le bas, l'espace peut être apprécié, ou non ? — Non, maître du monde. — Or, Subhūti, si c'est sans demeurer dans les signes que le bodhisattva donne, son mérite est aussi tel qu'il ne saurait être conçu ni décrit.
25. Et, Subhūti, comme l'enseignement le veut, c'est ainsi que le bodhisattva doit demeurer. Or, que penses-tu, Subhūti ?

#### Notes

2. Bien entendu, la traduction par "œuf" rend l'expression *mryy z'tk* litt. "progéniture de l'oiseau". M. Reichelt rappelle justement l'expression persane *tuxm i murγ*.

3. La restitution est tirée des autres versions. Pour le nom de la "matrice" ou de l'"utérus", *z'kδn'k* ou *z'kδn"k*, qui se trouve dans *SCE.*, 14, *Dhuta*, 266, cf. *Gramm. sogd.*, ii, p. 104 et pers. *zāhdān* "utérus". — M. Reichelt a traduit *prw'βδ'ymthy* par "durch Zufall" probablement d'après la traduction que M. Walleser lui a fournie du texte chinois. Mais le skr. a "né par transformation, par miracle" (*upapāduka*) et c'est dans le même sens — comme m'en informe M. Pelliot — qu'il faut prendre aussi l'expression chinoise *houa-cheng* "né par transformation", laquelle s'applique aux naissances surnaturelles. Dans d'autres passages *βδ'ymthy* est employé

avec l'acception, d'ailleurs voisine, de "mirage"; cf. VN. 115 *rtyms wyč'rt yrþty ZKny w'n'kw ZK 'YKny ZKw þrwy 't ZKw þð'ymtyh* "et il comprend distinctement que tout cela est tromperie et mirage"; de même *Dhyāna* 346 *frwy 't 'þð'ymtyh*. Le radical doit être *'þð-*, comparable à av. *abda-* "merveilleux", phl. *aþd*, car une analyse en *'þ-ð'ym-* (av. *daiman-* "vue, apparence") ne répondrait pas au sens du mot. Le texte sacre porte *ūvavā*, adaptation de *upapādukā*.

4, 5. Les restitutions proposées s'inspirent des autres versions et résultent d'ailleurs des antithèses.

6. La finale . . . *'n* qui subsiste ne laisse aucun doute sur la restitution [*k'w mwkš' nyrþ*]*'n* d'accord avec l'original. La transcription sogienne de *mokṣa nirvāna* est attestée plus d'une fois.

8. *pr'w ny* qui signifie "car", introduit la phrase suivante, et ne peut signifier à cette place "durch ihn".

10. *'yt'wk-* doit répondre au quatrième terme de la série chinoise, soit "vieillard", lequel manque au sanskrit. Aux trois mots du sanskrit (*sattva, jīva, pudgala*), Kumārajīva en oppose quatre (moi, homme, être, vieillard) que la version sogienne reproduit. Cf. *'yð'wčw* 12. Le sogdien a en outre *prynh* "signe", conformément au chinois, en face de skr. *saṃjñā*. Mais M. Pelliot me fait remarquer que, dans le texte de Kumārajīva, *siang* "lakṣaṇa" a été entendu par les commentateurs et traductions en valeur de *siang* "saṃjñā".

12. Je traduis *k'w 'yð'wčw* "presqu'à la vieillesse" d'après *'yt'wk* 10, terme nouveau d'origine obscure. Cette expression est propre au sogdien. Cependant il se pourrait que *k'w 'yð'wčw* dépendit de *'skwty*, et fût parallèle à *k'w prynh L' 'skwty*, l. 16. — Les hésitations de M. Reichelt quant au sens de la phrase suivante et le doute qu'il exprime (n. 4) sur la correction du texte sogdien, ne tiennent pas devant l'analyse de ces formules: *L' 'skwty*, plusieurs fois répété, forme en réalité un groupe nominal ou *'skwty* joue le rôle d'un participe en *-y*. Littéralement: "c'est ne demeurant pas qu'un tel

homme doit donner un don ; c'est ne demeurant pas dans le corps qu'il donne un don," etc., ce qui s'accorde avec le chinois. Mais à la l. 23, *'skwty* a été par erreur redoublé en *'sty 'skwty*.

13-14. *pδkyh*, seul mot au cas oblique et qui n'est pas précédé, comme les autres, de *'t* ou *'Pny*, dépend nécessairement de *'w*. Il est donc déterminé par tous les substantifs qui le précèdent : "dans la loi de la voix . . ." et non "in der Stimme . . . (und im) Gesetz".

18. "*p'y* haplographie pour "*p'y y* correctement écrit l. 22. De "*p'y-* au sens qu'il prend ici de "bien observer, juger", doit sortir la forme, participiale à l'origine, mais figée en exclamation, "*p't* (*VN.* 41; *Dhuta* 68, etc.) qui marque l'approbation (*Gramm. sogd.*, ii, p. 179).—Les autres versions garantissent la traduction de *'sky kyr'n* ("côté élevé"), par "levant" (cf. phl. *x<sup>a</sup>r-āsān*). Il faut donc modifier en conséquence l'interprétation d'un passage du fragment magique (Reichelt, i, p. 63). L. 23-5 *rtyw 'bt' y'wr čnn 'sky kyr'n s'r 'rn'y 'Pny 'bt' y'wr čnn ē'ðr kyr'n s'r* "et il doit l'agiter sept fois vers le levant et sept fois vers le couchant".

19. Au début de la ligne doivent être suppléés, comme l'a vu M. Reichelt, les mots *ZK w'r'k* "*k'č*" (cf. l. 21) omis par le copiste.—Ici et à la l. 22, la traduction allemande donnerait à penser que la négation est répétée (*L' L'*). Mais on doit tenir compte de *kt'r* et entendre : "Est-ce que . . . ou non (*kt'r L'*) ?" — "Non (*L'*)".

20. Les trois autres noms des points cardinaux sont faits les uns sur les autres. Comme *p's* "nord" se rattache à av. *pasčaθya-* "septentrional" (Reichelt, i, p. 40, n. 2), *βr's* "sud" doit être construit analogiquement sur l'opposé de *pasča-*, soit *fra-*. En face de *'sky kyr'n* "est" (cf. note de la l. 18) et parallèlement à *ē'ðr kyr'n* "ouest", on trouve *nšm-*, où entre sûrement *ni-*. Or, l'av. *frāšma-*, phl. *frāšm* signifie "levant" (cf. Bailey, *BSOS.*, vi, 3, 1931, p. 595 sqq.). Il a dû provoquer un *\*nišma-* d'où sortirait *nšm-* "couchant".

21. La lecture de *krn'kh* n'étant pas assurée, le sens en

demeure incertain. Le chinois porte "in den vier Zwischen (richtungen)".

24. Pour la transcription *KZNH*, cf. Schaefer, *Iran. Beitr.*, i, p. 45, n. 1.

25. *ZK pwtystβ ZK yw'k 'nywn'k βwt prymyδ wkry' skwty*, signifie littéralement : " bodhisattva, qualis disciplina est, tali modo moratur ", autrement dit : " il doit ne demeurer (dans les signes) que conformément au yoga." Le chinois dit de même : " Ein bodhisattva sollte nur (so), wie er belehrt wird, verweilen."

Ces remarques prouvent que la Vajracchedikā sogienne a été traduite de la version chinoise de Kumārajīva, non du sanskrit. M. Pelliot (*T'oung-Pao*, 1932, p. 462) en a relevé un autre indice dans la transcription de *Subhūti* par *sywpwδ'y* où *syw-* remonte à chin. *siu* rendant *su-*. Sans un intermédiaire chinois, *sywpwδ'y* paraîtrait attester un \**Subodhi* plutôt que *Subhūti*.

Rappelons que les collections sogdiennes de l'Académie de Berlin renferment le dernier feuillet de cette Vajracchedikā (cf. F. W. K. Müller, *Soghdische Texte* [Abhandl. Berl. Akad. 1913], p. 89).

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Seuls ont été relevés les mots qui font l'objet d'une remarque spéciale.

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<i>st'npyr'k</i> , 43	<i>zr'wšč</i> , 53
<i>syð-</i> , 42	<i>zwβ'kh</i> , 38
<i>syepioð'y</i> , 66	<i>zwy βien</i> , 49

# The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle<sup>1</sup>

TRANSLATED BY A. S. TRITTON

WITH NOTES BY H. A. R. GIBB

IN the year 1405 (A.D. 1098, A.H. 472<sup>2</sup>), fifty-one years after the Turks had conquered these lands, when Alexius was emperor in Constantinople, the Turk Yághí-Siyán (Aksin) had been made governor of Antioch by Abu 'l Fath,<sup>3</sup> the Egyptian Afdal was in Jerusalem, which he had taken from the Turks Suqmán and his brothers, the sons of Ortuk, two years before, and all the sea-coast was subject to the Egyptians, Theodore Kurbalát the son of Hátim<sup>4</sup> was in Edessa, which he had saved from the Turks, expecting to hand it over to the emperor. At this time many kings and chiefs of the Franks with a big army and workmen of all sorts, thousands and tens of thousands without end, got ready. There were four kings, leaders of armies, Bohemund, Godfrey (Gufra, Gundafra), Saint Gilles, and Tancred (Tangri) with many bishops and monks. They set their faces to go by land through Greek territory, and to cross by the Hellespont, where is Constantinople, and the two seas are joined by a narrow strait. They sent ambassadors to Alexius to prepare and go out with them, to get ready what was needful, and to arrange throughout his land stores of food and fodder for the use of the army. Alexius promised to help them in all they needed.

When the Frank armies advanced and began to enter the boundaries and some of them reached a certain camp . . .<sup>5</sup> many footmen and workmen were sent on to cross before the

<sup>1</sup> CSCO., Ser. III, vol. xv. The end is lost; the last date is A.H. 631.

<sup>2</sup> Rightly 491.

<sup>3</sup> Malikshah.

<sup>4</sup> Hétom.

<sup>5</sup> Lacuna in MS.

soldiers arrived. Alexius warned the Turks in Nicæa and its neighbourhood to attack and kill them. So it was ; the Turks hastened to attack them on the sea-shore and slew them without mercy : the whole of the advanced camp was destroyed. When the Frank armies reached Constantinople, they met the Greek emperor and nobles and swore oaths to one another. Alexius prepared to go with them in person by another road through Galatia.

All the Franks and Greeks went and straightway camped against Nicæa, took it from the Turks, gave it to the emperor, and marched from there into Cilicia. The land was shaken before them. They came to Syria, reckoned to camp first against Antioch, which was the head of all Syria, pitched their camps in all places near the city, and closed the roads to those who would go in or out. They began to kill and plunder in all the district.

As we said, Theodore ruled in Edessa. When the townsmen heard that the Franks had come and camped in the district of Antioch, they asked him to send for help from the Frank soldiers to guard the city against the Turks. Theodore did not agree to this. But when he saw that the townsmen were not strong enough and would send for them (the Franks) against his will, he pretended to agree though he was not really pleased at their coming. He was much afraid for many of the townsmen hated him. So he sent ambassadors to Duke Godfrey, the head and commander of the Frank armies, asking him to send troops to guard the land. When the Franks read the letters of Theodore they rejoiced exceedingly, and sent Baldwin (Bagdwin), the brother of Godfrey, a pious man who feared God and was a mighty warrior. At that time Edessa was a very great city, filled with the voices of many peoples, and famed for its clergy, monks, and much people. Its territory was full of villages, villas, and hamlets.

When Baldwin and his Franks had been in Edessa for some time, certain lewd townsmen began to provoke strife between the Franks and Theodore till the evil grew and filled

their hearts so that they attained the wickedness of plotting to kill their governor and letting the Franks rule over them. They did this not from the love of the Franks but from the bad will of those who disliked Theodore. They raged like wild beasts, excited and inflamed one another, gathered in a great crowd, and raised a tumult by the descent from the castle at the head of the spring. When he came to that crowd they rushed at him, so he fled before them to the lower castle which he had built above the east gate of the city. They attacked this and he asked them to swear that he might depart with his wife and children in poverty. They promised this with an oath so he opened the gate, but they did not keep their oath and dealt treacherously with him ; they went up, beat him, bound him with a rope, and let him down naked, wearing only a loin-cloth, from a high wall facing the city. When they had let him down . . .<sup>1</sup> the son of Hátim and the destruction of his house. Baldwin took all that belonged to Theodore and the two castles.

When the Franks heard that Baldwin had captured Edessa they were very glad, pitched their camp close to Antioch, and pressed the siege hard. As the fighting grew more intense, some of the garrison plotted surrender and sent to Bohemund to hand over the city to him. When the plan was perfected the Franks climbed up and seized the wall and then began to rush down into the city. Yághí-Siyán (Isgin) saw that the city was taken, took refuge in flight by the gate of the upper castle on the hill, and escaped to the east to Mt. . . .<sup>1</sup> The capture of Antioch was by treason, surrender by the garrison near the hill on the east side.

While the Franks were besieging Antioch, a great chief, Kerbogha, came from the east to Edessa and reached the town gate. The whole district was full of flocks, cattle, goats, men, and houses. He did great havoc in the land, destroying, killing, plundering, and enslaving many of the people. He turned towards Aleppo to go to Antioch. When

<sup>1</sup> Lacuna.

he reached Aleppo and learnt that Antioch had been captured by the Franks, he hurried there and camped against the city where the Franks had camped with a great force that he had brought from Baghdad, Assyria, and north Mesopotamia. He beleaguered the Franks and began to attack the city. The garrison suffered from lack of corn and fodder for their horses because the land was laid waste. No supplies came into the town that year ; the Franks were thousands and a great multitude and so pressed by famine that the head of an ass cost twenty dinars while wheat and barley were not to be seen. In this strait it was revealed in a dream to one of the bishops that in a certain place in the great church of Qasyán was hidden the spear wherewith the figure of Christ was pierced (which the Jews did in Tiberias). "Take this. Let it go before you. Go out against the enemy and you will defeat them." They found it, rejoiced, and got ready to assault the Turks ; especially as famine had destroyed their hopes, for they preferred death in battle outside to perishing like women. They put the sign of the cross and this spear on their lances, marched out, and God gave them the victory. The Turks broke and fled. After killing many, they went to their camps taking boundless spoil, corn, horses, and goods. The fame of the victory spread abroad, the hearts of all the Turkish kings were broken and shaken, and fear fell on all the kings of the land.

Bohemund ruled in Antioch with his sister's son Tancred ; Turks held Sarúj ; Armenians, the sons of Básag, held Zeugma<sup>1</sup> and the banks of the Euphrates ; Basil the thief,<sup>2</sup> an Armenian, held Kaisún and Ra'bán (he was so called because he robbed travellers regularly) ; Gházi,<sup>3</sup> a Turk

<sup>1</sup> A little above al Bíra (Biredjik).

<sup>2</sup> Kogh-Basil, see Jorga, *Brève Histoire de la Petite Arménie* (Paris, 1930), pp. 17-18.

<sup>3</sup> Rather Sulaimán b. Malik Gházi Gumushtagin b. Dánišmand, called by the Western chroniclers "Balduch", and subsequently executed by Baldwin (cf. Albert of Aix, iii, 21ff., and v, 22). This passage suggests that "Balduch" was a family or territorial name.

of the Baladuqia held Sumaisat (Shamaisat) ; Christians,<sup>1</sup> sons of Philartus the Domestic, held Mar'ash and the Black Mount ; Armenians, sons of Ráfin, held Anazarba and Cilicia ; and the Franks had captured Tarsus, Maşisa, and Adana.

When the Franks grew strong they prepared to go up and besiege Jerusalem, marching by sea and land. First they besieged Joppa which is on the coast of Palestine and took it in a few days and from it they moved and pitched their camps against Jerusalem, surrounding it on all sides. They attacked it fiercely, building against it wooden erections and towers. The city was filled with a great multitude, an Egyptian army, weapons, and material of war. When the attack grew violent, the governor surrendered it to the Franks in July in the second year of their expedition, 1409<sup>2</sup> of the Greeks. Thirty thousand Muslims were killed and the Franks sacked it. (The Christians in it had been expelled before the arrival of the Franks.) Godfrey, the Duke, a great leader of the Franks, became king. They spread over the country, captured the villages, forts, and towns of Palestine and all Galilee.

Count Saint Gilles, one of the army chiefs who had come with the Franks, took a large force and besieged Tripoli, attacking it fiercely. The town was strongly fortified with three walls and a deep ditch between each two ; it was small and had a big garrison of warlike soldiers. Saint Gilles built a fort on the lower slopes of Mt. Lebanon and made it a town with a big population, as it is to-day. He fought long against the town, vexing it seven years, till the governor surrendered it.<sup>3</sup> He seized much booty and slew all the Muslims found in it, occupying its territory round about and all the coast except Tyre and Ashkalon which is Ascalon ; these remained for the time to the Egyptians. Damascus, Hims, Tadmor, Başura<sup>4</sup> with Baalbek, Hamath, Aleppo,

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Greeks.

<sup>2</sup> ? error for 1406 (1099).

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 1109.

<sup>4</sup> ? Buşra.

Kalas (Kella ?), Mabbúg,<sup>1</sup> Harrán, and Callinicus<sup>2</sup> were held by the Turks who did much damage to the lands held by the Franks.

At this time Gabriel, a Chalcedonian, held Malaṭia ; he appointed as governor Buzán a commander. When Buzán was killed the town remained in his power. Gabriel sent ambassadors to Bohemund of Antioch proposing that he should come to Malaṭia and marry Gabriel's daughter, whose name was Kira Murphia, and receive Malaṭia as a dowry with the daughter. Bohemund started for Malaṭia and, when he was near the town, Dánishmand (Danushman), ruler of Pontus and Cappadocia, fell on him. Bohemund was defeated, the Franks with him killed, and he himself taken prisoner.<sup>3</sup> After a time he was ransomed for a great sum, went back to Antioch, made his sister's son Tancred ruler of it, and then went by sea to his native place where he died. Saint Gilles also who had captured Tripoli made his son ruler of it and sailed to his own land.

Another Frank lord named Pítabín (Poitevin ?)<sup>4</sup> planned to start when he heard that the Franks who had come had conquered the lands of Syria and Palestine. He planned to pass by Pamphylia and Cappadocia and possess the northern lands. Arrived in Constantinople he took counsel with Alexius and asked him for guides who knew the roads. He betrayed and misled him. He sent men with him but told them to lead him into a desert where there was neither water nor fodder and he told the Turks of those parts so that they could surround them. This came to pass. A great force of Turks enveloped them and overtook them as they were weary and weak from hunger and thirst. The Turks surrounded them, smote them with clouds of arrows so, as they had no strength to fight and no place to flee to, they

<sup>1</sup> Manbij.

<sup>2</sup> ar-Raqqa.

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 1100.

<sup>4</sup> William IX of Poitou (cf. Röhricht, *Ges. d. Königr. Jerusalem*, 32).

were defeated. They slew with the edge of the sword a multitude without end and took from them a vast sum in gold and silver. Pítabín their leader escaped with a few men and returned to his own land.

Godfrey king of Jerusalem died after two<sup>1</sup> years leaving the kingdom to his brother Baldwin of Edessa. When the news came, Baldwin gave Edessa to another Baldwin, a prudent man, an honoured chief of the Franks, went to Jerusalem, and ruled there in his brother's place. Joscelyn, a kinsman of that Baldwin who had just become lord of Edessa, was lord of the Hill of Good News, Tell Básbir, in the district of Mabbúj. When Baldwin became lord of Edessa, Gabriel of Malaṭia offered him his daughter as he had offered her to Bohemund. Baldwin married Kira Murphia daughter of Gabriel and took her to Edessa.

Dánishmand, the mighty ruler of the interior of Cappadocia, after his capture of Bohemund and ransoming him for much money, again grew strong, gathered his army, encamped against Malaṭia, and afflicted it. The garrison fought as they were able but, when the fight went against them and they were in distress, some persuaded the bishop of the town, who faithfully encouraged the men and prayed for them to fight night and day, to advise Gabriel the lord to agree to peace. When the fight was fierce the bishop spoke persuasively to Gabriel, but he, the accursed one, thought there was some plot. Satan entered into him and he dared to kill the bishop and many worthy Christians of the town. He thought this would be his salvation; it was his ruin. The bishop was Sa'íd (Sí'íd) son of Şabúni.<sup>2</sup> The besiegers prevailed over the town, captured it, and Dánishmand became its lord.<sup>3</sup> Gabriel was killed and his house exterminated utterly.

<sup>1</sup> Lacuna in MS.

<sup>2</sup> Bar. Heb., *Ecl. Chron.*, i, 463.

<sup>3</sup> This suggests that Ibn Dánishmand's capture of Malaṭia took place in A.D. 1103.

Sarúj, near Edessa, was then rich and populous with many Muslims and Christians, and all sorts of famous merchants ; the valley was also rich, populous, and full of hamlets. It was ruled by a Turk named Balaq, one of the sons of Ortuq. The Franks of Edessa harried it on one side ; on another Armenians from the banks of the Euphrates put themselves under Frank orders and harried it. As Balaq realized that Sarúj could not continue in the midst of the Christian lands, he sent an embassy to Baldwin of Edessa offering to surrender Sarúj if terms were agreed to and established by oath. Baldwin made all the promises wanted and Sarúj with its citadel was handed over to him. He set in it a famous Frank named Putshir who collected much money from Sarúj. He laid hands on an Arab Muslim 'ubaid, a leader and councillor in the town, his brothers and relatives, and took from their houses money and wealth passing words. So Putshir grew rich and strong.

When Suqmán b. Ortuq, uncle of Balaq, heard that the Franks had taken Sarúj, he gathered a great army and besieged it, relying on the number of Muslims in the town. When Baldwin of Edessa heard this he marched out to fight him. When the two camps were near together the Turks laid an ambush and fell upon the Franks from front and rear together. The Franks were defeated, many were killed, but Baldwin escaped to Edessa and went in fear across the Euphrates to Antioch to raise an army and relieve Sarúj. Putshir of Sarúj was taken captive. All the Christians there went into the citadel with Papias, the Frank bishop of Edessa, who happened to be in Sarúj. They took with them workmen, carpenters, and smiths, and laid in stores. After defeating the Franks the Turks besieged the citadel, attacking the Christians fiercely. While they were fighting night and day the messenger of Baldwin came : "Get ready inside." When dawn came, the Franks lighted torches on the points of their lances and charged, the earth splitting at the noise. The garrison sallied out to help. Fear fell on the Turks, who

were defeated, and many were slain with the edge of the sword. The Franks went to the Turkish camp and got plunder without end, money, and goods. The Muslim dwellers in the town were afraid, did not believe that the Franks would show them mercy, so seized the town gates, manned the wall, and resisted the Franks. They hoped to hold the town till an army of Muslim Turks relieved them. The Franks tried to persuade them to give up this obstinacy, assured them with oaths that they had no wish to kill them, but they would not listen. The Franks announced : " Let all Christians in the town wear the badge of the cross " ; then they roared like lions, sprang from the citadel into the town, and fell on it like butchers. They slew all, old and young, so that the town was filled with the corpses of the slain, thousands and tens of thousands, without number. The populous city was destroyed and the Christians left gathered round the citadel and lived there miserably.<sup>1</sup>

After the defeat of Kerbogha<sup>2</sup> mentioned above, the attack on Sarúj, the defeat of Suqmán, and the disasters to the Muslims of Sarúj, a lord from the east, Jikirmish (Gigirmish), got ready and advanced with a great army to fight the Franks and guard the lands. He went first to Edessa, his army marching through the country, killing, enslaving, destroying, doing all they pleased. As he came near the city the Frank garrison marched out to fight them outside the east gate to prevent them from approaching the gate. Many foolish Edessenes took their shields and swords and went insolently outside the city to fight the Turks who, as they saw them coming out hurriedly and in no order, retired a little, till they (the Franks) were spread on the plain before the east bridge. They (the Turks) cheered one another and sought to leap on them from all sides. Those on the wall saw this, feared that the two armies would be mixed, would return together, and rush violently into the

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1101.

<sup>2</sup> Gurbagad. D may be due to dittoigraphy.

town, so they shut the gates. The Turks turned and fell savagely on the fighting Edessenes ; these fled and, when they found the gates shut, trembled and were stupefied because they could not reach the bridge over the moat to cross between the walls. All fell into the moat on one side or the other. The Turkish foot came down behind them and killed without mercy. In a moment the moat was filled with dead, blood ran like a river and went down the moat. So having laid waste and burnt the countryside, Jikirmish went away.<sup>1</sup>

At this time one of the Baladuqia with a few Turks lived and ruled in Sumaisát ; he surrendered it to the Franks, taking money for it, and went away. In the northern lands of Gargar Armenians lived and ruled, Gastandín,<sup>2</sup> Tábtúg, and Christopher, the sons of Sanbil. The land was populous, abounding in monasteries and houses of priests ; among them the convent of the Ladders, that is of St. Abkhai below the cliffs of the Euphrates ; that of the Barefooted of Paskín ; that of St. George ; that of Shira of St. Shabtai ; that of Malcus with populous villages, hamlets, and fields. They had many inmates, all orthodox. The Armenians who ruled them were in the service of the Franks.

In the year 1114 when the Franks were strong, all their kings gathered with great armies and came together at Edessa to march east and conquer the countries there.<sup>3</sup> As was their bad habit they did not agree through pride. They stayed long in Edessa discussing the division of the towns that belonged to the Turks ; one wanted Mayyafáriqin, one Ámid, one Nisibis, one Mosul, till they cast lots which deserved mockery. Then they prepared to march on Nisibis. When the Turks heard of this gathering of the Franks, they also began to collect ; while the Franks delayed in Edessa, quarrelling about the division of the lands, the Turks gathered

<sup>1</sup> No raid of Jikirmish upon Edessa before the battle of the Balikh is mentioned in any other source. This apparently anticipates the raid of A.D. 1105.

<sup>2</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chron.* (ed. Paris), 279. Constantine.

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 1104.

a great force and waited to attack them when they should march.

When the Franks left Edessa, a great company of the townsmen went with them in their company to plunder, grow rich, and take captives Muslims and Turks where they conquered. So it was a big camp. When they reached the plain of Harrán and passed it on the east, they came to the House of Abraham, at a place called Dahbánah,<sup>1</sup> where is a great mosque and house of prayer of the Muslims. The men of Harrán feared the Franks, took the keys of the town, came to do obeisance to them, and proffered submission. Baldwin of Edessa thought that Harrán belonged to him, being of his territory, and that if they camped there, the kings would take possession, many soldiers would enter it sacking and plundering, the town would be weakened, and this would be no advantage to him ; so he returned the keys, told them that they were his men, to keep the town for him till he should return and the stranger peoples be scattered. Tancred of Antioch and the other kings were vexed when they heard this and very wroth with Baldwin. They told him that he had not done well, they should have occupied that strong city, left their superfluous baggage in it, and gone in light order to meet the enemies who were near. If God gave them victory none would have taken it from Baldwin ; and if the Turks had heard of the taking of the city, it would have broken their spirit. If they should be defeated, which God forbid, it would be a near refuge. Baldwin did not agree to this.

The Franks marched from Dahbánah and spread out towards the river Balíkh, the angry Tancred marching always behind and in the rear. When they reached the river, they at once saw the Turks, thousands and tens of thousands, and the battle began.<sup>2</sup> They showered arrows on the Franks, pouring on them like clouds of rain. This threw them into

<sup>1</sup> At the source of the Balíkh river, now Ra's al-'ain al Khalil.

<sup>2</sup> 7th May, 1104.

fear and consternation. The Turks drew their swords and began a slaughter in the vanguard. As soon as Tancred and his troops, who were in the rear, saw that a massacre of the van had begun, they turned and fled, abandoning those in front. The Turks increased in strength, slew without mercy, and took many into captivity. Baldwin of Edessa was taken alive with a kinsman, Count Joscelyn of Tell Bâshir, a valiant man. They put heavy fetters on them, plundered their camp, arms, horses, and goods without end. The Turks took Baldwin and Joscelyn in bonds to Mosul and there they reigned, topsy-turvily, as they had hoped. Tancred of Antioch went to Edessa and rested for a few days, eating, drinking, and acting as he wished. He took from it much wealth and horses and made one of his own men, Richard,<sup>1</sup> governor. Tancred then went to Antioch.

This Richard was a bad, tyrannical, unjust man, and greedy. The men of Edessa found for themselves a time that suited their wickedness; they traduced each other, all who had grudges against others found an opportunity. He inflicted on them cruel tortures, imprisonments, and disgrace. He gathered much money, especially as he knew that he was a destroyer and a passer-by, not the true lord and heir.

Baldwin of Edessa and his famous kinsman Joscelyn were captives in Mosul, and none troubled to free them, for Tancred was angry with them and Richard held their lands and used them as he liked. The prisoners took counsel and Baldwin said that it would be hard to release him as he was an important man and so Joscelyn must be released first and then he could work for Baldwin's release. A ransom of twelve thousand dinars was fixed for Joscelyn and twelve respected men of his friends were given as hostages. He was set free to collect his ransom and to work for Baldwin, but while he was doing this, the twelve hostages in Mosul broke through the wall where they were imprisoned and fled

<sup>1</sup> Nephew of Bohemund.

to safety. Thus Joscelyn and his sureties were freed without any expense. With the help of the lord<sup>1</sup> of Qal'at Ja'bar on the Euphrates, a renowned man and a good mediator, Baldwin's ransom was fixed at seventy thousand *mikhilate* dinars. Joscelyn collected some twenty-five thousand, took them in person to Qal'at Ja'bar, and made himself surety for the remainder. The commander sent ambassadors with the money to Mosul and made himself responsible for the rest as Joscelyn was in his keeping. A new governor Jāwali<sup>2</sup> had been appointed to Mosul who had heard of Joscelyn but had not seen him. When he heard that he had put himself in the hands of the Turks as a guarantee for all this money he desired to see him. When the embassy came with the twenty-five thousand dinars and the surety of the lord of Qal'at Ja'bar for the forty-five thousand, he set Count Baldwin free. He sent desiring to see Joscelyn for he had heard that he was a famous, wonderful warrior. The lord of Qal'at Ja'bar gave Joscelyn clothes, a fine horse, Frank arms, and sent him to Mosul. When he arrived the governor assembled his best troops in full armour, went to the parade ground, and ordered Joscelyn to ride in his presence. He rode, did exercises with his spear, wheeled this way and that, pleasing the governor who remitted ten thousand of Baldwin's ransom. Joscelyn dismounted, kissed the ground before him, and thanked him. For kneeling thus another ten thousand was remitted. On their return to the town he made him a feast and remitted another ten thousand. Joscelyn stayed some days at Mosul, the governor showed him great kindness, swearing and making him swear that they would not fight each other as long as they lived, rather they would help each other in time of need. He gave Joscelyn gifts, set him free completely, remitted the whole of Baldwin's ransom, and

<sup>1</sup> Najm ud-Dawla Mālik b. Sālim al-uqaili. On his relations with Joscelyn cf. Usáma b. Munqidh, tr. Hitti (*An Arab-Syrian Gentleman*), pp. 119-20.

<sup>2</sup> Blank in MS.

let him go in safety. Thus by God's help both were released.

When they were released,<sup>1</sup> Richard, who had governed Edessa, gathered all he had collected from the town and went to his own land Mar'ash. When Baldwin and Joscelyn came to Edessa and learnt what Tancred and Richard had done there, the enmity and anger between them flamed up anew, and they prepared for battle. Joscelyn sent to the governor of Mosul who sent many Turkish soldiers to help him. The armies met in the land of the monastery of Gubba (?) between Cyrrhus and Dalik,<sup>2</sup> the dust of their encounter rose to heaven. The Turks fled, the men of Antioch pursued and quickly slew them; Baldwin and his men fled and this was the end of the fight. After a time they agreed and made peace and great amity was restored.

In 1147 when the Frank kings were at peace, Mawdúd, the ruler of the east, gathered a vast army without number and went up first to Edessa. He camped below in the eastern plain round Kasas castle.<sup>3</sup> He sent many horsemen to ravage the land, so they cut down the gardens and trees, spoiled the land, destroyed convents, but did not approach the city to fight against it and set up engines of war. They just approached and went away.

On learning in Antioch of Mawdúd's attack on Edessa, the Franks assembled in haste to relieve it. Quickly they crossed the Euphrates and the Turks, hearing of their march, moved their camp a short distance to the river Julláb (Galib). The Franks occupied the site of Mawdúd's camp. They were Baldwin king of Jerusalem, the first lord of Edessa, the son of Saint Gilles, count of Tripoli, and Tancred of Antioch with a great army and many horse, but they had neither corn nor forage. Mawdúd had wasted the country and many of the villagers were shut up in the town. They

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1108.

<sup>2</sup> Dulák, i.e. between Killiz and 'ain Tab.

<sup>3</sup> The siege began in May, 1110. There was a Kasas Gate at Edessa.

suffered from scarcity and having no patience, as is the bad habit of the Franks, they resolved to cross to the west of the Euphrates while still facing the enemy.

As they moved on the road to Sumaisát, a great army with many followers, townsmen, and villagers attached, by the instrumentality of Satan a Frank, who was enraged with his lord, went to the Turkish camp on the Julláb and told Mawdúd that the Franks were in full flight, faint from hunger and weakened by the fatigues of the way. "If you hurry to pursue them you will inflict great loss on them." At once Mawdúd gave orders, heralds shouted, and trumpets called; mighty warriors mounted and followed the Franks who did not know what had happened and did not look before or behind. When they reached the Euphrates, the fighting men crossed first while the footmen and baggage waited behind. God was angry with his people, especially with the Edessenes who were in the majority there. Suddenly the Turks overtook them, fell on them like butchers, killing without pity; still more were drowned, the Turks thrusting at them with lances; many were taken captive. The Turks fell on the spoil, stores, and baggage. The advance of the Franks had a bad end. Mawdúd went back to his land.

At the turn of the year at harvest Mawdúd with a great army marched straight on Edessa, camped against the town, devoured the land and crops, and cut down the gardens and trees that remained.<sup>1</sup> He besieged the town, causing great distress, and fought fiercely against it all the summer. Distress in the town grew with the scarcity and their spirits failed them, for year after year they planted and laboured but did not reap. Mawdúd made them many promises, told them to give the city up to him for then they would see great good instead of suffering such woes. The men of Edessa sent no answer of peace but some twenty Armenians conspired with Mawdúd to betray the city. He shifted his camp and pitched opposite Sarúj that the men of Edessa might think

<sup>1</sup> This relates to the second siege of Edessa, April-June, A.D. 1112.

that he had gone and be careless in guarding the wall. Soon after when it began to get light after midnight on a Sunday they (the Turks) came quickly from the east between the hedges of the gardens to escape notice and sent some doughty warriors on foot to the place agreed on near the wall on the east of the city inside the lower bridge over the moat over which the water passes. There is a corner and open space fit for an adventure. A great corner tower was there, the guard of it was a well-known citizen named Cyrus. There they met according to agreement ; the traitors let down ropes and pulled up strong ladders and tied them to the wall. They began to climb up and, the watchers, when they saw this, cried in despair : “The enemy are on the wall.” The enemy outside heard this and began to make a tumult on the west, beating drums, blowing trumpets, that the citizens might think it the scene of fighting, go there, and leave the traitors undisturbed, so that their own men could climb up. They killed all in that place who did not surrender. Cyrus was silent from fright against his will, and let them carry out their plan. About sixty men climbed on to the tower. Day broke and all saw the Turks on the tower. The Franks and chiefs were panic-stricken when they saw there was treachery in the city, the enemy outside, the wall full of Turks, and every man running to his house and children. Joscelyn of Tell Bâshir was in Edessa ; he acted like a hero, mounted the wall on that side, and drew near the enemy. When they saw him, they gathered on the big tower, stood on a roof above him, and showered on him arrows and stones. He heartened himself, entered the tower on the roof of which they stood, put his sword through a window made for shooting arrows, and cut down the ladder while many men were on it. They fell and were smashed. Those above lost hope and heart. Joscelyn mounted on to the roof beside the Turks. Twice they smote him from above with stones and broke his shield. He took a sack full of chaff, on which the guards slept, held it over his head, and climbed stoutly among them.

They fled. Some he knocked down with his sword, some threw themselves down and were broken. The plot failed, it hardly began. Mawdúd went to his land. The Franks tried the traitors, seized many guilty and innocent, cut off hands and noses, put out eyes; many died, others were executed.

Some years later<sup>1</sup> Mawdúd went to Damascus, Palestine, and Galilee, he wasted, plundered, destroyed, and took many captives. He came to Damascus and, when he entered the great mosque on Friday<sup>2</sup> to pray as is the Muslim custom, Ismailians killed him. In the same year<sup>3</sup> died Tancred of Antioch who, as he had no son, was succeeded by his sister's son Roger (Rugil), a proud youth.

Roger was proud and handsome, he gathered troops and soldiers, married the sister of Baldwin of Edessa; with his army he attacked the strong fortress of 'ezáz in the plain of Cyrrhus. He dug tunnels in the ground under the wall, put beams under it, and then set them on fire. The wall tottered and fell; the Franks leapt in through the breach, took the fort, and slaughtered all the Muslims in it. Thus Roger took this famous fort.<sup>4</sup>

On 29th November, 1422, at dawn on Sunday a severe earthquake ruined Germanica which is Mar'ash. It perished entirely, the convents were destroyed, the whole wall fell, twenty-four thousand were killed besides strangers, and more than a hundred priests and deacons. The castle of Mansúr and many other places were wiped out. In this year Baldwin of Edessa was angry with Joscelyn, put him in prison, and afflicted him. After his release he went to Jerusalem to Baldwin, who welcomed him, loved him, and made him governor of Tiberias and Galilee.<sup>5</sup> There a son was born to him whom he named Joscelyn. In this year died Ruđwán (Raṭaun) of Aleppo.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1113.

<sup>2</sup> 2nd October, 1113.

<sup>3</sup> December, 1112.

<sup>4</sup> A.D. 1118.

<sup>5</sup> A.D. 1113.

<sup>6</sup> 10th December, 1113.

The Turkish sultan lived in Persia and sent governors to each of the western lands. When Mawdúd was killed in Damascus, Burski was sent to Assyria. He advanced, camped first at Edessa, destroyed the gardens, and did great damage in the land.<sup>1</sup> He crossed the Euphrates, camped in the territory of Aleppo, and wasted the lands of the Christians as best as he could. Then he went back. Next year he came as usual to Edessa, wasted the land and destroyed the crops, then moved to Aleppo, and prepared to fight the Franks. They gathered their forces, camped between Aleppo and Antioch, and in 1427 the lines were drawn up, trumpets sounded, and drums beat. God gave the Franks victory, the Turks were defeated and slain, their camp sacked, and Burski fled with a few men.<sup>2</sup>

Abu'l Gharib, an Armenian, held the strong castle of Birta (al Bíra). Baldwin of Edessa with his kinsman Galeran and a big army besieged this castle for a long time as he could not carry it by assault. Then Abu'l Gharib, as he could get no help, surrendered on terms and Galeran married his daughter with the castle as dowry. So the Franks took this fort.

In 1425<sup>3</sup> Baldwin of Edessa went to pray in Jerusalem. Baldwin of Jerusalem collected an army, marched into Egypt to Farama, and died there. He gave orders for his body to be laid in the tomb of his brother Godfrey and for Baldwin to be chosen king. This was done. Baldwin summoned count Joscelyn from Tiberias and made peace with him. So Baldwin ruled in Jerusalem and Joscelyn in Tiberias. When Joscelyn came to Tiberias he won many victories and was feared by all around.

Michael son of Constantine, an Armenian, ruled the land of Gargar. (Constantine was buried while a prisoner at

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1114.

<sup>2</sup> September, 1115. The commander of the Muslim forces in this year was Bursuq b. Bursuq, not al-Bursuqi.

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 1118.

Sumaisat by the earthquake that ruined Mar'ash.) Michael was a proud youth who did much evil to all, maintaining brigands and thieves in all these parts. Balaq son of Ortug, who once ruled Saruj, held Hanzi and the castle of Zaid.<sup>1</sup> He warned Michael to desist from his evil ways and restrain his thieves from attacking merchants and travellers. He paid no heed. Complaint was made to Balaq continually till he could not contain himself but gathered a great force of Turkmen in Kanun, a bitter month, to go to the populous land of Gargar. God's providence accompanied, helped, and guided him, for the Euphrates was frozen and he and all his Turkmen crossed in an instant, while, had they been forced to cross in boats, they could not have done it in five days. He came to the land in the evening and hid his army among difficult rocks, and none knew of them. God was angry with the people of the land. That night heavy snow fell so the Turkmen tracked by the footsteps in the snow all who left the villages to flee to the hills or upland pastures and killed them or took them captive. They spread through the land like a flood, burned houses and villages and did much harm.

When Baldwin went to pray at Jerusalem he made Galeran of Birta his deputy in Edessa. He collected all the soldiers he could and attacked the camps of the Turkmen in the plains of Mt. Hisma east of Edessa and in the land of Ghazi son of Ortug when they were not expecting it. He captured five hundred men, women, and children, twelve hundred horses, a hundred thousand cattle, camels, and goats, and killed many fighting men. He brought the captives to Edessa. This was in March, 1426<sup>2</sup>; it was the cause of evil.

Ghazi was angry (he was then the famous head of the family of Ortug), gathered a great army and at harvest-time camped near Edessa but some way from the fields and crops. Peace was arranged and they gave him such Turkmen captives

<sup>1</sup> Khartbart, now Kharput.

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 1119.

as they had. He left the city without doing any damage, moved to Harrán and occupied it, then crossed the Euphrates, and occupied Aleppo and its territory. He became more powerful than all the Turkish chiefs; even the governors of Assyria obeyed him. He gathered an army and invaded Antioch.

When Roger of Antioch heard of Gházi's invasion he marched to meet him. Baldwin of Jerusalem and Galeran were coming to his assistance but the proud young man would not wait for the coming of the king as he thought that he could defeat the Turks alone and keep the glory and victory. Impudently he drew near the Muslim camp. The Turks equally desired to fight before the coming of the Franks. They surrounded Roger like a ring and showered on the camp arrows like clouds of hail. God was angry with the Franks and turned his face from Roger who died in this battle and was never found, neither among the dead nor the prisoners. The Turks took the baggage and all that the Franks had.<sup>1</sup>

After the death of Roger, Baldwin of Jerusalem, the count of Tripoli, and Galeran from Edessa arrived. The men of Antioch went out to meet the king. He assumed the government, took the soldiers available, and marched to meet Gházi. Battle was joined, God was angry with the Turks, so Gházi was defeated and many of his troops slain.<sup>2</sup> He barely escaped with a few followers to Aleppo.

Baldwin returned with joy and victory to Antioch and then to Jerusalem. He called Joscelyn from Tiberias and in 1132 sent him to rule in Edessa,<sup>3</sup> to the delight of the citizens. Galeran went back to Bírta. Joscelyn gathered an army, attacked the Turkish camps, and took many prisoners. His fame spread abroad in north Mesopotamia and fear of him fell on the Turks around. The Turkmen

<sup>1</sup> 28th June, 1119.

<sup>2</sup> August, 1119.

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 1120.

whose fellows had been enslaved took refuge with Gházi of Mardín and persuaded him to attack Edessa and avenge them. He gathered a vast army, camped about Edessa, devoured the crops, cut down the gardens, ravaged, and departed.<sup>1</sup>

Gházi had become powerful and was uplifted because he ruled his own land, that of his brother Suqmán's sons, and that of his uncle's son Dáúd, as far as Assyria, Armenia, and the land of the Iberians. His kin ruled over all Armenia. Trouble broke out between them and king David of the Iberians who are Barastaye.<sup>2</sup> Gházi was audacious, gathered all his kin with large forces, and invaded the land of the Iberians. When the king heard of this, he gathered his forces and came to meet him. A battle took place, Gházi was defeated, the Iberians pursued them and killed many, and plundered all their belongings.<sup>3</sup> Thus he returned in shame, escaped to his own land, and shortly after fell sick, and died.<sup>4</sup> His son Timurtásh (Dumurtash) ruled in his stead in Marda (Mardín), Dára, and Mayyafáriqín. Balaq, his uncle's son, held the castle of Zaid and Hanzít.<sup>5</sup>

In Malaṭia ruled after the sons of Dánishmand a man of the great family of the Turkish kings,<sup>6</sup> and after his death his two little sons with their mother; Mas'úd his first-born ruled in Iconium and the interior towards the Greeks; Gházi son of Dánishmand ruled in Sebaste, Cæsarea, and Neocæsarea. He became proud, acted haughtily, and set his face against Malaṭia. He used all means to seize its lord and take the town, even wishing to marry his daughter to him. As he did not take it by guile, he showed his hand, gathered an army, and besieged it. He reduced it to great straits through

<sup>1</sup> May, 1120.

<sup>2</sup> ? Hæsthens سهنس.

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 1121.

<sup>4</sup> 8th November, 1122.

<sup>5</sup> Two sections relating to Greek affairs omitted.

<sup>6</sup> i.e. Qilij Arslan I of the Seljuqs of Rûm.

scarcity and famine till pestilence raged, and he captured it in 1434.<sup>1</sup> Thus he grew powerful, his dominion including Cappadocia, Malaṭia, and all the towns from it to the north sea of the Khazars. He regularly invaded Greek land, ravaging as far as Galatia, Colonia, Heraclea, and all the coast of the north sea. He enslaved, destroyed, and caused loss.

Joscelyn count of Edessa married the daughter of Roger of Antioch and got 'ezáz as dowry with her. He went to bring her to Edessa and stayed the night in Bırta. That night a few men came from Marıba,<sup>2</sup> the Valley, and the district of Bırta and reported that the Turks had made a raid and taken captive all they met. It was the army of Balaq lord of Hanzıt and the castle of Zaid. He had come from Aleppo with four thousand Turkish horsemen and had sent them on all sides to ravage while he himself had camped at the well called Háig, a perennial spring in the dominion of Edessa, one of the famous castles opposite the district of Raskaifa. When the Franks heard the news they were eager to pursue the raiders for they had no idea that Balaq was camping near with his whole force. Galeran especially urged Joscelyn on because it was his land. They started in haste at night, mounted poor horses, and pursued, thinking to overtake them in the land of Raskaifa. They came to places where they saw the tracks of the raiders and followed them from night till midday, consumed by thirst, dust, and heat. They followed till they came to Balaq's great camp. They looked and saw an army while they were few, exhausted with riding and the fatigues of the road. The Turks saw them but they could not go back. When they went to water their horses, the Turks ranged themselves on the river bank with their bows and rained arrows on every Frank who approached and his horse. They hemmed them in, shot many, and took the rest alive, Joscelyn, Galeran, and their

<sup>1</sup> December, 1124.

<sup>2</sup> Bar Heb., *Ecclesiastical Chron.*, i, 389.

knights.<sup>1</sup> They brought them to Balaq, who till then had not believed, thinking it a dream that such princes should in an instant become prisoners. Thus these two famous lords were captured when they never expected it. Balaq took them to the gate of Edessa expecting the town to surrender, but the citizens abused him and said no word of peace. He put his prisoners in Castle Zaid.

King Baldwin was in Antioch when he heard this news ; he at once went to Edessa, stayed there, and put a garrison there under the command of an honoured monk, Godfrey (Gufra) Almuin, until they should know what would happen to Balaq's captives. At this time Michael the Armenian, lord of Gargar, was harassed by the Turks and as he knew that he could not hold the castle he gave it to king Baldwin and received other places to sustain his life.

After surrendering Gargar, Michael was given Dalsik, and Baldwin went to Antioch. Balaq continued to harass Gargar, ravaging it, Sumaisat, Gakti, and Castle Mansur. Baldwin had to come to the rescue again and bring corn from Kaisun and Sumaisat. When Balaq heard that he was at Kaisun, he collected his forces and went to the river Singa between Kaisun and Sumaisat. Baldwin, who did not know that Balaq was so near, kept the feast of the ascension at Kaisun and on the Tuesday they marched without any precautions. They reached the famous bridge of the Singa about one parasang away ; most of the cavalry were far off, indeed they had not reached the river ; the king with a few attendants was ahead with the standard before him, when suddenly Balaq's ambushed troops sprang on him like twilight wolves from all sides, armed, equipped, howling for booty. They surrounded the king like a ring, capturing him, his sister's son, a handsome youth, and many others.<sup>2</sup> Many were killed. Balaq took the king to Gargar and tortured him till he surrendered the castle. Balaq occupied it and was satisfied.

<sup>1</sup> September, 1122.

<sup>2</sup> April, 1123.

The land was delivered from the thieves and brigands who infested it and robbed the poor ; there was peace in the land. It is said that Balaq would impale a Turk for taking a bit of meat from a poor man and he would not let any harm the Christians even by word. He put a garrison in Gargar and then took the king and the other prisoners to Castle Zaid to join Joscelyn and Galeran. Joscelyn had been captured in September, the news reached Edessa on the eve of the feast of the Cross, there was no procession that year, instead all was lamentation. In April on Whit-Tuesday Baldwin was taken. When leaving Castle Zaid, Balaq said to Joscelyn, "I will bring the king to you, God willing." So it was, six months later he joined them.

A second time this year Balaq camped against Edessa, ruined the crops and gardens, and laid waste the land. Thence he went to Harrán which surrendered, to Aleppo which also submitted, and then he invaded the Frank lands of Tell Básbir, Dalík, and 'ezáz. He enslaved, plundered, swept away all the villages and sent them to his land. He captured Castle Mansúr and the men of Khalát, doing great evil in Frank land that year.

In August that year 1435 some twenty Armenian soldiers, who served in the strong fort named Between the Castles on the hill of Kaisún, laid a plot with Godfrey Almuin and the queen. They went to Castle Zaid as poor soldiers, ten of them carrying grapes, fruit, and fowls. These pretended to be villagers wanting to complain of the steward who had done them wrong. The others stayed outside ready to join them when the work began. Those carrying loads went to the upper gate of the fort and told the porter the reason of their coming, to complain of the steward. They were told to wait between the gates while the captain was told. He was giving a banquet to the officers, wine was passing, and they were merry. Many of the guard were looking on, only two or three were with the porter in the gate. When the messenger went to the captain, those men took the swords

hanging between the gates, killed the porter and all whom they found, and called to their friends outside who joined them. They held the gate, rushed on the diners, and killed them all.<sup>1</sup> They freed the prisoners, held the castle, and all the Armenians in the town who could joined them. As soon as the disaster was known, news was sent to Balaq in Aleppo. Turks came night and day from all sides and invested the castle closely so that none could go in or out. On the first night Joscelyn on foot with two or three others made bold to leave, broke through the encircling ring, and escaped. He had promised the king not to rest till he had reached Jerusalem and brought an army to relieve them. He went by Kaisún, Tell Básbir, Antioch, to Jerusalem. All rejoiced that Baldwin and Galeran were released and the wealth piled up in Castle Zaid captured. When Balaq heard what had been done in his strong fort, the capital of his kingdom, the treasury of his wealth, he started at once with his troops and reached Castle Zaid in four days, ten days after the disaster. He made a fierce attack and set up great engines that battered the wall without ceasing even for a moment lest the Franks should come. In a few days they made a breach in the wall and Balaq asked the garrison to surrender, promising to spare their lives, as he did not wish to assault the castle and destroy his honour. They battered another great tower over the water supply and razed it to the ground ; when this fell the besieged lost hope and Galeran came in person to ask Balaq's word of honour to spare their lives. He gave it and they handed over the castle.<sup>2</sup> Balaq entered, tortured the Armenians, and finally flayed them alive. The king and Galeran went back to their former prison.

Joscelyn went to Jerusalem, collected an army, camped outside Aleppo on the hill Jawshán opposite the west gate for three days, and took tribute from them. He wanted to

<sup>1</sup> August, 1123.

<sup>2</sup> 16th September, 1123.

relieve Castle Zaid but heard that Balaq had taken it and killed the Armenians. He destroyed the mosques on the hill where he camped, one called Dakka and one built for king Rudwán, cut down gardens and trees, and went away. A Muslim judge in Aleppo, Abu'l Hasan son of Khashsháb, told the Christians to rebuild the two mosques. Two bishops were in the town, an orthodox Edessene Gregory or Samson, and a melkite. The church treasurers would not agree but said, "We will not do this for we should open a door against ourselves that whenever a mosque is destroyed we must rebuild it out of church funds." On the Friday at the judge's order thousands of Muslims with carpenters and axes rushed to the churches; to St. Jacob, broke the pulpit and the angels of the altar, defaced the pictures, made an opening in the south wall of the sanctuary, prayed there, and made it a mosque. The same with the Greek church of the Theotokos and also that of the Nestorians. They sacked the churches and the cells of the bishops. The melkite fled to Antioch, the orthodox to Qal'at Ja'bár. This was in 1435 when Athanasius son of Kammare was patriarch.

When he heard of Joscelyn's movements Balaq hastily gathered his troops, camped near Mabbúj, and wasted the land which was not subject to him. Joscelyn prepared to fight, collected his troops with Godfrey Almuin, another Godfrey, and Mahi, met him near Mabbúj, and the battle began. Balaq was defeated, many of his soldiers perished, and he went back to Mabbúj meaning to punish the citizens for not helping him. While fighting against Mabbúj he was struck by an arrow from the wall and died.<sup>1</sup> They took him to Aleppo and buried him apart from the family of Ortuq.

At the time of the events at Castle Zaid in 1435 some Franks called Venetians got together a great army, equipped many ships, and sailed the sea to Palestine under their king whose name was Dukus. They came to the coast of Tyre and Sidon and beached their ships. The Franks heard of

<sup>1</sup> 6th May, 1124.

this arrival so the patriarch of Jerusalem came to them for Baldwin the king was a prisoner. They besieged Tyre because it was populous, still belonged to the Muslims, and all who escaped from lands conquered by the Franks went to it. They attacked it from land and sea, fought against it with all kinds of weapons of war, and set up great engines which battered it night and day. They built two strong towers of wood, of seven storeys, each ten cubits high. They covered them with strong planks of damp oak that naphtha might have no effect on them. When finished they drew them near the wall. Now the city had not one wall but three with small walls outside them, and a deep moat between them. The walls were armed carefully and on them was a strong force with arms, and the men of Tyre fought valiantly. The siege lasted seven months, the walls were breached, the engines destroyed many towers, but the garrison were not shaken for they had food. They were in great distress when food ran short. Their Egyptian lord gave them no hope. They turned to the then governor of Damascus for him to help them and rule over them. The correspondence was by means of pigeons for there was no way for a man to go in or out. The governor of Damascus gathered a great army to help them and sent this message by a pigeon, "On a certain day I am coming to relieve you with a great army, be strong, resist bravely, be not slack." By God's will the bird fell in the Frank camp. They read the message and wrote another in the opposite sense, "You have written that we should come to your aid. We cannot come, have no troops to resist those assembled against you, and can give you no hope. Surrender the city, making sure of your lives." They tied this to the bird and let it go. When the men of Tyre read this they lost hope as they had no food. (A tale about Alexander the Great is omitted.)

They sent honourable citizens to the Dukus the chief of the Franks and the patriarch and begged that their lives might be spared. It was agreed that those who wished

might stay in the city and those who wished might go where they chose with their families, children, and property, being conveyed in peace and safety. They opened the gates and the Franks entered and took possession in July.<sup>1</sup> Baldwin, Joscelyn (?), and Galeran were still prisoners.

The release of Baldwin and the death of Galeran. (A title but no paragraph.)

Burski, whose defeat was recorded, saw in a dream in Mosul that eleven dogs rent him. When he woke he told his dream and was warned to be on his guard and not to go to prayers that day. He refused to omit the public prayer on Friday in the big mosque and as he went in by the door at midday, as is Muslim custom, eleven Ismailians surrounded him, pierced him with knives, and slew him.<sup>2</sup> In Mosul and Assyria his son, who was also called Burski, succeeded him.

The Franks assembled, king Baldwin, Saint Gilles of Tripoli, Joscelyn count of Edessa, and were joined by a Muslim exile, Dubais of Hilla and Irak. He had come to Antioch and was on the side of the Franks. With a great army they besieged Aleppo,<sup>3</sup> attacking it on all sides for nine months. The citizens were in great distress from famine and even ate unclean animals. After nine months when they were on the point of surrender, a message came that Bursuqi, governor of Assyria, had come to help them. Dubais proposed that he should be given an army to prevent Bursuqi from crossing the Euphrates till they had captured the town. The Franks were obstinate and would not take his advice. Bursuqi crossed the Euphrates, and boldly entered the town at night.<sup>4</sup> In the morning the citizens opened the gates, marched out with Bursuqi, and attacked the Franks, who moved away from the town, camped on the hill Jawshán, and ten days later moved off towards Antioch. Bursuqi followed them as far as Athárib (Tharib), cutting off stragglers,

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1124.

<sup>2</sup> October, 1124.

<sup>3</sup> November, 1126.

<sup>4</sup> January, 1125.

and plundering the baggage. Bursuqi returned to Aleppo with great joy.

Bursuqi then besieged 'ezáz, setting up engines to batter the wall night and day; he made tunnels in the ground under the wall and harassed the garrison. When the Franks heard this they gathered in Antioch under Baldwin and Joscelyn but feared to come to the relief of the town because the Turkish army was very big. The garrison was in great straits, none could go in or out, but one man felt his zeal stirred to take the news of their distress to the king. They promised him a reward if he came back safe. He mounted a valiant horse, took a sword in his hand, and a pigeon in his breast, went through the gate like lightning, jumped over rank after rank of the infantry who watched the gate, leaped the ditch which had been dug round the place and crossed to the other side. The enemy sprang at him from all sides but could not stop him and he reached Antioch to give his message to the king. The Franks started to relieve 'ezáz, hoping in God. They sent a letter by the pigeon, "On a certain day we shall relieve you. Be strong and faint not." The bird came down in the camp of the Turks who wrote a letter in the contrary sense under Joscelyn's name, "There is no hope from us, the king is engaged with the Egyptians who encompass him. Save your lives and surrender the fort." When the garrison read this they were divided and said, "We will endure, lest there happen to us like the pigeon at Tyre; perhaps it is a forged letter. Let us be strong; endure as long as we can; let us die and not surrender." The Turks saw that their trick had failed, sent some of their baggage back to Aleppo to save it from the Franks, and sent spies to Antioch to know when the Franks moved. In a few days these reported that the Franks had started. The Turks sent all their stuff to Aleppo, set fire to the engines, and only the fighting men remained. The Franks stored their stuff at Cyrrhus, and left the hill for the big plain above Killiz. The Turks, on seeing the Franks,

turned up and down, and were on the right and left of them. The Franks who were few passed between the Turks without fighting and camped where the Turkish camp had been. The Turks saw that they were few, took heart, and argued in this way. "If they stop we can cut the roads and they will die of hunger; if they run it will be a sign of fear and we will pursue them." The Franks put a sufficient number of men in the castle with these instructions. "We are going a little to the west where we and our horses can rest and get food and water. (There was none at 'ezáz.) If the enemy pursue, watch them and, when all have come out of their places of concealment and they are in one body behind us, raise a sign of smoke on the castle. What God wishes will be." The Franks moved at dawn on the road to Antioch and, when the Turks followed, pretended to flee. The Turks were encouraged, all their men who were in ambush showed themselves, and pursued whole-heartedly. The smoke sign was raised on the castle. The king gave an order, the trumpets called, the royal standards were brought to the rear, and God was angry with the Turks, who fled losing two thousand slain.<sup>1</sup> Only Bursuqi and a few others escaped though pursued to Aleppo. He went back to Mosul and died in Rahba (Rahbut) on the Euphrates.<sup>2</sup>

King Baldwin fetched from Europe Bohemund son of Bohemund I of Antioch (after his release from captivity to Dánishmand he had gone to his own land), betrothed him to his daughter, and made him governor of Antioch.<sup>3</sup> He fetched another young man of the count's family Fuk,<sup>4</sup> betrothed him to another daughter, and proclaimed him king in Jerusalem in his own lifetime. Tughtagín, lord of Damascus and Bányás, saw that he could not hold Bányás,

<sup>1</sup> June, 1125.

<sup>2</sup> The historian confuses Áq-sunqur al-Bursuqi, the deliverer of Aleppo, whose murder in 1126 is related above, with his son Mas'ud, who died at Rabba in 1127.

<sup>3</sup> End of 1126.

<sup>4</sup> Fulk.

for it was encircled by Christian territory, so gave it to Bahrán an Ismaili. He accepted it, collected five hundred men, sent gifts to the Frank king, and offered him his allegiance.<sup>1</sup>

Armenians, sons of Ráfin, lords of Cilicia, opposed Gházi son of Dánishmand, their brigands plundering his lands. Gházi being a mighty prince started to conquer their land. Bohemund of Antioch who also suffered from them prepared to conquer Cilicia.

When Bohemund of Antioch with his army invaded Cilicia, Gházi invaded it from the other side, and at once the Frank and Turkish armies met—both had come to destroy the land.<sup>2</sup> The Turks surrounded Bohemund and destroyed his army, not one escaping, and Bohemund, a noble youth, was slain. They took his head, skinned it for the fine hair on it, and sent the skin of his head with other fine things, shields, Frank spears, and saddles to the great sultan of Ispahan as gifts and presents of victory. Thus the two princes destroyed one another and the Armenians were set free. It is strange that Dánishmand father of Gházi destroyed the army of Bohemund the elder, father of this Bohemund, and took him captive, while his son Gházi destroyed the army of this Bohemund and killed the youth the son.

In 1442 (A.D. 1131) the great Turkish sultan of Ispahan died.<sup>3</sup> There was a severe earthquake with many deaths in Khurásán. The caliph in Baghdad invested with sovereignty Gházi son of Dánishmand, lord of Cappadocia and Malaťia, who was more powerful than all the Turkish princes in those parts.

In this year Joscelyn of Edessa, who was advanced in years but did not rest from fighting, gathered an army to destroy a castle named Tell 'arrán between Aleppo and Mabbúj wherein dwelt robbers who wasted the country continually. He dug tunnels under it to make breaches in it, went down

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1129.

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 1130.

<sup>3</sup> Ghiyáth ud Dín.

to see them for himself, and a breach fell on him and buried him. When they dug him out he was at his last gasp so they carried him back to Tell Básbir, for his body was crushed and he was very ill. While he was ill, Gházi gathered an army to invade the lands of the Armenians, the sons of Ráfin. When Joscelyn heard this, he bade an army be collected and was carried on a sick bed to meet Gházi who went back to his own land on hearing this news. Joscelyn reached Dalík, died, and was buried in the church there.<sup>1</sup> His son Joscelyn, a youth void of understanding, ruled after him. In this year also died Baldwin king of Jerusalem and his son-in-law Sir Fuk (Fulk of Anjou) reigned in his stead. As was said above he was made king in the lifetime of his father-in-law. In Antioch after Bohemund son of Bohemund ruled Pítabín son of Pítabín, of whom we said that his army was destroyed in Anatolia and he returned to his own land.<sup>2</sup>

In the east after the death of Bursuqi the younger in Rahba the great sultan appointed in 1443 (rightly A.D. 1127) Zangi son of Áqsunqur commander in the east. He was a companion of Buzán, who was mentioned before the coming of the Franks. Tutush Táj ul Mulúk, that is Crown of the Lords, killed them.<sup>3</sup> The sultan in Baghdad was Mas'íd, nephew of Sinjarshah the great, son of Abu'l Fath Malikshah, who entered Syria in the days of Philartus the Domesticus and appointed Yághí-Siyán (Yaghsyan) to Antioch, Buzán to Edessa, and Tughtagín (Tughdakin) to Damascus. Sinjarshah was born to Abu'l Fath of the great queen in Shígar which is Sinjar and so he got his name. At this time Mas'íd nephew of Sinjarshah ruled the lands of Ispahan, Khurásán, Irak, Baghdad, and the whole district to the south-east. The lands of Assyria to the north-west were subject to him. In Mosul the government was by his authority, a commander

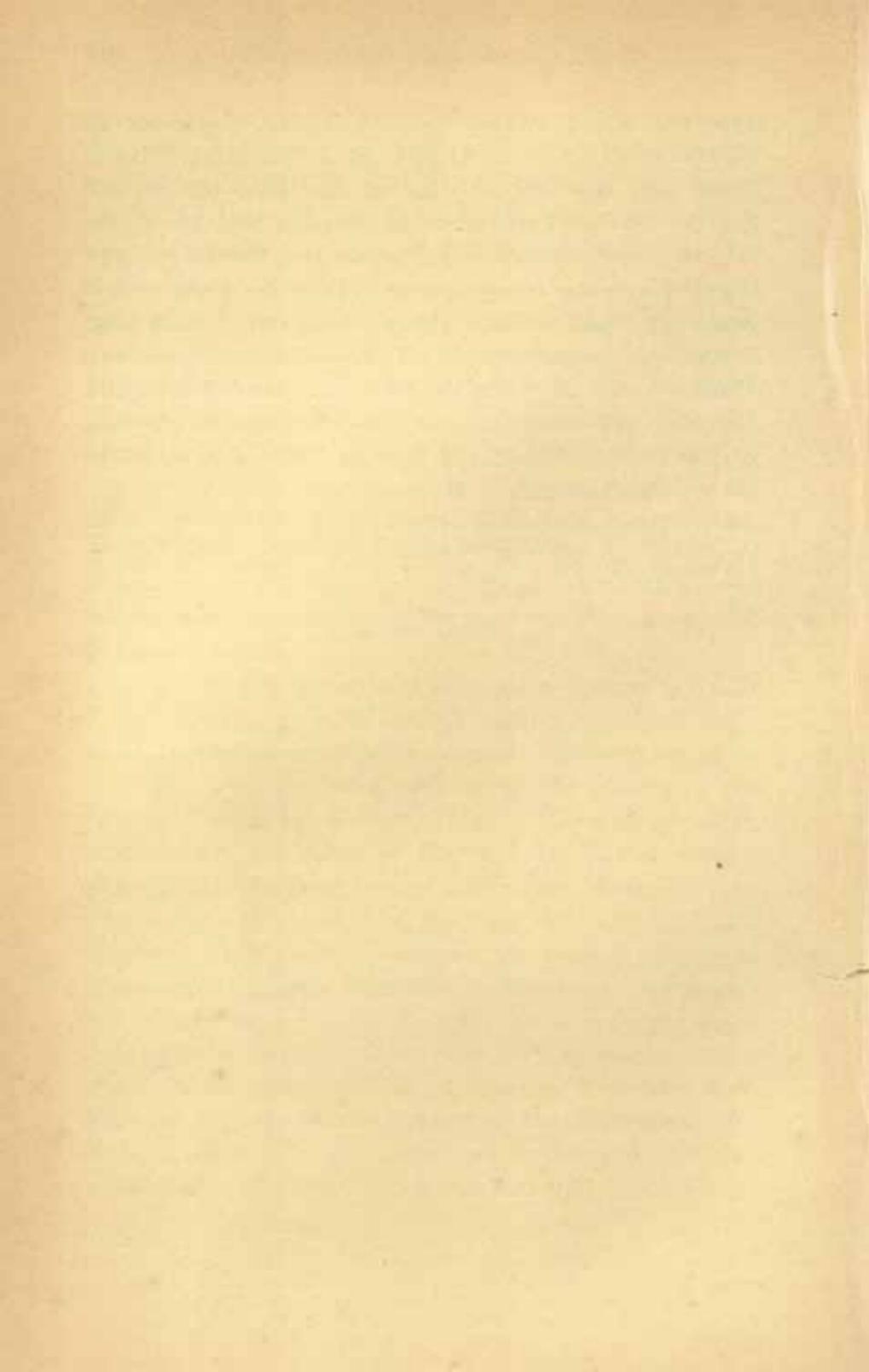
<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1131.

<sup>2</sup> Raymond son of William of Poitou.

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 1094.

who was called Atábek by the Turks; he ruled all Mesopotamia, the north, Aleppo, and all Phoenicia. Then in Mosul were the famous Şalâh ud dîn, Naşr ud dîn, and Zain ud dîn 'alî, Turks who had influence with the sultan. When Bursuqi died they held all authority in the east; they (?) urged the sultan to appoint as commander Zangi son of Áqsunqur, 'imâd ud dîn. This was done and he made Zangi commander over Assyria, all Mesopotamia, Syria, and Phoenicia. He gave him the two young sons of the sultan Mas'ûd to be lords of the lands and Zangi was their guardian. At this time died Mas'ûd of Ispahan; he was succeeded by his son Sulaimanshah in Hamadân.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Quite wrong. Mas'ûd died in 1152, his brother Sulaimánshah did not succeed till 1159.



## A Tablet in Kufic from Kûfa

By R. GUEST

(PLATE I)

THE tablet illustrated in Plate I was bought at Kûfa and the seller declared that it had been discovered in the neighbourhood, a statement that can doubtless be accepted as true, for there would have been no inducement to bring such an object from a distance for sale at a place so stagnant as Kûfa is now. As affording at least a fairly early example of Kûfic writing coming from the birthplace of the script, it appears worth recording in the absence of other specimens, notwithstanding that it is not marked with a date. Mr. Gerald Reitlinger, who acquired the tablet in 1931 when he was at Kûfa for his exploration of Hira, has been so good as to supply the photograph for publication.

The tablet is made of unbaked clay, and must have been produced by means of a mould. It is extremely fragile, crumbling at a slight touch, and it is surprising that so much of the delicate writing is preserved undamaged. Probably it was protected from injury by being buried and this suggests that it may have been made on purpose to put into a tomb or grave as an omen.

The inscription contains the last forty-eight verses of the thirty-sixth chapter of the Qur'ân. Nothing beyond the Qur'anic text can now be made out, but the last word legible (ك) leaves more space in the last line than is required for the conclusion of the chapter, so that the final verse was probably followed by three or four additional words. The portion of the chapter that appears is not likely to have been reproduced in full by itself, and it is probable, therefore, that the tablet in its original form was much larger and included the entire chapter, or that it was one of a pair or series of tablets containing this and other chapters.

Only one trifling variant from the ordinary text of the Qur'an occurs: in line 16 لٰ of v. 60 is written for ان لٰ.

The defective script is used as a rule in words of the form ملكون (l. 22), كفرين (l. 14), فكعون (l. 23), for فاعل, thus مالكون, كافرين, فاكعون, and سادقين (l. 9) is written in full. ينبعي, which occurs twice (ll. 3 and 21), is written each time without the final ي, the last letter of the word ending precisely in the same way as that of جيع in l. 12. Words at the end of a line are broken anywhere, even the الف of the definite article being allowed to stand by itself.

The writing tends to preserve a continuous horizontal base line, but some letters, notably ر, و, and ن, are sometimes continued to the thickness of a stroke below the line, though at others they do not descend beneath the line. The letter عين when not initial is always open. The first stroke of حيم, etc., is carried down across the line, generally but not always. In متكون (l. 14) the letter ميم is identical with قاء, and in كفرين (l. 22), كاف consists of a single stroke slanting up to the left; both these forms are unusual ones, worth noticing.

M. Flury writes that having compared the Cairo tombstones and the inscription of the Khalif El Mahdi (A.H. 155) with the tablet, he is inclined to date it in the second half of the second century of the Hijra or the first half of the third century. He points out that the oldest Cairo inscription in relief is dated A.H. 211. He observes, however, that we do not know whether the evolution of the Kufic script was more or less parallel in the different provinces during the first centuries, and that it may be that at Kufa inscriptions in relief appeared at an earlier date than elsewhere.





CLAY TABLET IN KUFIC.

Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$  size.

The table below is intended to facilitate the reading of the inscription. It shows the first word or two of each line and the verse of chapter 36 of the Qur'ân in which they occur.

Line.	v.	Line.	v.	Line.	v.
1	لا يعلمون	36	ا[لْا]جَد[ا]	11	[نَعَمٌ]رَه
2	تَجْرِي	38	وَالْمُرْسَلُونَ	12	[لَيْلَةً]ذَر
3	كَالْعَرْجُونَ	39	تَغْلِيمٌ	13	فَهُمْ
4	فَلَكٌ	40	فَكَهُونَ	14	[مَشَا]رَبٌ
5	[رَكْبُونَ]	42	[يَدٌ]عُونَ	15	فَلَا يَحْزُنْكَ
6	[وَإِذَا]	45	آدَمٌ	16	خَلَقْنَاهُ
7	أَيَّاتٍ	46	هَذِهِ جَهَنَّمُ	17	[رَمَيْمٌ]
8	كَفَرُوا	47	الْيَوْمَ نَخْتَمُ	18	[لَا]لَّا خَضْرٌ
9	هَذَا	48	[يَكْسِبُونَ]	19	أَنْ يَخْلُقَ
10	فَلَا	50	لَسْخَانَمٍ	20	فَسِيحَانٌ
				21	
				22	
				23	
				24	
				25	
				26	
				27	
				28	
				29	
				30	







BRONZE CHUEH IN THE SPENCER-CURCHILL COLLECTION; CAST OF THE INSCRIPTION IS INSET.

## A Chinese Bronze Ritual Vessel

BY W. PERCEVAL YETTS AND L. C. HOPKINS  
(PLATES II AND III)

THE archaic Chinese bronze, which is the subject of this article, is in the collection of Captain the Hon. E. G. Spencer-Churchill. It belongs to the class called *chüeh* 酒, which, among the ritual wine vessels, has the smallest capacity. A Chinese tradition assigns the origin of the peculiar shape to the form of a bird's head, and some support for this view is derived from supposed pictograms which are accepted as having been used to write *chüeh* in archaic script. On the other hand, certain pottery vessels, found recently at Hsiao-t'un 小屯, in Honan, the site of a late Yin capital, suggest a more plausible explanation. The place is famous as one where the inscribed bones first came to light about 1899, and often afterwards it has been claimed as the source of many ancient objects offered for sale.

Dr. Li Chi 李濟, the author of the theory, is the leader of expeditions which, since the autumn of 1928, have made several exploratory excavations on this site under the aegis of the Chinese National Research Institute of History and Philology, aided by the Freer Gallery. In a recent publication of results,<sup>1</sup> Dr. Li Chi describes pottery finds which he recognizes as prototypes of the *chüeh*. He traces progressive stages in the evolution, starting from a handled jug, with small spout and three short feet. The examples, reproduced in the *Report* with photographs, are copied here in outline, and the stages in the supposed evolutionary process are indicated by the order of the numbers 1 to 6. Fig. 1 shows side views and Fig. 2 views from above. It will be seen from the drawings that the series starts from a simple jug with small spout, large handle, and rudimentary feet. Compare the more perfect example in the collection

<sup>1</sup> 安陽發掘報告 (*Preliminary Reports of Excavations at Anyang*), part iii (1931), pp. 471 seq., figs. 9, 10, 13, 14.

of Herr Heinrich Hardt (Plate III). A neck is developed in 2, and the feet become legs. In 3 the spout and legs have lengthened. No. 4 has a more constricted neck, a first step towards the development of a "tail", *wei* 尾, opposite the spout. In No. 5 the final bronze has been almost reached; but note a vestige of the neck, and the addition of two capped uprights or columns, *chu* 柱. The latter arise from the

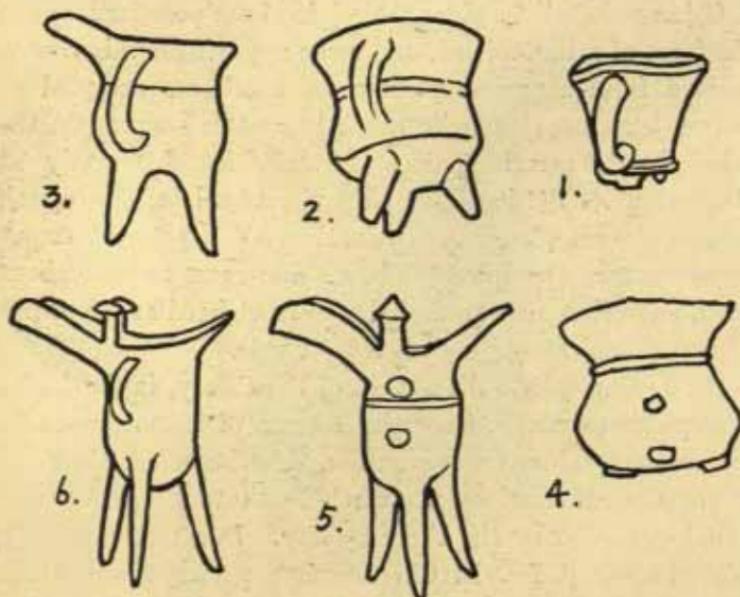


FIG. 1.

rim of the body. The bronze shown in No. 6 resembles the type in the Spencer-Churchill Collection—the spout and tail are fully developed, the handle is vestigial, the legs curve slightly outwards and are triangular in section, and the columns arise from the base of the spout.

In height (8½ inches) and form the piece under discussion is not unusual; but it does present certain noteworthy features. Most striking are the signs of wear, proving that it must have been handled frequently during many centuries. The ornament in low relief on the outside of the body has



POTTERY JUG,  $3\frac{3}{4}$  INCHES HIGH, FROM AN-YANG; HARDT COLLECTION,  
BERLIN.



become obliterated except where protected by protuberances : the handle on one side and the bovine head, modelled in high relief, on the other. The worn area clearly shows the manner in which the vessel was habitually grasped, and offers objective evidence of a fact patent to anyone who is familiar with the *chüeh* class. It is that the small loop handle fails to provide an effective means of holding the vessel. Surely this is an almost unanswerable argument in support of Dr. Li's theory that the *chüeh* is the outcome of an evolution which started from a plain pottery jug with a handle large enough to grasp.

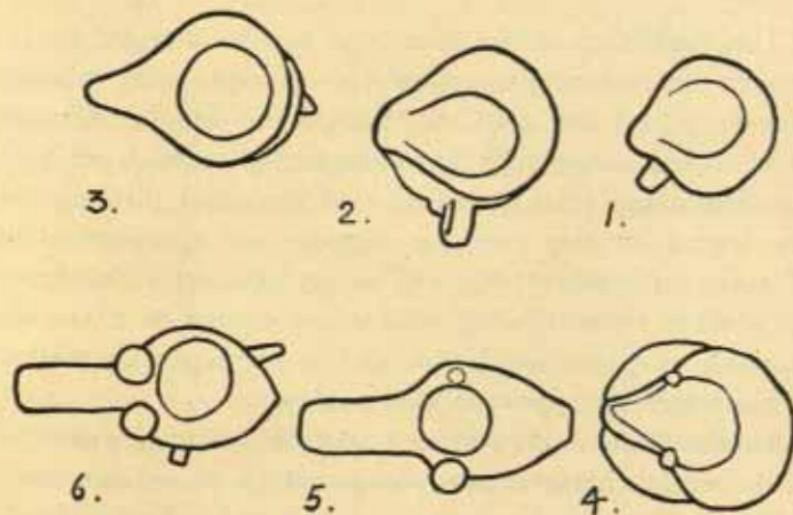


FIG. 2.

In short, the loop at the side of the *chüeh* is merely a vestige inherited from the prototype.

The decoration that remains shows unusually fine workmanship : the details are minute, well formed, and sharply defined. Though the design is approximately symmetric, it has not been impressed with a die. There is evidence that the mould for the wax pattern was in two halves which joined along the median line of the spout and tail. The main motives on the handle side are two of the so-called *t'ao-t'ieh* masks. On the opposite side a bovine head in partly rounded relief is the chief feature. Spirals, inclined to be squared,

家長率教者從又舉杖, *chia chang shuai chiao chē ts'ung yu chü chang* = the head of the family, who leads and instructs; composed with *yu*, right hand raising the rod. But the *Shuo Wén*'s gloss or description of a father by the word meaning "carpenter's square" did not satisfy Tuan Yü-ts'ai, who in his edition "corrects" the character to **巨** *chü*, big, gross. But the "correction" seems not very satisfying either, as a gloss on the word father.

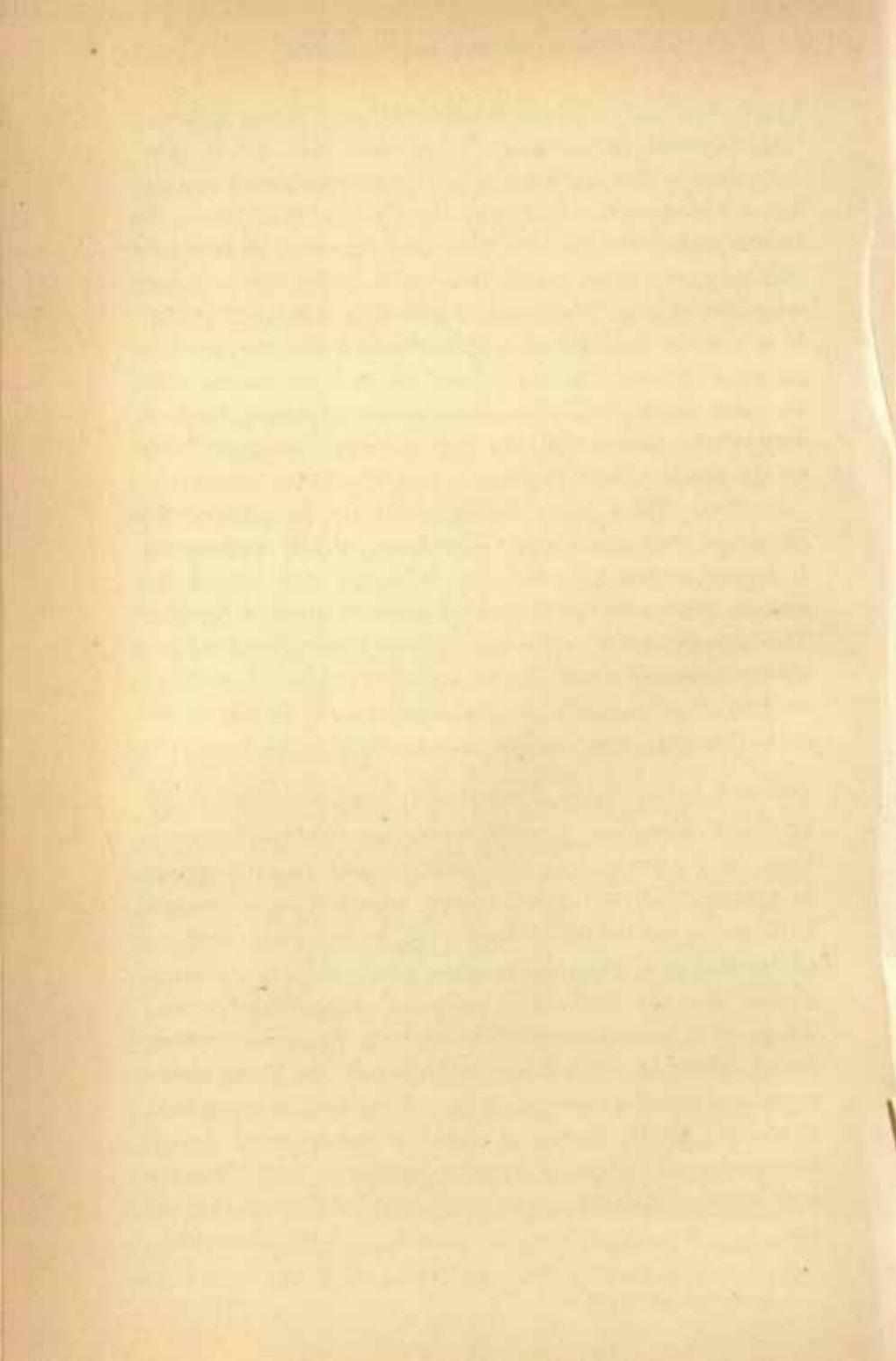
But when consulting the *Shuo Wén* for light on the construction or meaning of any character, we must bear in mind that its author Hsü Shén had nothing like the wealth of ancient materials of Bronze and Pottery, much less Bone and Tortoiseshell, that is available to modern investigators. Such archaic documents usually show a notable difference of aspect from the Lesser Seal. In this case the hand, if it grasps an object of wood at all, is holding a club, not a mere staff, and a club held by the thicker end of its tapering length, as our figure shows. Paternal discipline must have been strict indeed in those times, when the picture of a hand and club seemed a natural manner of suggesting a father.

The truth seems to be that it is neither a staff nor a club that is represented, though it is less certain what the object is. But a very plausible conjecture is put forward by Lo Chén-yü in his *Y.H.S.K.K.S.*, p. 30. There he writes, 許釋 | 為杖然古金文皆從<sup>火</sup>疑象持炬, that is, "Hsü deciphers | as *chang*, a staff, but the inscriptions on archaic Bronzes are composed with <sup>火</sup>, which we may conjecture to depict (a hand) holding a torch" (we must suppose Lo to refer to the complete archaic character ). Lo's conjecture has this in its favour, that it includes the character **巨** *chü*, which whether alone, or else as part of some compound, appears as Hsü Shén's gloss on the Lesser Seal form. Further, it throws light (as indeed a torch should do) on the explanatory phrase used by Hsü Shén, of "the head of a family who leads and instructs", conceived under the

figure of one who "lightens our darkness" when following the stony path of education.

4. *Ting*. This character, which represents a nail or tack, was adopted as the fourth of the Cycle of Ten Days. As such it and the other nine were used to mark, inadequately as it may seem to us, the Birthday of an individual, as though we might say "A Wednesday's child", and leave it at that. It is curious that the Lesser Seal and modern characters, giving a side-view of the object, seem more natural than the mere rounded circle, oval, or square, picturing the head only of the nail, which are nearly always the form found on the most ancient Bronzes and on the Honan Relics.

5. *Ts'ê*. There is no doubt about the identity of this character, nor about the significance of its construction. It depicts, as the *Shuo Wén* says, the slips of wood, one long and one short, with two horizontal strokes tying them together. This alternation of longer and shorter tablets is not always closely observed even in the older examples. Sometimes, on the other hand, it is markedly insisted on, as in my Collection (H. 720), where we find . An interesting variation (occurring in a compound) is to be noticed in  (*Y.H.S.K. Hou Pien*, 上, p. 23), where instead of two horizontal lines, or a narrow oval, the binding string or cord appears as a reversed S, and has the same relevance to the vertical lines here as has the double loop in  *ti*, an archaic script of the later 弟 *ti*, a younger brother, a word that, in that sense, was so hard for the ancient scribe to picture that he took refuge in a homophone *ti* (now written 第, serial number, series), which he symbolized by the design of a thong wound round and round a halberd, 戈 *ko*. And this late, specialized, character 第 *ti*, series, is itself a camouflaged design, introducing an intrusive 竹 *chu*, bamboo, "and the same with intent to deceive."



## MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

### LES NESTORIENS EN CHINE APRÈS 845

Nous connaissons aujourd'hui assez bien l'histoire des Nestoriens en Chine depuis 635 jusqu'à la persécution de 845, mais il faut arriver ensuite jusqu'aux Kin pour trouver à nouveau des chrétiens sur le sol chinois. Un texte de Li Tö-yu, non signalé jusqu'ici, nous fait connaître la présence à Tch'eng-tou d'un "moine de Ta-ts'in" (大秦僧 Ta-Ts'in seng), qui était bon oculiste, mais ceci nous laisse encore dans la première moitié du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Dans un bref article du *Bulletin* de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes chinoises de Bruxelles, j'ai montré qu'un texte de Ngeou-yang Sieou s'appliquait peut-être cependant à des Nestoriens qui auraient vécu à Canton dans la seconde moitié du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. En tout cas, deux textes me paraissent indiquer que le nom même des monastères nestoriens, à savoir Ta-Ts'in-sseu, "Temples du Ta-ts'in," survécut assez longtemps.

Du premier de ces textes, que je n'ai pas encore recherché autrement, je ne parle que par oui-dire : en décembre 1928, Mr. William Hung (洪業 Hong Ye) m'a dit que, dans une poésie de Sou Che (1036-1101), il est question du Ta-Ts'in-sseu de Tcheou-tche (Chànsi), où Sou Che aurait déjeuné. D'autre part, à la table du ch. 23 du 景德傳燈錄 *King-tō tch'ouan-teng lou*, compilé en 1006, on voit figurer, dans la lignée spirituelle du maître du *dhyāna* 志圓 Tche-yuan, "le maître du *dhyāna* 彥賓 Yen-pin du Ta-Ts'in-sseu de la capitale [= Singanfou]" (京兆大秦寺彥賓禪師).

Presque certainement dans le premier cas, et sûrement dans le second, il s'agit d'anciens monastères nestoriens qui avaient été transformés en monastères bouddhiques ; le bouddhisme refleurit en effet après cette persécution de 845 dont le nestorianisme chinois ne s'est pas relevé. Le cas pourrait ainsi être analogue à celui de cet ancien monastère chrétien

portant encore le nom en apparence caractéristique de 十字寺 Che-tseu-sseu, "Temple de la Croix," qu'on a retrouvé il y a quelques années au Fang-chan, mais qui, dès l'époque mongole, et tout en gardant son nom de "Temple de la Croix", était devenu ou redevenu un monastère bouddhique ; il y a toutefois quelque doute sur le sens et la date du nom de Che-tseu-sseu dans le cas du monastère du Fang-chan.

Je publie dès à présent ces indications provisoires, mais il faudra les reprendre plus en détail ; telles quelles, ce sont de premiers *addenda* à l'excellent livre de M. A. C. Moule, *Christians in China before the year 1550*.

115.

P. PELLION.

## THE NESTORIANS IN CHINA

## I. THE 十字寺 SHIH-TZU SSÜ AT FANG-SHAN

The very valuable and interesting note which precedes this, and of which Professor Pelliot has very kindly let me see the proofs, raises a rather curious question about the "Christian" monastery found by Mr. Harding and further examined by Sir R. Johnston in 1919 near Fang-shan. In his very carefully worded remarks about this monastery Professor Pelliot has made full and kind allowance for what he knew to be my views, or rather my doubts, on the subject. But even so his words ("this Christian Monastery which, in the Mongol dynasty and though it kept its name of 'Temple of the Cross', had become or become again a Buddhist monastery") will form the text for the following notes.

1. 十字 Shih-tzü "Cross" was a known designation of Christian monasteries in the Mongol dynasty.
2. There is as yet no positive evidence that the Fang-shan monastery was ever Christian.
3. The two stones carved with crosses and a brief Syriac inscription look as if they might together have formed the

pedestal of a stele or 碑 *pei*; they certainly were not parts of a 樟 *ch'uang*.

4. These stones were certainly not in their original positions when found, and they may have been imported from elsewhere. We actually read of the lamas in Mongolia using Christian gravestones carved with a cross for the repair of a monastery (*Revue des Missions en Chine et au Congo*, No. 26, Mars, 1891, p. 412).

5. The title *Shih-tzū ssū* was not "kept" by the monastery, but granted to it by the Emperor in 1365.

6. The title was granted when the monastery had been restored by the monk 淨善 Ching-shan in consequence of a vision which he had seen of a spirit who spoke ten words to him.

7. The words 十字 *shih tzū* may mean "the ten character", i.e. a Cross, or, quite as well, "ten characters."

8. The question then arises, was this monastery, which is certified as Buddhist in the tenth, fourteenth, and twentieth centuries, called by the Mongol Emperor "Temple of the Cross" or "Temple of the Ten Characters"?

9. Against the possibility that *shih tzū* may here mean "ten characters" rather than "cross" may be set the undoubted fact that two ancient stones carved with crosses were in the monastery in 1919, and the unimpressive and unrhythymical nature of the ten words spoken by the spirit.

In 1919 there were in the monastery two inscriptions which have both been published in *Le Bulletin Catholique de Pékin*, No. 118, facing pp. 220, 221. The first is dated A.D. 960 and records the restoration of the 崇聖院 *Ch'ung shēng yuàn*, mentioning the survival of a stone *ch'uang*. The second is dated 1365 and entitled 敕賜十字寺碑記 *Ch'ih tzū shih tzū ssū pei chi* "Record on a stele of the grant by order of (the title) *shih tzū ssū*". The text describes how the monk Ching-shan found the monastery in ruins, but saw there still "a stele and a *ch'uang*". "At dusk he sat rapt in meditation before the *ch'uang* when he saw opposite

him a spirit in a green robe, with a golden shield, blue kerchief, black shoes, a red face, and long beard, who spoke and said, 'If you please to dwell here I will guard you.' When he had finished speaking he disappeared, but (Ching-shan) saw again on the ancient *ch'uang* the *shih tzü* shining one above another. Joyfully rising from meditation he instantly made a verse : It was with reason that I came to wander on this hill. In my meditation I met a spirit who spoke. The *shih tzü* shedding brightness appeared. Great is the good fortune of this place. He respectfully uttered an oath and said, 'I will completely restore the convent.'"

The words roughly translated above are as follows :—

見有碑幢二座.....天色將暉臨幢獨  
坐晏然在定面覩一神綠服金鎧青巾皂  
履赤面長鬚厲聲而言和尙好住此山吾發  
當護持言畢遂隱復見古幢十字重重  
光欣然起坐偶成一偈特來遊此山  
定中遇神言十字發光現此地大有  
緣敬發誓言願成精藍

On p. 83 of my little book to which Professor Pelliot refers it is suggested that the hill Say-sou on which a cross was found is probably 西山 Hsi shan. I have since seen an article by Fr. G. Arnaiz in which he shows that V. Ricci in the seventeenth century wrote 獅山 (Shih shan). Shih shan is a hill just outside the middle south gate of Ch'üan-chou apparently. It still seems to be possible that Ricci made a mistake and that Hsi shan is right.

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## II. THE CHRISTIAN MONUMENT OF HSI-AN FU

In the fourth volume of 史學年報 *Shih hsiüeh nien pao* (*The History Annual*) Mr. W. Hung (洪業 Hung Yeh) discusses the evidence for the place where the famous Monument was found. Havret contended that the place was in

the district of 鱼庄 Chou-chih; Chinese authors say that it was at 長安 Ch'ang-an. It is flattering to find that Mr. Hung mentions my *Christians in China*, but when he says simply that I "follow Havret" (主夏 chu Hsia) he does bare justice to my words (p. 28), "This appears to be the most probable account of the place of the discovery according to the best evidence hitherto published, though, as will be seen below, it is now very seriously called in question"; or to the footnotes in which I say that Professor Pelliot "promises to show that the inscription was not found at Chou-chih but on the spot where it was set up in 1625", and give in considerable detail the evidence on either side. To this evidence Mr. Hung adds nothing important, except the discovery of that monastery of Ta-ch'in near Chou-chih which is mentioned by Professor Pelliot on p. 115 above. He makes a vigorous and lucid statement of the *prima facie* likelihood that the stone was found near the monastery where it was set up in 1625, outside the west gate of Hsi-an. Everything points to this conclusion, *except* the fact that the Jesuits, who must have known, say that it was found near Chou-chih. The repeated evidence of Trigault who was at Hsi-an, specifically charged to study the monument, in the very year 1625 is specially impressive. And if the stone was found at Hsi-an, who could ever have thought of suggesting that it was found at Chou-chih? Mr. Hung does not shirk this question, but his explanation will not easily be accepted. We now know, he argues, that there had been a Ta-ch'in monastery at Chou-chih. Some learned native of that place, seeing the title Ta-ch'in Monastery (大秦寺 Ta-ch'in ssü) on the monument at Hsi-an, where the name Ta-ch'in was quite forgotten, may have said, "This must have come from Chou-chih." Assuming that the name of the Ta-ch'in monastery was known at the end of the Ming dynasty—the notice of it in modern topographies seems to be purely antiquarian—is it likely that such a remark, if made, should have weighed against the contrary

evidence which would have been known to hundreds when Trigault was at Hsi-an? I think that the existence of a Ta-ch'in monastery on the 終南 Chung-nan mountains near Chou-chih would have impressed Havret very differently. The alternative guess, that the word which Trigault transcribed *cheuche* and took to be a place-name was intended by the speaker to be a common noun describing the nature of the situation, "foundation," "monastery," "suburb," or what not, is not dealt with by Mr. Hung.

My own feeling is that while probability is immensely in favour of Hsi-an, the evidence as it stands supports Chou-chih, and that Mr. Hung has not yet proved his point.

The most useful features of the article are the Chinese texts of the Chinese authors, especially those with reference to the Ta-ch'in monastery at Chou-chih, and a few corrections. The most important of the latter is the restoration of 錢謙益 Ch'ien Ch'ien-i (early seventeenth century) for 錢大昕 Ch'ien Ta-hsin (late eighteenth century) as the author of 景教考 *Ching chiao k'ao* (cf. *Var. Sin.*, 12, pp. 48, 66, 319, 394-6), which is included in 有學集 *Yu hsüeh chi*, c. 44, fol. 11-13. This work seems to have been written after the publication of the inscription by Leo Li and Paul Hsü, and was first printed in 1664.

For the Ta-ch'in monastery at Chou-chih which, as Professor Pelliot has said, is possibly a fresh example of a Christian monastery surviving in name at least into the eleventh century, Mr. Hung gives these references: *Chou chih hsien chih*, 1925, c. 2, fol. 37; *Su tung p'o shih chi*, 1913, c. 1, fol. 1-4, c. 23, fol. 4. [ed. *Ssü pu ts'ung k'an*, vol. 1, fol. 7r°, c. 1, fol. 1r°, 5r°, c. 5, fol. 5-8.]

The *Shih hsüeh nien pao* reached me through the kindness of Sir James Stewart Lockhart at the end of October, when Professor Pelliot's note was already in print.

## THE HISTORY OF REINDEER BREEDING

The Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture has, for almost a decade, undertaken the task of making a thorough investigation into Arctic culture. Within the Arctic region of culture it is perhaps chiefly reindeer breeding which attracts attention, consequently the Institute has considered it an object of importance to study this question. Moreover, it appears that reindeer breeding has not yet been investigated thoroughly enough to make a successful study of its origin possible; consequently, the Institute has undertaken to promote the printing of reliable material about the same. And although research has chiefly been concentrated on the Lapp reindeer breeding in Fennoscandia, it appears that already at the present stage of investigation it has been considered important to direct attention to the reindeer breeding of the Samoyed. The publication by the Institute of Dr. Lehtisalo's work: *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Rentierzucht bei den yuraksamojeden*, Oslo, 1932, 180 pages + 32 illustrations, is evidently a result of this plan.

Already in the *Journal de la Soc. Finno-Ougrienne*, 30 (1913), the well-known Lappologue, K. B. Wiklund, from Upsala, published a paper, "Frageschema für die erforschung des rentier-nomadismus," revised by experts, by the help of which it was hoped that new material might be collected concerning the question, even then momentous, about the origin of reindeer breeding. A number of years ago, Professor K. Nielsen, Oslo, in collaboration with Wiklund, drew up a detailed schedule of questions for the Norwegian Institute, which schedule contains over two hundred questions on the subject. The scheme of Lehtisalo's book is founded on this schedule—only issued in typed copies—and the same schedule was also used when some tundra Yurak material was noted down. In this connection we point out that the Russians have also begun to take interest in collecting notes on this subject. Professor P. A. Grüner has in *Trudy*

*Sibirskogo Veterinarnogo Instituta* viii, Omsk, 1927, published a comprehensive programme for the study of reindeer breeding, containing 260 questions.

The book treats of material about Yurak-Samoyed reindeer breeding collected by the author, partly on the spot in North Russia and Western Siberia. It is of special interest because the Samoyed are eastern neighbours of the Lapp and because the Yurak-Samoyed possessed the most extensive reindeer breeding among the Samoyed. Before the Great War they possessed at least 300,000 reindeer. Moreover, the reindeer breeding of the Samoyed is of special interest, because many authors have assumed that this, one of the chief among Arctic cultures, actually originated among the Samoyed.

The first part of the book, over fifty pages, consists of a comprehensive list of the Yurak reindeer breeding terminology. The list is made up not in an alphabetical order, but the words are grouped with a view to facts and objects. But thanks to the schedule of questions which was applied, the list has been made comprehensible. Although a most elaborate transcription has been applied, the use of the list is facilitated for the ethnographers by the fact that the words of reference appear in a less elaborate transcription. This way of facilitating the use of the words contained in the list for non-professionals is a circumstance worthy of note, as it often happens that people, not versed in phonetic transcription, are not able to decipher transcriptions if too elaborate.

The terminology of the book is of special importance, as by the help of the same one ought, by an intimate study thereof, to be able to find out, among other things, whether the Lapp and the Samoyed had any contact with each other during an earlier period in connection with reindeer breeding. In the absence of written documents it is perhaps only through the language that one can discover relics to explain the connection between the reindeer breeding of these tribes. A superficial survey of the list seems to prove that, in spite of

the geographical neighbourhood, no close points of contact seem to exist in this respect between the Lapp and the Samoyed. But as traces of a contact between the tribes almost always become manifest in the languages, in case the contact should have existed, it is probable that we cannot here imagine such a contact. It is not permissible to assume that, if the Lapp and the Samoyed lived in the neighbourhood of each other, the contact was of an altogether superficial character, as for instance with that of the Tungus, who during centuries lived in Siberia, practically isolated in the midst of other tribes, in such a manner that only rare traces of their contact could become manifest in their language or in their cultures. From the point of view of loan word investigation this example is moreover specially notable and instructive.

Earlier it has been pointed out that there is a resemblance between, for instance, *Yur. Sam. γυττū* "a kind of sledge", and some Finno-Ugrian words. These words I look upon as loan words from times far back. They seem to prove that references to reindeer breeding in the Finno-Ugrian and Samoyed languages seem to have a common ancestor as though they had been borrowed—perhaps a couple of thousand years ago—while in a primitive stage, by one of the group of tribes from the other. Meanwhile it is still too early to pronounce the opinion that loans from the Samoyed quarter were possible. In any case reindeer breeding has since developed independently, both among the Lapp and the Samoyed.

The second part—over a hundred pages—contains notes to the list of terminology. This part is of interest owing to the fact that the material is abundant and partly new, and, no doubt, reliable, as most of it was collected on the spot. A circumstance adding further interest to these notes—although they are only intended to be descriptive—is, that they have been augmented by a great deal of information, gained from Russian sources, though hard of access, owing to the events of recent years.

The interesting illustrations are to a great extent new and good. Among those we specially note number 12, the description on page 111 of a shed where the reindeer of the forest Yurak are kept during the worst gnat time, and where they are protected by the lighting of fires, which produce dense smoke. This custom was earlier observed in Siberia among the Ostyak near Beresov. I have also noticed similar sheds among the Yenisei-Ostyak and the Ostyak-Samoyed on the Tas. Meanwhile, this kind of protection can only be used when reindeer herds are not too great.

The book, like all the books of the Institute, is well produced, and both the Institute and the author are to be congratulated on its appearance. Through it we have made a great stride towards the unravelling of the question of the origin of reindeer breeding.

116.

KAI DONNER.

### ONE ASPECT OF STRESS IN URDŪ AND HINDĪ

The problem of stress in Urdū and Hindī sometimes seems insoluble. When an Indian, whose native language is Urdū or some dialect of Hindī, speaks English we feel that he stresses the wrong words of a sentence and the wrong syllables of words. He appears to us to say [ʌ'kadəmɪk] for ['ækə'demɪk]; ['bɪgənɪŋ] for [brɪ'gɪnɪŋ]; ['æsəsəsjeʃn] for [ə'sousɪ'reʃn]. But, apart from the mere shifting of stresses, the nature of the stress and his conception of it appear to be different from ours.

My impression is :—

- (i) That stress in the languages mentioned is not wholly unlike that of English, but
- (ii) that it is weaker, a stressed syllable closely resembling an unstressed one, and
- (iii) that stressed vowels differ very little from unstressed vowels.

The facts in (ii) and (iii) account for the difficulty which English speakers have in hearing the stress. We have all our lives been accustomed to strong stress associated with special forms of vowels. Our dictionaries mark it. Speakers of Urdu and Hindi, on the other hand, are used to weak stress and give little or no thought to it ; none of their dictionaries mark it. Consequently they are not in the habit of recognizing it, and I feel sure that when questioned they often make wrong statements about it.

Thus I have sometimes been told by them that words like *mähäknä*, *bhäräknä*, *mähäk*, *bhäräk*, have the stress on the second syllable, whereas I am convinced that it is on the first. They say, too, sometimes that *bähä*, flowed, and *bänä*, was made, have the same stress as *bähä*, having caused to flow, and *bänä*, having caused to make. I feel that the former are ['baha, 'bana], and the latter [ba'ha, ba'na]. Is there any proof either way ? (It is necessary to add that Indians differ from one another in their judgment on these stresses ; there is plenty of support for my view.)

The effect of *h* on short vowels in Urdu furnishes, if not a proof, at least a strong argument. I have frequently stated that stressed *äh* followed by a consonant or *e* or *ɛ* is pronounced [æh], while unstressed *äh* is [ah] or [əh].

(1) Let us take *mahaknä* and *mahak*. According to the rule just given, the first vowel will be [æ] if the stress is on the first syllable and [ʌ] if it is on the second. Similarly *bahlnä*, *tahlnä*, will begin with bæ and tæ or bʌ and tʌ, according to whether the stress is on the first or second syllable. Now, in all these words the first vowel is [æ] not [ʌ] ; it follows therefore that the stress is on the first syllable.

(2) Again, the first vowel of the combination *ähā* in Urdu is [a] when the stress is on the first syllable and [ʌ] or even [ə] when the second syllable is stressed. Let us take the two words written *bähä* ; we find [baha], flowed, and [bʌha], having caused to flow. By the rule stated the stress of the former is on the first syllable, and of the latter on the second.

(3) Two other words, both written *mahallō*. In Psalms xlvi. 3, occurs the phrase (*shahr*) *ke mahallō mē*, which means either "in the palaces of the city" or "in the various sections of the city". To get the first meaning we must pronounce [mæhlō], to get the second [mahallō]; this implies that in the former the stress is on the first syllable, in the latter on the second. The singular of the first word is *mahall*, the correct pronunciation of which is [mæhl] or ['mæhəl]; a few people incorrectly say [ma'həl] or [mhal].

(4) One more example. *bahar sahar* is pronounced [ba'hər 'səher].

We may say to ourselves: "Perhaps stress is not connected with the two pronunciations of *ah*. Is it not possible that *bahar sahar* is pronounced ['bahar sə'her], and not [ba'hər 'səher]?" It may be possible, but I am sure it is not the case. At any rate no explanation dissociating the two pronunciations from stress has ever been given.

An interesting corroboration is furnished by Panjabi. In that language we get the low rising tone when *h* precedes, and the high falling tone when it follows, a stressed vowel. For *bahar sahar* a Panjabi would say [ba'ər sə'r], showing that he feels the stress as I have stated it. The same holds of the other examples given.

We may perhaps be permitted to conclude that in a matter like this the evidence of trained English ears can be trusted to a very considerable extent.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

AN-NASÍ' (KORAN 9, 37) IN DER ISLAMISCHEN TRADITION.

By AXEL MOBERG. 10 × 6½, pp. 54. Lund : C. W. K. Gleerup ; Leipzig : Harrassowitz, 1931.

On the title page is the quotation "Muslim scholars did not understand intercalation". The pamphlet is an elaborate proof of this statement by Wellhausen. Tabari's commentary gives eleven traditions about this word, explaining it to mean "postponement" or "transference of holiness", though a connection with the root "to forget" is suggested. A careful study of some of these traditions shows that some system of intercalation lies behind the surface. The same result is reached by a study of the various forms of the proclamation made at the festival concerning the "holiness" of Muharram. Al-Birúni, following Abú Ma'shar Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Balkhi (died 272–885), and Fakhr ud Dín ar-Rázi are the only scholars who understood the meaning of intercalation, and their views were not accepted.

The author points out that the text of some of the traditions in Tabari is in disorder. He seems to have missed one case of this. He translates: "three : Abú Thumáma Ṣafwán b. Umayya, one of the Banú Fuqaim b. al-Háirth, further one of the Banú Kinána." "Further" usually introduces a second tribal name of a person already named. Al-Birúni says that Abú Thumáma (he calls him Junáda) belonged to Fuqaim b. 'adí, a sub-tribe of Kinána. So it is highly probable that something has fallen out of the tradition and though three men are spoken of only one is named.

The conclusion reached is that it is impossible to know what meaning Muḥammad attached to *an-nasí'*, it may have been intercalation or intercalary month. The words "to make good the number of months" are equally hard to interpret.

*Nasí'* is said to mean "added", especially "milk to which

water has been added", while *nasú'* means "a pregnant woman", forming a striking parallel to the Hebrew *'ibbúr* which means both "intercalation" and "pregnancy". Then some traditions make out *nasi'* to be a man; this has been connected with *nási'* who was head of the committee of the Sanhedrin which fixed the intercalation.

*Qalammas* (v.l. *qalanbas*) also appears as the name or title of the man who announced the intercalation. It has been proposed to derive this from *calendas*.

A later age forgot the word *nasi'* and borrowed the Aramaic *kabisa*.

434.

A. S. TRITTON.

STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER ÄLTEREN ARABISCHEN FÜRSTENSPIEGEL. By G. RICHTER. 9 × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ , pp. viii + 115. Leipzig : Heinrichs, 1932. RM. 12.

The problem tackled in this pamphlet is a purely literary one, the origin of the Arabic Mirror for Magistrates; the subject matter and philosophical basis are mentioned only incidentally. The matter appears first as part of the general matter of ethics and gradually separates itself to appear in independent books. Ibnu 'l-Muqaffa' is the first writer to treat this matter, but it has not yet become separate. In his *adab al-kabir* it is still part of ethics and in *Kalila wa Dimna* it is combined with a story. Ibnu Qutaiba wrote a Mirror which is presumably more or less the same as the first book of his *'Uyín al-Akhbár*. Curiously Dr. Richter does not mention the third book. The *Kitáb al-Táj*, whether by al-Jáhíz or not, is definitely a Mirror though it does not depend directly on Ibnu Qutaiba. Ibnu 'Abd Rabbihi included two chapters on this matter in the *Iqd al-Farid*, and in these sections, at least, he does not plagiarize from Ibnu Qutaiba though they have some material in common. Other works of the same nature are those entitled *Al-mahásin wal masáwi*

in which the title originally meant good and bad traits of character. Another branch of this literature is best exemplified by the letter of Táhir ibnu 'l-Husain on the Art of Government. Among later writers Ghazzáli composed a Mirror wherein the prince approximates to a Sufi.

In the early stages there is very little Greek influence ; a few tales about Alexander, both the king and the Muslim saint, point morals. Naturally Iranian influence is strong. The Arabic writers used a history book, the lives of the kings, probably the *Khudaynámah* which Ibnu 'l-Muqaffa' translated, also a book very like the Arab *adab* books, which may have been called the *Ayínnámah*, and a Book of the Crown. The Arabic Mirror followed the lines laid down by the Iranian though it was enriched by examples from Muslim history and brought into line with religion.

Dr. Richter argues that Ibnu 'l-Muqaffa', as a former Manichee, had an agnostic purpose in writing. Burzoe's introduction to *Kalila wa Dimna* is his work and is opposed to Islam by its insistence on the difficulty of finding the true religion. The story of Dimna's trial is amoral for all the emphasis is laid on his successful defence while his punishment is barely mentioned, hinting that moral law does not exist. Dr. Richter ignores the fact that Ibnu 'l-Muqaffa' was translating the books that lay nearest to him, those in his mother tongue. One idea bore no fruit. Ibnu 'l-Muqaffa' insists on the importance of the prince having faithful friends. Friendship fills *Kalila wa Dimna*. Dr. Richter finds here a reflexion of the band of Zindiq poets who filled the good people of Basra with shocked wonder, an association that was followed later by the Brethren of Purity, and, one might add, by all the secret societies that made the Muslim world ferment. But this was not to be ; the prince became an autocrat surrounded by slaves.

One would suggest that Bishr ibnu 'l-Mu'tamid, who translated *Kalila wa Dimna* into verse, was ibnu 'l-Mu'tamir, the theologian and poet.

This is a very useful piece of work ; one regrets that the first few pages are written in the worst German style, involved and pretentious.

600.

A. S. TRITTON.

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THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAM. By Rev. E. J. BOLUS.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 199. London : Lincoln Williams, 1932. 10s. 6d. net.

The author of this book seems to have had two objects in mind, first, to show that Muhammad was a very inferior prophet, and second, to show up the defects of Islam. In the same book he judges the prophet by an absolute standard and the religion that bears his name by a relative, historical standard. There may be a place for a criticism of Muhammad showing how impossible it is for a Christian to accept him as a prophet, but that should be kept separate from a historical study of the religion he founded. It is quite easy to condemn a religion, to pillory the nations of Europe for their jealousy and fear of each other, for the tariff walls that divide Christian brothers, the vices that are rife, the ostentatious luxury that is content to exist side by side with poverty, and the incompatible promises made by England about Syria to the French and the Arabs. If any Muslim troubles to read this book it will provoke a rejoinder like those called forth by *Mother India*. It is a pity to have to use strong language, for much in the book is true, much that ought to be said, but it is to be feared that it is said in the wrong way, so that it will produce only anger and not searchings of heart. In places the use of slang jars.

To point out a few mistakes. It is an unwarranted inference to say that the man who recited the *sûra* of the Cow was killed by the prophet, the text says that he was killed by God (p. 12). A Christian is not an infidel and many Muslims married Christian women (p. 43). It is true that a non-Muslim cannot inherit from a Muslim (p. 128), but also a Muslim cannot inherit from a non-Muslim. The restrictions placed

on the Zoroastrians in Persia were similar to those suffered by *dhimmis* in other Muslim lands. The idea that *Mihrab* comes from the same root as the word for war is absurd (p. 158). The author has evidently not heard Wellhausen's remark, "Muslims swear by everything except the beard of the prophet."

This book will only annoy a Muslim and is not accurate enough for a Christian.

643.

A. S. TRITTON.

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IMPERIAL FARMANS. By K. M. JHAVERI. Girgaum Post,  
Bombay 4.

Few names are better known in Bombay and Gujarat than that of Mr. Jhaveri. For long judge of the Small Cause Court, he has officiated on the High Court Bench. His name, however, will probably be longer remembered as the learned author of that admirable work *Milestones of Gujarati Literature*.

The book before us, *Imperial Farmans*, is a collection of the grants bestowed on the descendants of Vithaleshwara, the famous son of the still more renowned Shri Wallabhacharya. The originals were written in Persian, but Mr. Jhaveri has given us translations in Gujarati and English.

Shri Wallabhacharya, the founder of the Vaishnava religion, left two sons, Shri Gopinatha and Vithaleshwara. The elder brother and his son Purshottama died while Vithaleshwara was still in his twenties; these deaths left Vithaleshwara his father's recognized representative and he began the life of an itinerant preacher. His father came from Charanata, near Allahabad, but in his old age he settled at Adel. Vithaleshwara left Adel and paid a series of visits to Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Dwarka and spread everywhere the doctrines of Vaishnavism.

Vithaleshwara took up a more permanent residence at Gada, believed to be the site of the modern Jubbulpore. There

he met a Brahman called Brahmadasa, to whom Vithaleshwara gave his blessing and a waistcoat. One or other or perhaps both gifts brought the recipient good fortune. Brahmadasa went to Delhi, won the favour of the emperor Akbar, and passed into legend as the wise and witty Raja Birbal.

Gadha was then a small independent state ; but it was conquered by the imperial general Asaf Khan. Its queen Durgawati, who had befriended Vithaleshwara, lost her life in its defence. Vithaleshwara, sorrowing at the death of his benefactress, migrated to Prayag (Allahabad) and afterwards to Gokula. Here he settled. Thence Akbar invited him to elucidate the nature of the Supreme Being. This difficult task he performed so successfully that the emperor granted to him the villages of Gokula and Jatipura.

Vithaleshwara was twice married, and although he led the simple life of an anchorite, he could defend himself when imposed upon. Certain Bengali Vaishnavas were detected in the practice of stealing the gifts made by rich Gujaratis to the Gosamis of Brindawan. With the help of Raja Birbal he expelled them from the shrine there and burnt their huts over their heads.

Shri Vithaleshwara's greatest literary work was the Vidhanmandana ; but he also wrote the Sadhan Deepaka and collected the texts of Wallabhbacharya's works. Lastly, he was an excellent musician and wrote a number of religious songs, still in use in Vaishnava temples. Of these the *Mangal*, *Mangal* is sung daily at dawn. Vithaleshwara lived to over seventy, when he died of fever, leaving a large family, who faithfully carried on his tradition of holiness and good works. To-day his chief descendant is the Tikayat Maharaj of Nathdwara in Mewar.

Here we must say good-bye to Mr. Jhaveri, congratulating him on a book full of interest and scholarly learning.

THE PHONETICS OF JAPANESE LANGUAGE WITH REFERENCE TO JAPANESE SCRIPT. By P. M. SUSKI. Cap. 8vo, pp. 122. The Science Society, Los Angeles, U.S.A. London Agents : Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trubner, Trench & Co.

Although this modest little volume has for primary purpose the study of Japanese phonetics, it contains in addition in a compendious and convenient form a certain amount of general information regarding the ideographs which should be of interest and value to the student starting the study of Japanese. This is particularly the case with the first seven chapters, in which the author discusses, among other things, the double function which the ideograph originally filled, first as an ordinary word with a specific meaning and secondly, and simultaneously, as a phonetic pure and simple. How cumbrous and unsatisfactory an instrument it proved in the latter capacity the reader can judge for himself from the few examples given on page 44 ; nevertheless it continued to be so used until the commencement of the ninth century, when the famous Japanese scholar Kobo Daishi, or Kukai, as he is frequently called, devised a substitute in the shape of the *Hiragana* syllabary, which is composed of ideographs written practically in a form of shorthand. From this again was derived later the still simpler *Katakana*. To these two syllabaries and to the *Romaji* the author devotes three useful and interesting chapters. The *Romaji*, or method of transliterating Japanese words into Roman characters, was introduced into Japan in the early seventies of last century by Dr. Hepburn, an American missionary, and what is called the "Hepburn system" is still in general use. But, notwithstanding its simplicity and the commonsense principles on which it is based, it has never become the official standard, with the result that ever since its introduction it has had to contend for popular favour with a multitude of rival forms of transliteration, most of them pedantic and some fantastic as well.

The discussion of phonetic problems starts with the tenth

chapter, and this and the succeeding sections of the book are devoted almost entirely to such questions as the pronunciation of Japanese vowels and consonants, accents and stresses, and difficulties of Japanese orthography. The author's explanations are full and very painstaking; but he can hardly be said to add much new information of material importance to that already at the disposal of the student in the works of Chamberlain (cf. cap. 2 of the Handbook of Colloquial Japanese), Lange (cf. the introductory chapter in the Textbook of Colloquial Japanese), or other scholars. Briefly stated, Japanese vowels are sounded as in Italian, consonants approximately as in English, tonic accent hardly exists, and rhetorical accent is slight.

The book is well and clearly printed, with the possible exception of the *Hentaigana* on pp. 46, 47, and 48, which might with advantage have been in slightly larger type; but it contains many errata, and the author would have been well advised to ask some English or American friend to revise his manuscript before it went to the printer.

617.

H. PARLETT.

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HOBOGIRIN : DICTIONNAIRE ENCYCLOPÉDIQUE DU BOUDHISME D'APRÈS LES SOURCES CHINOISES ET JAPONAISES.

Fascicule Annexe : Tables du TAISHO ISSAIKYO. 4to, pp. 202. Tokyo : Maison Franco-Japonaise, 1931.

The first two numbers of this important work, edited by Messrs. S. Lévi, J. Takakusu, and P. Demiéville, appeared in 1929 and 1930 respectively. The articles, arranged in European alphabetical order, have temporarily been interrupted at "Bussokuseki", i.e. stone bearing the Buddha-footprint, for the issue of a number containing these "Tables". This publication was from the beginning according to plan; save that it was to have followed next after the first, not the second fascicule. The Taisho Issaikyo, or Buddhist Canon of the Taisho era, was published at Tokyo between 1924 and 1929,

under the direction of Messrs. Takakusu and K. Watanabe, an edition amounting to some 55,000 pages. And these "Tables" are intended to be a guide to those consulting the articles of the Hobogirin. They are five in number, and are entitled : Works in the Taisho Issaikyo in numerical order ; authors (this would seem to involve some bold guessing) and translators (Chinese and Japanese) ; the Chinese "initial characters" of both of these and of the works ; Sanskrit and Pali titles, and chronological tables referring to China and Japan. A misplacement of columns mars the fourth table.

The work is mainly in Japanese, in both native and roman letter ; general expositions are in French. The compilation of the Tables is the work of MM. Hasuzawa and Akamatsu, and of Mlle. Hayashi. To Far-Eastern students consulting the Hobogirin articles they are doubtless a desideratum.

560.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

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ATLANTIS UND DER LIBI-ÄTHIOPISCHE KULTURKREIS. Von  
Dr. JOSEPH KARST, Professor an der Universität  
Strassburg.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. v + 115. Heidelberg : Carl  
Winter, 1931. Mk. 5.60.

Most people think of the Atlantis as having been a large island situated in the Atlantic ocean, and now often regarded as being "lost", though the best authorities regard this island as being altogether legendary. As the author of this work shows, the descriptions place Atlantis in many districts, extending from the Mediterranean coastlands as far east as India. The author tells us—and he is undoubtedly right in making this statement—that there was both an eastern and a western Atlantis, hence its wide extent. In support of this, he points out that the Numidian-Mauretanian district of northern Africa was at one time regarded as an island. This naturally shows that at the time when the legend of the Atlantis prevailed, navigators had not been able to explore

the seas in the immediate neighbourhood of the classic East, and that those who had gone far enough to be able to form an opinion were either not able to make their views known to the learned world of their time, or, if they had communicated their discoveries, they were not believed. Fact and romance—perhaps also invention—are responsible for the wild theories which have given rise to so much controversy.

It is difficult to examine and test all the arguments brought forward by Dr. Karst to prove his point, the amount of material and the number of the references being too great. In the chapter headed Panchaia, however, he refers to the identification of this "euhemerous island" by H. Brunnhofer with Bengal, to the division of the Panchaians into three castes—priests and artisans, agriculturalists, warriors and shepherds. In opposition to this far-Asian identification comes that which identifies it with Arabia Felix, the "incense"-land, and the land of the phœnix, who carried her nest to the city of the sun in Panachaia. The proofs of this identification are numerous. It was simply owing to the identification of this tract with Arabia Felix that it came to include the Indo-Persian tract and the intervening lands. This included the Persian Gulf, and also, therefore, the Babylonian district, with its Heliopolis, Sippar of the sun-god—Larsa, it may be noted, was also a centre of solar worship. This city played a special part as a centre of worship as prototype and original of the city of the phœnix. In the word given for "incense", *λίβανος*, he sees the Hebrew *lebōnah* and the Assyro-Babylonian *lubanu*. This he indicates as a folk-etymology based upon the Erythrean-Asiatic Libya.

Among the linguistic comparisons is the Galla-Kushite *workē*, *worki*, "gold," from an older *woski*—Sumerian *guski(n)*—I have found the nearer form *kusku*, without the final *n*—Armenian *oski*, *uoski*, "gold," = Finnish *vaski*, "copper," "brass." Arian Indian influence in Mesopotamia-Syria as well as in Egypt made itself felt. God Assur = Sanscrit Arian Asura, wherewith the Egyptian sun-god Osiris

(Sans. *surya*, "sun") is connected—(also) Ind. Kaçyapa = Canaanitish Cassiopea. It is to be noted, however, that Merodach was also a sun-god, and bore also the name of Asari. The name of the Assyrian god Aššur seems rather to have been connected with that of Anšar, "the host of heaven," though later identified with Merodach.

But he finds many linguistic affinities, and brings forward many interesting comparisons. He is of opinion that the Egyptian land of incense and myrrh cannot be the Syro-Phoenician tract, but is *Fun-w* in the land of Punt, the writing of which suggests a folk-etymology for *P'nhw*, which, properly vocalized, points to the southern Puntish tract as Panchaia. The confirmatory comparisons in the place-names in the district of the Persian Gulf are numerous.

The third chapter is an excursus concerning the nearer Asiatic centre of peoples and civilization, but the author also extends his investigations into the African nations. This chapter concludes the first section of the book. The second section deals with the general grammatical relationship between the Libyan languages and the proto-Alarodian, and the lexical relationship between certain Libyan languages and Armenian. In an appendix he speaks of the Liby-Ethiopians and Hyperboreans (Paleo-Asiatics, Ural-Altaians) in their linguistic and ethnographic connections. A register of authors, an ethnological index, and an index of words close the monograph.

I have not been able to deal with this important book as I should have liked, but it is a work to be read rather than described. It is written as a supplement to the author's previous work, *Origines Mediterraneae : Die vorgeschichtliche Mittelmeervölker*, Heidelberg, 1931. The two together seem to settle the much-discussed Atlantis-question.

THE BABYLONIAN LEGENDS OF THE CREATION AND THE FIGHT BETWEEN BEL AND THE DRAGON. As told by Assyrian Tablets from Nineveh. With twenty-six illustrations.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ , pp. 75. Printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum, 1931.

From a note by Mr. Sidney Smith, M.A., Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, we are told that this is a new edition of the brochure written by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, and published in 1921. It has been revised, and new texts utilized in the translation. The proofs have been read by Mr. C. J. Gadd and Mr. A. W. Shorter.

It is needless to say that the author and the revisers of this little work have done their best to make it interesting. There is a good account of the discoveries of the late George Smith, who did so much to bring the literature of the Assyrian scribes to the notice of the public of his day, and who made a great and well-deserved reputation by the publication of his *Chaldean Genesis* and *Assyrian Discoveries*, to say nothing of his *History of Assurbanipal* and *History of Sennacherib*. The material which he had to work upon was comparatively meagre, but notwithstanding this disadvantage his work was wonderfully good, and is worthy of notice even now.

In the present work considerable space is given to the work of Nicholas of Damascus, who showed the beliefs of the Babylonians with regard to the first great causes and how they were to be understood—the Babylonians denied the one principle of the universe, and constituted two, Tauthé and Apason, and with them was Moumis, their only-begotten son, whom Damascius conceived to be “the intelligible world” proceeding from the two principles. He then goes on to describe the other deities produced by these first rude beginnings, ending with Merodach, the creator of man.

All these details are reproduced in the very noteworthy series known as “The Seven Tablets of Creation”, translated

so successfully and explained so interestingly by Prof. Stephen Langdon in his *Babylonian Epic of Creation*.

The monograph is also interesting from the pictorial point of view. In it the reader finds reproductions of Babylonian gods, monsters, and demons, including Assur-naṣir-pal's spirited relief showing the expulsion of a winged dragon, typifying evil, from a temple—apparently that of En-urta at Calah. The sungod-stone from Sippar, and the mythological signs from the fine boundary-stone of Ritti-Marduk—both found by the late Hormuzd Rassam—are especially good specimens of Babylonian art, which is also illustrated by photographs of impressions of cylinder-seals, the relief from the black stone of Esarhaddon, and the steatite vase-fragment from Ur, with its stellar symbols. There are also reproductions of several of the seven tablets of the Creation—that detailing the fight between Bel and the Dragon, but the bilingual story of the Creation is also worthy of special notice, notwithstanding that it is merely the introduction to an incantation. There is in addition a good sketch-map showing the positions of all the important sites of Babylonian cities which have been excavated—sites recalling, to those who know, many glorious discoveries.

Another point worth noting is the introduction of words and names in the cuneiform character, thus giving the reader an idea of what the study of the Akkadian language is like. This may arouse his curiosity, but it ought at the same time to warn him of the amount of work which the study entails. (The list of publications on the fly-leaf—p. 77—will give him a faint idea of the cost.) Of special interest is the tablet in cuneiform characters on p. 75 giving the names of the months and the signs of the Zodiac associated therewith. From these names many of those which we use to-day are derived. A few words may be said about the name of the last sign of all: “the star Venus and the Band of Fishes.” Somehow, when I copied this tablet, I read the name of the second component differently, and this double constellation seemed to

me to be "*Iku* (the water-channel) and the Tails", the last group being ,<sup>1</sup> *zibbāti*, "tails." This reading was apparently confirmed by other tablets, where, in the greatly shortened forms which the Babylonian astronomers used, it appears as , *zib*, or with a plural-sign, , *zib me*. On the other hand, one astronomical tablet at least gives the word for "fish", but written phonetically: , *munu*.

There are probably but few museums which publish for their visitors more interesting monographs than this.

590.

T. G. PINCHES.

PENTATEUCH WITH TARGUM ONKELOS, RASHI'S COMMENTARY, HAPHTAROTH, AND PRAYERS FOR SABBATH. Translated into English and annotated by Rev. M. ROSENBAUM and Dr. A. M. SILBERMANN. "Leviticus." 8½ × 6, pp. vi + 412 + 64. London : Shapiro, Vallentine and Co., 1932. 8s. 6d.

Of all the five books of the Pentateuch none bristles with greater difficulties than the third, Leviticus. In modern times it has been called the Priestly Code, since it contains all the prescriptions for the sacrifices. It also includes the Law of Holiness, so called because of many injunctions of an ethical character. The ritual of the Temple rests upon the former, and the development of the civil and criminal code starts from the interpretation and application to life of the latter. The oldest Midrash which belonged to the earliest period of the Rabbinic interpretation of this book shows how these legal prescriptions have been developed in the course of centuries. That development has continued through the Talmudic period and ever since.

Rashi is printed with an English translation and sums up this very development succinctly and lucidly as usual, but it is an extremely difficult task to render his meaning adequately

<sup>1</sup> See the tablet 8 +, 1938.

in however exact a translation, since he presupposes a real knowledge of the old literature, especially of the Sifra.

The authors of this translation have acted most wisely in adding an appendix of 73 pages of explanatory notes, which now render the commentary of Rashi more accessible and intelligible to those who are not versed in the Rabbinic literature. One need scarcely add that these notes greatly increase the value of the publication, high already as it stands, and one can only express the hope that the Editors will not relax their efforts now that the most difficult part of the work has been accomplished, and that they will bring the work to completion. Their book is a boon to scholars and to those who are anxious to learn at first hand Rashi's invaluable commentary.

616.

M. GASTER.

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THE PROBLEM OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER, 1890-1908,  
WITH A SURVEY OF POLICY SINCE 1849. By C. COLLIN  
DAVIES, Ph.D. (Cantab.), late Captain 2/1st K.G.O.  
Gurkha Rifles, Lecturer in Indian History, School of  
Oriental Studies, University of London. pp. xii + 220.  
Cambridge University Press, 1932.

This book does not directly deal with the Indian Government's frontier problems of to-day, but is a strictly historical account of the development of frontier policy in the past. Although, however, the history stops short at the year 1908, the picture which it presents is one that cannot fail to be of much value to the practical present-day administrator as well as to the historian of past events. Dr. Collin Davies has had to deal with a very complicated tale, but he has managed to set out his facts with a degree of clearness which the varying and inconsequential character of his data would scarcely lead one to expect. For the most part his story is a narrative of facts and of the opinions of others, and he is chary of advancing theories of his own. The only point on which he lays much stress is his conviction that more of the trouble in the past has

been due to incitement from Kābul than is generally supposed. He has studied practically all the documents available to the public on his subject and some that are not yet available; and he has supplemented his book with an admirable bibliography of the literature dealing with the Frontier.

642.

ANON.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA (SOUTHERN RECENSION). Critically edited by P. P. S. ŚASTRI, B.A. (Oxon), M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras. Vol. III : Sabhā Parvan. Madras : Published by V. R. Sastrulu and Sons.

This is the third instalment of the work of which the first two instalments have been already described by me in previous issues of this JOURNAL. It is a more bulky volume than either of its predecessors, the actual text covering over 660 pages, in addition to which the introduction and concordance comprise nearly fifty pages.

The Sabhā Parvan text according to the southern recension is very nearly twice as long as it is in the northern recension, the total number of ślokas being over 4,500. The text is based on a palm-leaf manuscript in the Telugu script, which is in private hands, but five other palm-leaf manuscripts, all with one exception in private hands, have been utilized for additional readings. Four of these are in the Grantha script and the work of comparing them all and of re-writing the whole text in the Devanagari script must have been very considerable. Besides the actual text of the Sabhā Parvan the editor has printed the commentary of the Laksālaṅkāra of Vādirāja, which is perhaps one of the earliest dated commentaries on the Mahābhārata. The text has been beautifully printed and the production continues to reflect credit on the care and industry of the editor and also on the printers. As was said before, the volumes represent extraordinarily good value for the price fixed.

603.

R. P. DEWHURST.

REALLEXIKON DER ASSYRIOLOGIE. Vol. I. Edited by E. EBELING and BRUNO MEISSNER.  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7$ , pp. xii + 483 in 6 pts, pls. 59. Berlin and Leipzig: W. de Gruyter & Co., 1928-32. Mks. 48.

The sixth and concluding part of the first volume of the new *Assyriological Encyclopaedia*, edited by Ebeling and Meissner, has just appeared, bringing the work down to the middle of the letter B. It is a work which will be not merely useful but indispensable to the library of the Assyriologist, including, as it does, not only the proper names, personal, geographical, and theological, found in the Assyro-Babylonian texts, but also such subjects as architecture and officialdom. The names of the editors are a guarantee of the qualifications of the contributors and of the completeness and meticulous accuracy of the work itself. Unfortunately we shall have to wait some years before the work can be brought to an end, which will necessitate the addition of at least one supplementary volume recording the discoveries which every year is now bringing us in the Assyriological field.

587.

A. H. SAYCE.

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CATALOGUE OF SUMERIAN TABLETS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY. By T. FISH.  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. 14 + 160, Facsl., pls. 48. Manchester: University Press, 1932.

The title Dr. Fish has given to his work is far too modest. His book is very much more than a catalogue. It is a valuable addition to the library of the Sumerologist, and like the articles he has already written on the same subject will receive, in the words of Dr. Guppy, "an appreciative welcome by scholars."

The John Rylands Library at Manchester contains a large collection of early Babylonian tablets of a commercial or similar character. Most of them come from Drehem and Umma, but there are a few which Dr. Fish would assign to Lagas and Nippur, possibly also to Akkad. These latter

belong for the most part to the third dynasty of Ur, like the larger portion of the tablets from Drehem and Umma, but there are five and perhaps six which contain a reference to Akkad as well as a few which are pre-Sargonic. Dr. Fish notes that a characteristic of the early texts is that they are dated by the number of the year followed by the month and day and not by an event as in the tablets of the third dynasty of Ur, where, moreover, the order is day, month, and year.

Copies are given of the pre-Sargonic, Akkad, Ur dynasty III, Lagas, and Nippur tablets, but "of the tablets from Drehem and Umma the great majority are given in transcription only". The transcriptions will be very serviceable to the student of Sumerian, while the exhaustive indices of the proper names, theological, personal and geographical, are a boon to all Assyriological scholars.

Dr. Fish has added to his work transcriptions ("according to the new method") of fifty tablets from Umma published by Mr. Bedale in 1915. He has also discovered in the collection a number of tablets which belong to the reign of Khammurabi and are likely to prove specially interesting. Their publication is promised before long.

604.

A. H. SAYCE.

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THE ANNUAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL  
RESEARCH, Vol. XI for 1929-30.  $10 \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. x + 170,  
pls. 42, plans 4. Newhaven : Yale University Press.  
London : Oxford University Press, 1931. Price 26s. 6d.

The volume begins with a report by Professor Fisher and Dr. McCown of the excavations at Jerash during the season of 1930, which continued the work of the previous two years. This had brought to light twelve churches, a synagogue, and various chapels and baptistries. Several private houses were cleared and a good many small objects and a few inscriptions were discovered.

The last paper in the volume is a report by Professor Fisher

in the form of a diary of further excavations in 1931. The excavators were rewarded by the discovery of a small temple and mosaic floors as well as a good deal of pottery. A large number of coins have been found during the two campaigns beginning with the Seleucid period and coming down to Mohammedan times.

The volume also contains a short paper by Mr. Taylor on a "New Syriac fragment dealing with incidents in the second Crusade". But its outstanding feature is a long and valuable article by Mr. Kramer on the "Verb in the Kirkuk tablets". The various forms of the verb are exhaustively recorded, co-ordinated, and explained with an introductory examination of their phonetic and grammatical characteristics and phonetic relation to Babylonian on the one side and Old, Middle, and Late Assyrian on the other. One of the points brought out by the examination is the regularity in the use of the vowels as compared with that of the consonants. Another point is that there is no "middle stem with the *t*-element" to which either a reflexive or a passive signification can be attached.

Not the least valuable part of Mr. Kramer's article are the footnotes. One of them (217) dealing with the meaning of certain Gutian words employed in the texts will be of interest to the comparative philologist.

The volume is abundantly illustrated with plans, textual illustrations, and photographs, each and all of a first-class character.

607.

A. H. SAYCE.

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A SCHEME OF EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY. By DUNCAN MACNAUGHTON. London : Luzac & Co., 1932. 25s.

Mr. Macnaughton has given us an interesting book. Whether or not we agree with his conclusions he has placed all the facts before us in a clear and intelligible form. Egyptian chronology has been a disputed matter ever since the days of the Greeks

and Romans, and no two leading authorities upon it are to be found in agreement. Even the authority is found to change his opinion ; this has been the case, for instance, with the two chief representatives of what are known as the short and the long chronologies, Professor E. Meyer and Sir Flinders Petrie. Mr. Macnaughton himself is another example. In view of this, the ordinary student is inclined to infer that the problem is at present insoluble.

Nevertheless, there are several lines of evidence for approaching it. There are, firstly, the historical monuments which still exist as well as the lists of kings and dynasties which have come down to us. Then we have the archaeological evidence derived from excavation, together with the political, religious, and social changes which modern research has brought to light. Lastly comes the astronomical evidence as well as the points of contact between the history of Egypt and that of other countries. These last would be of special value if the evidence and its interpretation were sufficiently clear and indisputable. Unfortunately this is not the case so far as the astronomical data are concerned, and most of the historical points of contact belong to periods about which there is now little or no dispute.

Mr. Macnaughton is an astronomer as well as a chronologist, and a considerable portion of his volume is occupied with an examination of the astronomical evidence. He has subjected to a thorough re-examination the famous dating in the Kahun papyri, or, rather, the interpretation of it, upon which the so-called "Short Chronology" has been mainly based, and has little difficulty in showing its untenability. In fact, as was remarked to me many years ago by the astronomer, Mr. Bosanquet, when we were working together upon the Babylonian Venus-tablet : "You cannot expect to find in ancient Oriental documents those exact astronomical details which are necessary for settling a chronological problem where you do not already know the approximate date of the observations ; a very slight

astronomical variation might mean a difference of several centuries chronologically."

As for the synchronisms between Egyptian and foreign history there is unfortunately little to record before the age of the eighteenth dynasty. Our monumental knowledge of Egyptian history is mostly derived from tombs and temples where the inscriptions are more likely to relate to religious than to civil matters, and the single chronological document, the Turin Papyrus, that has survived to us is now in fragments. The foreign relations of early Egyptian history are almost unknown. This is especially unfortunate since owing to the astronomical observations of the Babylonians on the one hand and the numberless dated commercial and legal tablets discovered in Babylonia on the other, Babylonian chronology can be astronomically determined as far back as the third dynasty of Ur (2418-2300 B.C., according to Dr. Fotheringham), and so approximately to Sargon of Akkad (2700 B.C.). One relic, indeed, of early intercourse between Babylonia and Egypt exists in the shape of the Carnarvon seal-cylinder, which bears the name of the Egyptian king Sahatpu-ab-Riya in hieroglyphs as well as the name of a Babylonian, Wakin-ilu, in cuneiform characters of the date of the third dynasty of Ur. Unfortunately the seal has been partially destroyed, but enough remains to show that the Egyptian and cuneiform inscriptions were contemporaneous. The Egyptian name was borne by the founder of the twelfth dynasty, as well as by two kings of the early part of the thirteenth. The seal is of lapis lazuli from the mines in the north-east corner of Afghanistan, called Dapara in Sumerian and Tafar(t) in the Egyptian texts, and the age of the third dynasty of Ur was the period when we should expect to find a good deal of intercourse between Egypt and Babylonia, since the Babylonian Empire extended at the time to the shores of the Mediterranean. (A description of the seal is given in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vii, 3-4.)

In agreement with the date to which the Carnarvon seal

thus refers the Egyptian Middle Empire are the alabaster vases inscribed with the names of Manistusu and Naram-Sin, of the Babylonian dynasty of Akkad, which I have published in *Ancient Egypt*, 1921, pt. iv, pp. 102-3. The forms are characteristic of the Egyptian Middle Empire and the alabaster itself seems to be Egyptian aragonite. The form given to the inscriptions, moreover, is modelled after that of the Egyptian artists, and is inscribed on the same part of the vase. Meagre as are the links of connection between early Babylonia and Egypt, they are thus sufficient to make it impossible for the Assyriologist to accept the "Short Chronological" systems of the Egyptian historian.

It does not follow, however, that he can agree with Mr. Macnaughton in pushing Menes back to so remote a date as 5776 B.C., much less accept the date that he assigns to the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty. This is now fixed by the contemporary Assyrian-Babylonian records, more especially the Tel el-Amarna tablets and recently by the further evidence of the Hittite texts. Mr. Macnaughton's date for Assur-uballit as "the contemporary of Akhenaton" is a century too early and his "Burnaburiyah III" never existed. His references, indeed, to the cuneiform records show that he is but little acquainted with them, and are consequently marred by several misstatements and misprints. Dr. Woolley's name, for instance, is repeatedly misspelt, and in the quotation from Dr. Campbell Thompson "Aharru" should have been corrected to Amurru (Amorite). His biblical knowledge, moreover, is not always to be trusted; according to the Hebrew narrative Amenophis II could not have been the Pharaoh of the Exodus, since the Israelites had already built for his predecessor the "treasure cities Pithom and Raamses"!

On his own ground, however, Mr. Macnaughton has presented us with a book which is well worthy of study and attention. He has given us in full all the Egyptological facts relating to his subject and his arrangement of them is clear

and useful. Apart from some fantastic views about the construction of the great pyramid—that unhappy prey of the theorist—he has been careful to confine himself to the “dry light” of historical research.

623.

A. H. SAYCE.

POSTHUMOUS ESSAYS BY HAROLD M. WIENER. Edited by H. LOEWE. London: Oxford University Press, 1932. 7s. 6d.

These posthumous essays make us regret more than ever the tragic and untimely murder of Harold Wiener at the hands of the Beduin in Jerusalem three years ago. A good and sound scholar, a clear-headed lawyer, and a student well endowed with common sense, he brought to the solution of the problems of Old Testament history and criticism an inherited share of religious sympathy and understanding. The essays were left by him in an unrevised and to a certain extent unfinished condition, but they have been admirably edited by Mr. Loewe. The first two, on “Isaiah and the Siege of Jerusalem” and “The Relations of Egypt to Israel and Judah in the Age of Isaiah”, appeal more particularly to myself, as I find that they support a view which I put forward in one of my earliest publications (*Theological Review*, 1873), and which seems to have remained unnoticed by other scholars. This is that in Isaiah’s narrative of the invasion of Judah by Sennacherib as we now have it, two invasions are involved, one by Sargon in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, the account of which has been dropped from our present text, and the other by Sennacherib in 701 B.C. Both essays are distinguished by sanity of judgment and historical sense. Sennacherib’s own account of his expedition is criticized as well as the Biblical version and the result is that we have for the first time a clear and consistent narrative of the facts.

Another rearrangement of the narrative, equally self-evident when stated, is to be found in the fourth essay on the Exodus. Here, again, two narratives describing two different attacks

on Canaan which were chronologically distinct have been mixed together, one of them having been an invasion of southern Palestine by the Israelitish tribes in the third year after the flight from Egypt, the end of which was an overwhelming defeat, while the other was a second invasion from the East many years later, when the effects of the defeat had ceased to be felt. Here, too, I am prejudiced in favour of Mr. Wiener's results, since in my *Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments* I have put forward a somewhat similar view.

The sixth essay on the narratives of the Conquest of Canaan in Joshua and Judges is an equally instructive and convincing piece of work. The narratives are analysed with a keen historical instinct combined with a lawyer's knowledge of what evidence really means as well as with a large amount of common sense. The treatment of the records is, indeed, masterly; in place of "documents" which the most accomplished German "analyst" could not discover to-day in the leading articles of the *Times* where, nevertheless, the text is in a spoken language and the writers are all modern Occidentals, we have an analysis which is based on the broad outlines of internal consistency and, above all, historical and archæological facts.

The last essay is a useful review of *Recent Literature on the Pentateuch*. Wiener was rightly cautious as regards the identification of the Khabiri of the Tel el-Amarna tablets with the Hebrews. We now know that the name denoted the mercenaries of whom we first hear in the service of the Elamite king Rim-Sin, the contemporary of Khammurabi, at Larsa, and in the Tel el-Amarna age they formed the bodyguard of the Hittite king. The name signified "confederates", and is so used in the Assyrian texts of Assur-nazir-pal. Its Hebrew representative was Heber; hence the name, or rather title, of the Qenite or "Smith" in Jud. iv, 17. Eber, on the other hand, the "father" of the Hebrews, took his name from Ebir-nâri, "the land beyond

the River," westward of the Euphrates, where the West Semitic neighbours of the Babylonians lived, and the initial letter of his name was accordingly, not *ghain*, which would have been represented in Assyrio-Babylonian by *kh* (ܟ), but *'ain* (܂).

It is a pity that Wiener was not equally cautious in accepting other statements made by certain Assyriologists. Otherwise he would never have written (p. 47) that the identification of Amraphel with Ammurapi or Khammurabi was "indefensible on philological, historical and chronological grounds" or (p. 99) that "it is now increasingly recognised" to be "impossible". For once he forgot the old proverb about the cobbler "sticking to his last" and doubtless would have excised the passages before publishing the essay.

The Editor, however, must be congratulated on the successful performance of what must have been a difficult task. Misprints are hard to discover, though there are two on the same page (p. 41): "Makkutah" for Maskhutah and "Amara" for Amarna.

657.

A. H. SAYCE.

#### DADDA-'IDRI OR THE ARAMAIC OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

By C. BOUTFLOWER.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 48, 2 ills., 1 map.

London : Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,  
1932.

This interesting tractate endeavours to throw light on some of the problems of Biblical criticism raised by Archaeology. They include the religious life of what was recently known as the Ottoman Empire, the methods by which Kings rule, and the bread of life to the man in the street. It is a large family, and I fear that some will be ill fed. But he tells us that there are sharp teeth among them.

519.

W. J. S. SALLAWAY.

LA PROSE ARABE AU IV<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE DE L'HÉGIRE. Par ZAKI MUBĀRAK. 10 × 6, pp. 287. Paris : Maisonneuve Frères, 1931. Frs. 50.

Students of Arabic euphuism will find much to interest them in this appreciation of it by a well-known Egyptian writer. The work, though concerned exclusively with belles-lettres and therefore less comprehensive than the title might suggest, covers a great deal of ground on which European scholars seldom feel themselves thoroughly at home. Its main value lies in the attempt made to portray psychological character by analysis of subtle yet distinctive qualities of style. From this point of view Dr. Zaki Mubārak has accomplished an extremely delicate task with the success we should expect of him. His studies of Badí'u'z-Zamán, Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isbaháni, al-Khwárizmí, at-Tawhídí, aš-Šábí, Tha'álíbí, and other leading authors are generally admirable and throw new light on the literary history of the period ; to take an outstanding example, his discovery of forty *narratiunculae* by Ibn Duraid in the *Zahru 'l-Ádáb* of al-Husrí has revealed, if not the origin, at least a preliminary stage in the evolution of the *maqáma*. It seems possible, too, that Ma'arri's *Risálatu 'l-Ghufrán* may owe something of its invention and imagination to an older Andalusian contemporary, though in neither case can the earlier work be regarded as seriously detracting from the originality of that which eclipsed it. The biographical details, anecdotes, and translations with which Dr. Zaki illustrates his criticism bring vividly before us the intellectual amusements of an age when every court was "a little Academe", haunted by poets and wits, each of whom had "a mint of phrases in his brain". While his description of the characteristics of this style could scarcely be improved, the account he gives of its historical development is not equally convincing. He derives it not only from the *Qur'án* but from an Arabic prose literature which existed before Islam and supplied the materials necessary for the production of the *Qur'án* itself. The problem, however, is capable of solution

without recourse to mere hypothesis. In my opinion Dr. Zaki has adopted a faulty procedure. Surely one should start from the fact that owing to the genius and structure of the Arabic language, its development on rhetorical lines was sooner or later inevitable in prose and poetry alike. Why has Dr. Zaki confined his view to one branch of the subject and ignored such an important matter as the relations between verse and prose and their influence on each other? In fourth-century writers this influence is obvious, and Professor Bevan has traced it in the imagery of the *Qur'an*. At any rate, it seems more reasonable to suppose that Mohammed, being an extraordinary man, formed his rhetorical style out of elements which he found in the life and culture of his day. We need not conjure up a whole troop of prose-writers to usher the Book into the world.

301.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

AN ACCOUNT OF ASSAM. By DR. JOHN PETER WADE. Edited by BENUDHAR SHARMA.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ , pp. xv + 310 + 34 + xvii.

Dr. Wade accompanied as medical officer the expedition under Captain Welsh which was sent to Assam in A.D. 1792. During his stay of eighteen months, Wade was most assiduous in collecting all the information he could regarding that country, which was then almost unknown. In his "Geographical Sketch of Assam", published in the *Annual Asiatic Register* in 1805, he mentioned that he had written a history of the monarch then ruling. By a happy inspiration Babu Benudhar Sharma wrote to the Librarian of the India Office asking if he could trace this book. As the result of this inquiry he eventually received, not the book he wrote about, of which there is still no trace, but the manuscript which he has now published. This purports to be a translation from the Assamese made for Dr. Wade of a "History of Assam", but in reality it is a translation of three distinct

historical documents, or *burañjis*, as they are called locally, viz. :—(1) History of the Āhōm kings from the earliest times to the reign of Lakshmi Singh, pp. 2–175; (2) History of the Kōch kings, pp. 179–246; (3) Account of the wars with the Muhammadans, pp. 249–310.

In a letter forwarding this manuscript to Lt.-Col. Kirkpatrick, Dr. Wade said that he had also obtained “the only copy extant” of a *burañji* in the Āhōm language. This seems to have disappeared. Fortunately, it was not the only such *burañji*. When sustained historical inquiries were set on foot about forty years ago, six distinct ones were found. By that time Āhōm had become a dead language and was known only to a few elderly members of the old priestly clan. Five of these old men were engaged to teach the language to an educated Assamese, Bahr Golāp Chandra Barua, who with their aid translated all these *burañjis*.<sup>1</sup> Eleven *burañjis* in Assamese were found in the course of the same inquiries. The latter are of the same category as those forming Dr. Wade’s collection. They often contain very full information regarding individual matters, but in point of accuracy they are generally inferior to those in the Āhōm language which may be regarded as the original records.

In the first of the *burañjis* of which a translation is given in the book under review, a mythical Hindu origin is assigned to the Āhōm kings, and the account of the earlier rulers is often incomplete and inaccurate. Later on the narrative becomes fuller and more reliable and contains some interesting details which are omitted, or less fully presented, in other *burañjis*. The second of Dr. Wade’s *burañjis* gives an account of the Kōch rulers very similar to that contained in the *Vamsāvalī* of the Darrang Rājās,<sup>2</sup> but the narrative is continued up to the date of Welsh’s expedition. The

<sup>1</sup> His translation of the most detailed of these *burañjis* was published by the Assam Government in 1930.

<sup>2</sup> An analysis of this work will be found in *JASB.*, lxii, p. 268. It ends with the flight of Bali Nārāyan.

third calls for no particular remarks except that, as throughout the work, there are errors made either by the original translator or by some later copyist. For example (on p. 249) *Sukhāmpā*'s successor is wrongly named. There are also numerous printer's errors.

Great credit is due to the editor for his discovery of this work and his enterprise in publishing it, and so, after all these years, giving to Dr. Wade the recognition which he deserves as the first European to undertake historical research in Assam.

655.

E. A. GAIT.

**PRAMANA SAMUCCAYA.** Edited and restored into Sanskrit with *vṛitti*, *tīkā*, and notes by H. R. RANGASWAMY IYENGAR, M.A., Government Oriental Library, Mysore. Mysore University Publication.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. xxiv, 110; 3 plates. Mysore : Government Branch Press, 1930.

This volume is a first instalment, which contains, to quote the editor, "a tentative Sanskrit restoration of the first chapter of *Pramāṇa Samuccaya* with copious extracts from Diññāga's *Vṛitti* and Jinendrabuddhi's *Viśālāmalavatī Tīkā*, both of which are available only in Tibetan." The editor has made considerable progress in the restoration of the other five chapters of the work, and hopes soon to publish them. An English translation of the work will follow. The commencement of the publication in Sanskrit of Diññāga's chief logical work is an event of great interest to students of Indian thought, who will hope for a speedy completion of the undertaking. The present reviewer is unqualified to appreciate the merit of the work considered as a reconstruction, and can only adduce Credible Testimony by way of *pramāṇa* that Mr. Iyengar manages the Tibetan texts very well.

This first *pariccheda* is concerned with perception and comprises 48 couplets. Diññāga's influence on the Indian

theory of perception may be judged from the fact that no less than one quarter of the whole section (23 whole lines and some parts) figures in the citations by later writers which the editor records in his notes. As Tucci pointed out in articles which appeared in this journal (1928, pp. 377-90 and 905-6), these fragments are a valuable check on the Tibetan text and its interpretation. Variant readings of *ślokas* 10, 12, and 20, for example, are to be found in the citations; and lines missing in the Tibetan are perhaps supplied by citations of *ślokas* 7 and 20.

It is ungracious to ask for more when so much has been given: but, had it been practicable, the reconstruction of the *vṛtti* as a whole would have been very welcome: not only for the better understanding of the text, but also because Diñnāga cites his opponents more freely in his *vṛtti* (the *ślokas* themselves have a sūtra-like conciseness which allows of no more than the indication of a reference). He cites, on *śloka* 18, NS. i, 1, 4 (the definition of perception); on *śloka* 23, VS. iii, 1, 18 (which, however, appears in the form *ātmendriyanortha-* in place of *ātmendriyārtha-*); on *śloka* 24, VS. viii, 1, 6 and 7; on *śloka* 26, VS. iv, 1, 10; on *śloka* 27, a definition of perception which he attributes to "Kāpilāḥ", and which Vācaspati calls *Vārsaganyasya lakṣaṇam*, while others refer it to Vindhyaśāsin; and on *śloka* 37, the Mīmāṃsaka description of perception as given in MS. I, 1, 4. Perhaps the most unexpected thing is an explicit statement in *śloka* 14 that "the *Vāda-vidhi* is not the Ācārya's". This statement prefaces a criticism of the definition of perception therein contained (*tato 'rthād vijñānam*), which Vācaspati calls *Vāsubandhavam lakṣaṇam*. If anything seemed clear it was that Vasubandhu wrote the *Vāda-vidhi*. And Jinendrabuddhi says in his commentary on the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* (*ad loc.*) that there is a *loka-prasiddhi* that Vasubandhu was the author. He then goes on to say, however, that this general opinion must be brought into line with the faultlessness (*nirduṣṭatva*) of the other *śāstras* composed by the *śāstra-*

*kāra*: and that, in the impossibility of his authorship of the *Vāda-vidhi*, which is *dosa-viśiṣṭa*, Diinnāga declares that it is not the Ācārya's.

Interpretation is necessarily precarious. Citations in works extant in Sanskrit are a valuable check, no doubt; but nothing can take the place of Diinnāga's own interpretation of his verses in his commentary. Until this is fully available the mere Sanskritist will not be in a position to make confident use of the reconstituted *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*. But this should not prevent him from tendering his grateful acknowledgements to Mr. Rangaswamy Iyengar for a very valuable piece of work admirably executed. The Mysore University is to be congratulated on a unique publication, and the Press on the excellence of the typography.

521.

H. N. RANDLE.

ALFARABI. Catálogo de las Ciencias. Edición y Traducción Castellana por ÁNGEL GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA. (Publicaciones de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Madrid, Volumen ii.) 9 × 6, pp. xix + 176 + 8 t. Madrid : E. Maestre, 1932.

Seldom can it have been the fate of a book to lie unheeded for centuries and then to appear in three independent recensions in three different countries. But such has been the lot of al-Fārābī's once popular *Iḥsā'u-l-'Ulūm*. Dr. Farmer's article in the *Journal* for July contains a reference to the first printed edition of the work which was published in the monthly review *Al-'Irfān* in Syria by the Shaikh Muhammad Ridā of Najaf. Strangely enough Dr. Farmer omits all mention of 'Uthmān Amin's edition which was published in Cairo last year from a manuscript in the Library there. Now Professor González Palencia has produced an edition which will supersede its predecessors. As long ago as 1916 he had completed the transcription and translation of the Escorial MS. 646 and the delay in publication has

allowed of the inclusion in an appendix of variant readings from the Cairo edition. Perhaps it is a little unfortunate that the readings of Muhammad Riḍā's edition and also MS. 1604 in the Köprülü Library, Constantinople, could not have been registered; but the ease and smoothness with which Professor Palencia's text and translation can be read will remove any misgivings about the accuracy of the text as a whole.

The interest and value of the Spanish edition have been greatly enhanced by the inclusion of the Latin version published by Guilielmus<sup>1</sup> Camerarius in Paris in 1638, and by an edition of the Latin MS. 9335 of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, *Liber Alfarabii De Scientiis translatus a magistro Girardo Cremonensi in Toletō, de arabico in latinum, cuius in eo hec sunt verba*. So far as I have read I should agree heartily with the editor's judgment that Gerard's version is thorough and accurate. Professor Palencia has also collated Ibn Ṭumlūs' *Introduction to Logic* which was edited and translated by Asin in 1916. This volume is a most valuable contribution to the study of education in the Middle Ages, as it marks out the lines along which instruction was imparted and the scope and content of each science as it was understood at the time. In no sense an encyclopædia it served a useful purpose as a sort of syllabus and summary of each subject under consideration.

I have been moved to compare Dr. Farmer's with Professor Palencia's collation so far as the comparatively insignificant paragraphs on music are concerned and I notice that the former twice (*JRAS.*, p. 581, lines 1 and 21) reads *quidem* where the latter has *igitur*. More serious is Farmer's *autem per naturam autem per artem* for *aut . . . aut . . .* (l. 16). Page 582, l. 21, for *eorum* Palencia has *earum*, so again p. 584, l. 21, p. 586, ll. 6 and 21 (twice), p. 589, l. 1. On p. 584, l. 1, we must read with Palencia *secundum communitatēm*. Page 586,

<sup>1</sup> Farmer (p. 577) writes Guilielmus twice (line 9 and footnote). In l. 8 *antiquissimum* is, of course, correct. It would be interesting to know if the manuscript which the worthy Scot published can be identified.

l. 1, makes no sense. Read with Palencia *et cognitionem numeri neumarum* and cf. p. 588, l. 6. For *sunt preparantur* (!) on p. 586, l. 21, Palencia has *fuerint preparate*, and for *intentionem, intentionum* (p. 589, l. 6), and for *fiunt, fuerint*.

On p. 153, l. 15, of Professor Palencia's work I notice *tocius* which does not agree with *totius* elsewhere, and *anministratōne* which probably stands for a spelling *amministratōne*.

With regard to the Arabic text Farmer's تُلْف, l. 2 of the Arabic p. 568, is to be preferred to Palencia's ولفت and his معقولة to معقولة, p. 569, l. 8 = ٤١, 21. On p. 570, l. 7, read تسب بعض الصناعة (the subject is فيها) and on l. 9 read إلى بعض. The text had من which Farmer prints but Palencia notes "إلى corregido entre lineas". (On p. 571, l. 2, Palencia reads بها for لها with the same remark, though here I think he must be wrong, as the sense requires the latter.) Read غرض من أغراض in Palencia ٤٢, 18; so Farmer.

Farmer's translation of p. 570, l. 10 = ٤٢, 10, "the discourse about the species (*sc.* of notes), their structure, and their arrangement by which they become facilitated" hardly seems to give the sense which would seem to be "the discussion of the various positions and orders in which the notes agree". To judge from the MSS. and the renderings of both scholars there would seem to be some doubt as to the meaning of الأقوال, p. 571, top. Farmer renders "opinions"<sup>1</sup> and Palencia "frases". I would suggest that the three categories are those that al-Fārābī has been using all along, namely *fundamentals*, rudiments, and demonstrations, and the true reading is الآراء وأيال.

<sup>1</sup> But whose? There has been no suggestion of the discussion of rival theories, but rather of *demonstrative proof* of al-Fārābī's system.

TOWARDS A SYSTEMATIC STUDY OF THE VEDANTA. By S. K. DAS.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ , pp. vii + 292. Calcutta : University of Calcutta, 1931.

This book is another sign of the ever-increasing interest in the Vedanta, which may lead to a revival on a large scale of that first and foremost of idealistic philosophies.

Much as the author emphasizes the importance of the Vedanta, in the study of the history of Indian thinking and living, he warns us against its over-valuation and uncritical study. The living and viewing of life must go hand in hand ("the Vedanta is the philosophy or theory of practice itself", p. 4). The author insists upon a co-operation of the intellectual and the moral and emphasizes the practical attitude of the philosophy of life as incorporated in the Vedanta (cf. his slogan "what does not work is not true", p. 6).

His arguments are clear and precise, his descriptions vivid and full of meaning, his language fluent and expressive. His knowledge of Western philosophy is such as to make him fully competent for the task of giving a systematic and comparative-historical study of the Vedanta.

He does full justice to Śaṅkara, although pointing out the unwisdom either of fixing a label of authority on one or the other of the Vedanta-sutras or of losing the true meaning of philosophical ideals and values by a mere historical treatment of chronological sequence. I wholeheartedly agree with him in his dictum that "accumulation of facts is one thing and illumination quite another" (p. 23). There is so much historical study going on to-day which in its exclusive attention to the *śarīra* loses touch with the *śarīrin*. Comprehension is more than apprehension, and in the sense of comprehension I welcome Mr. Das's attempt at a "systematic study of the Vedanta". The author is a true Vedantist himself, as the concluding chapter of the book ("The Cultural Value of the Vedanta") bears out in a remarkable way.

THE YEAR NAMES OF CHINA AND JAPAN. Compiled by P. M. SUSKI.  $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ . pp. 40. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1931. 4s. 6d.

This is a very handy little book of tables of the Chinese and Japanese Emperors with their Year Names (*nien hao*) and dates, which will be found most useful for all ordinary purposes. It does not pretend to be a critical work, the Chinese names and dates being chiefly taken, we are told, from *Williams* and *Giles*. There are apparent exceptions (owing to manipulations of the kalendar) to the statement that "from the time of the change (of year name) on till the end of that year, no matter how short, it is called the first year under the new title". Thus *Tsai-ch'u* was decreed in December, 689, but the "first year" was the lunar year corresponding to 690. Wu Hou 684 and Tan 685 are put down like two successive rulers ; but Wu Hou reigned till 705. Her year name *Wan-sui-tēng-fēng* is omitted. We are given no help where we much need it, with the ephemeral local dynasties, Nan T'ang, Yüeh, Wu-Yüeh, and such.

Will not some industrious Chinese or Japanese savant compile for us from good native sources really detailed tables of all the dynasties large and small, giving the exact date (year, month, and day) not only of accession, but of birth and death and of the establishment of each year name ? The labour would be considerable, but the value inestimable.

625.

A. C. MOULE.

TOLKĀPPIYAM. Vol. I, edited with a short commentary in English by P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, M.A., Ph.D. (Madras Oriental Series, No. 3.)  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. x + 105. Madras : Journal of Oriental Research, 1930. R. 1 or 2s.

This is an English edition, with an index of words, of Tolkāppiyam, the earliest grammar extant of ancient Tamil. The nine chapters included in volume i of the present edition deal with phonology, the first chapter dealing with the

elemental speech sounds, the second with the secondary sounds and the consonants that may stand at the beginning and the end of words, the third with the physiological basis of the elemental sounds, and the remaining six chapters with the subject of assimilation. The original text is given transliterated, with a wealth of diacritical marks, in Roman characters, and a brief commentary giving the substance of the text is added, with here and there a note by the editor. There is also a brief preface, in which attention is drawn to some interesting facts, such as, for example, that in ancient Tamil *t* and *n* were alveolar and not palatal. It is evident that the editor has been at some pains to produce this book, but it is not clear for whose benefit it has been produced; for the majority of scholars who would have occasion to turn to *Tolkāppiyam* would surely prefer a text in the familiar Tamil characters, while those not acquainted even with the Tamil script would certainly not need the text transcribed with such meticulous care, but would appreciate a brief critique setting forth the more significant facts recorded in the treatise.

547.

M. S. H. THOMPSON.

THE MYSORE TRIBES AND CASTES. Vol. IV. By the late  
 H. V. NANJUNDAYYA and RAO BAHADUR L. K.  
 ANANTHAKRISHNA IYER.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 111 + 677.  
 Mysore, 1931.

The present volume, following on volumes ii and iii, completes the Survey of the Mysore tribes and castes initiated 30 years ago; and volume i, dealing with the general results, is promised shortly. We find in this volume articles of importance on Lingāyats and Musalmans, and some specially interesting notes on Kurubas and Vakkalus. Lingāyatism, an interesting development of the eleventh century, which, starting on a casteless basis, slowly reacquired the caste exclusiveness of orthodox Hinduism, has been dealt with

very fully in Hastings's *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, and the present work adds little to our knowledge of the subject. Some fuller information on the subject of the subdivisions of Lingāyats in Mysore would have been welcome. We should also have been glad to find under the article on Musalmans a list of Musalman castes. This might with advantage have taken the place of much detail regarding the religion of Muhammad which is already available elsewhere.

The writer is to be congratulated on the very valuable list of exogamous divisions which are to be found on pp. 63, 135, 276, 432, 528, 643, and 662, and which are of great assistance in tracing the status and origin of caste and tribe in a much wider area than the Mysore State. We should have welcomed a greater effort to identify the numerous trees and shrubs by their botanical names. This is a work that might yet be performed before the survey is brought to a close. The present volume is well illustrated, and adds materially to our knowledge of Indian ethnology. It is to be regretted that, as in the case of the previous two volumes, quite unnecessarily numerous misprints have been allowed to stand.

Thus, myroba jam (p. 277) does not at once suggest the *hirda* or Indian myrabolam, and the substitution of "tail" for the marriage ornament worn by women commonly known as *tali* can only produce a ludicrous if wholly unintentional effect. We shall await volume i with much interest.

606.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.

CASTE AND RACE IN INDIA. By G. S. GHURYE. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 6,  
pp. 209. London : Kegan Paul & Co., 1932.

The author of this volume, who is Reader of Sociology in the University of Bombay, aims at giving his views on the history and the origin of the caste system as it was in the past and is to-day among the Hindus in India. The result is an interesting little volume, which, if it adds little to the existing knowledge of this very complicated subject, certainly

reproduces much material of interest in a concise form. It is curious to find a serious work on caste which entirely omits all reference to the internal structure of caste units, from which alone the student may hope to find the surest guidance in the matter of caste origins. Instead we have an elaborate attempt to deal with caste on anthropometrical lines, which have in the past led such scholars as Sir Herbert Risley to many exceedingly doubtful conclusions. Readers of Risley's *People of India*, which the present writer quotes somewhat uncritically, are aware that the discovery of the Scythians among the Marāthās and the juxtaposition of Mahar and Brahman went far to discredit Risley's anthropometrical data.

The writer of this work has given in chapter vi some interesting references to the development of caste movements outside India. On p. 172 we find a useful summary of the modern movement against untouchability. We fail, however, to follow the writer's conclusions (p. 184 et seq.) that the true remedy for the trouble arising from caste selfishness is to ignore caste feeling altogether. To arrive at such a theory after a careful exposition of caste in its infinite complexity is a strange *non sequitur* which hardly seems prompted by logical considerations. We may, however, congratulate the author on having added an interesting treatise to the existing caste literature.

596.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF  
HIS EXALTED HIGHNESS THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS,  
1338 F., 1928-1929 A.C. 13 × 10, pp. x + 88, pls. 16.  
Calcutta : Baptist Mission Press, 1931.

The chief archaeological contribution in this Report is Mr. Yazdani's description of the survey of the Fort of Koilkonda, seventy-eight miles south-west of Haidarabad, and the survey of the Fort of Bidar in the north-west. The

former contains a Telugu inscription of the date A.D. 1551, deciphered by Mr. Lakshminarayana Rao, which helps to confirm information given by Firishtah about Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh of Golconda. Mr. Streenivas describes the fort and other monuments at Udgir in the Bidar district. The appendix also contains a number of Muslim inscriptions of Udgir and a list of numismatic accessions with facsimiles of thirty-nine punch-marked coins.

599.

E. J. THOMAS.

THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ. A study by VISHWAS G. BHAT, M.A., with a foreword by Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN, Kt. 7 x 5, pp. 12 + 280. Poona : Āryasamkrti Press, 1932.

Professor Bhat's study of the *Bhagavadgītā* received a very favourable welcome when it first appeared eight years ago, and in this second edition he tells us that his views have not since undergone a change. It might perhaps have been better if he had discussed the most recent rival views, but in the present writer's opinion he has taken a sound and scholarly position, which later discussions have not yet even attempted to meet. The text and translation of the *Gītā* now included add greatly to the usefulness of the work.

601.

E. J. THOMAS.

THE SAUNDARANANDA OR NANDA THE FAIR. Translated from the original Sanskrit of Aśvaghoṣa by E. H. JOHNSTON. Panjab University Oriental Publications, No. 14. 10 x 7, pp. xii + 124. London : Humphrey Milford, 1932. 12s. 6d.

Mr. Johnston's purpose in translating the *Saundarananda* has been to make it a companion volume to the text which he edited four years ago. It is, in fact, a most valuable complement to the earlier work, and aims, as he says, at making the meaning of the thought clear rather than at attempting

to reproduce the literary form. With such a defective text much discussion both of readings and subject-matter is necessary, and students will be thankful for the notes which deal with these matters.

It is possible that Mr. Johnston sometimes too readily unties a knot with a conjecture. There is the perfectly grammatical *sāśivalau* in xvi, 91, which he says he would have amended to *sa Śāivalo* or *sa Śāivalī* or even *sa Śīvalī*, “were it not for the desirability of keeping to the MSS.” This looks as if he thought that a vrddhied form could be equivalent to the name from which it is derived, just as if *Kaunteya* could stand for *Kuntī*, and in fact he translates *saiśivalau* (“along with Śīvalī”) as “Śāivala”. It is no wonder, then, that he does not see any virtue in the prefix *sa-* as against *sa* the article.

In an earlier verse Mr. Johnston now recognizes that his former reading contained a monstrosity, but he says that *Nandaka-nandamātāv* is a doubtful improvement.<sup>1</sup> But this is the MS. reading, and surely it is an improvement to be grammatical and if possible to follow the actual text. However, he rejects it and conjectures *-māte* with *pragrhya e*, and makes it mean “Nandakamātā and Nandamātā”. Then he has to conjecture their identity. There is an Uttarā Nandamātā in the Pāli, a lay woman and adept at dhyāna, but Mr. Johnston says that Nandamātā here is Mahāprajāpati. Then he goes on to identify his Nandakamātā with the Nandamātā of the Pāli. Yet we find Nandaka and Nanda as two distinct personages. It looks as if still more conjecture is wanted.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Johnston goes out of his way to say that this is what I propose to read. On the contrary I said it may be corrupt. The simplest emendation is merely to delete the *v*. The corruption as well as the hiatus between the two pādas can easily be explained.

ТИБЕТСКІЙ ПЕРЕВОДЪ АВНІDHARMAKOÇАKĀRIKĀH И  
ABHIDHARMAKOÇAVAHĀSYAM сочиненій VASUBANDHU.  
Издаль Ф. И. Щербатской. Bibliotheca Buddhica,  
XX. Fasc. 1, 10 × 6½, pp. v + 96. Petrograd, 1917 ;  
Fasc. 2, pp. 97–192. Leningrad, 1930.

SPHUṬĀRTHĀ ABHIDHARMAKOÇAVYĀKHYĀ, THE WORK OF  
YĀCOMITRA. First koçasthāna, edited by S. LÉVI and  
TH. STCHERBATSKY. Bibliotheca Buddhica, XXI.  
Fasc. 1, 10 × 7, pp. v + 96 + iv. Petrograd, 1918 ;  
Fasc. 2, pp. 96 (koçasthāna ii, 1–40). Leningrad, 1930.

VIIÑAPTIMĀTRATĀSIDDHI, la Siddhi de Hiuan-tsang. Traduite  
et annotée par L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN. 10 × 6½,  
pp. 820. (Issued with indexes as Tomes i–iii, but  
forming one volume.) Paris : P. Geuthner, 1928–9.

FEUER UND BRENNSTOFF, ein Kapitel aus dem Mādhyamika-  
Śāstra des Nāgārjuna, mit der Vṛtti des Candrakīrti.  
Translated by S. SCHAYER. 9½ × 6½, pp. 27. Rocznik  
orientalistyczny. Tom. vii, str. 26–52. Lwów :  
Nakładem Polskiego Towarzystwa Orientalistycznego,  
1926.

AUSGEWÄHLTE KAPITEL AUS DER PRASANNAPADĀ (V, XII,  
XVI). Einleitung, Übersetzung, und Anmerkungen.  
S. SCHAYER. 9½ × 6, pp. xxxii + 128. Mémoires de la  
Commission orientaliste, 14. W. Krakowie : Nakładem  
Polskiej Akademji Umiejetności. Paris : Librairie  
franco-polonaise et étrangère, 1931.

The great scheme of editing a series of works to elucidate the *Abhidharmaśā* was begun nearly twenty years ago by Professor Stcherbatsky, Sir E. Denison Ross, Professors S. Lévi, L. de la Vallée Poussin, and Wogihara. There has been inevitable delay, and it is only lately that the second *fasciculus* of each of the two works projected by Professor Stcherbatsky has appeared. Of the first, an edition of the Tibetan translation of the *Abhidharmaśā* of Vasubandhu with *bhāṣya*, we now have the first chapter and about half

the second. The preface in Russian explains how the work, which was taken by Hiuen Thsang to China, has been studied chiefly in Japan, and hence escaped the notice of Vasiliev. The other work, the *Vyākhyā* of Yaśomitra (in Sanskrit), which was begun to be edited by Professors Stcherbatsky and S. Lévi, now has the co-operation of Professor Wogihara and Dr. Obermiller. Other works which formed part of the original scheme have fared better, such as de la Vallée Poussin's very important translation of the whole from the Tibetan and Chinese versions, and several special studies which he has devoted to the subject.

It is from these works dealing with the Sarvāstivādins and other of the older schools that a connected history of the development of the earlier thought is becoming clear. This is also true of the later schools, as the present translation of the *Siddhi* of Hiuen Thsang shows. What the *Abhidharmakośa* is for the Sarvāstivādin schools, says the editor, the *Siddhi* is for the Vijñānavādins. The work is in the form of a commentary on the *Trīṃśikā*, the thirty kārikās of Vasubandhu, but Hiuen Thsang has collected extracts from many other sources and schools. The editor has not merely translated Hiuen Thsang, but he has all through added extensive bibliographical notes as well as valuable discussions of important doctrines and long appendices.

The teaching of another equally important school, the Mādhyamikas, also owes much to this indefatigable worker. His edition of the *Madhyamakavṛtti* (the *Prasannapadā*) of Candrakīrti, says Dr. Schayer, is for the Mahāyāna theories fundamental.

It is this work to which Dr. Schayer has been devoting his attention. In these two works he gives a translation of about one-fifth of the *Vṛtti* of Candrakīrti. With the introductions and extensive notes they are a most welcome contribution both to the difficulties of detail as well as to the interpretation of the philosophical principles of the whole.

He rightly claims that what is wanted is not a literal translation (that kind of thing, alas, we have known), but a reconstruction of the course of thought of the text. This involves introducing theories, which is inevitable, for we already have before us the theories that the doctrines are nihilism or pyrrhonism or even mere *naiseries*. Such views have to be dealt with, and it is by such work as Dr. Schayer's that we are likely to reach conclusions free from subjective perversities.

257, 258, 259.

E. J. THOMAS.

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MEMOIRS OF GAUR AND PANDUA. By KHAN SAHIB M. 'ABID 'ALI KHAN, of Māldah. Edited and revised by H. E. STAPLETON, I.E.S., Director of Public Instruction, Bengal. 10 x 6½, pp. 190, pls. 7, figs. 33. Calcutta : Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1931. Rs. 5 or 8s. 3d.

Khān Sāhib M. 'Abid 'Alī Khān (1872–1926) was born and passed his early life in the district he describes. His father was the first Muhammadan in the district to educate his sons in English.

M. 'Abid 'Alī Khān entered the Public Works Department in 1899 and was put in charge of the special repairs to the old buildings at Gaur and Pandua, and in recognition of his services in this connection had conferred on him the title of "Khān Sāhib" in 1917.

It is interesting to note that Khān Sāhib belonged to the ancient family of the Pathān rulers of Gaur and that his ancestors came there with King Firūz Shah III (1351–88) from Delhi when he invaded Bengal in order to check the expansion of Shamsuddīn Ilyās Shah (1339–58). Owing to the oppression of the Mughal governors the family left Gaur and eventually drifted to English Bāzār, where the author's brother served as chairman of the municipality.

The kernel of the present work was an account of the ruins, specially written for the visit of Lord Curzon to Māldah

in 1902 in connection with his scheme for the preservation of ancient monuments, which was published in booklet form in 1912. Further revision took place between 1912 and 1925 and, after the author's death in 1926, the work was, in 1928, entrusted for final revision to Mr. H. E. Stapleton, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal. The present book is the result. Mr. Stapleton re-examined the ruins and has corrected and, where necessary, expanded Khān Sāhib's work.

North and West Bengal were conquered for Muhammadanism by Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyār Khaljī, the lieutenant of Qutbuddīn Aibak of Delhi, in 1202, from the Hindu king Rai Lakshman Sen, and Lakshmanāvati, as Lakshman Sen had renamed Gaur, under the shortened form of Lakhnautī, became the chief seat of Muhammadan power, Lakshman Sen and his successors maintaining themselves for another century at Sunārgāon.

Bengal remained a dependency of Delhi until the death of Qadar Khān in 1338, but between that date and 1352 Shamsuddīn Ilyās Shah made himself supreme and transferred the capital to Pandua, an ancient Hindu city, 20 miles north-east of Lakhnautī. In 1410 there was a Hindu revival with Rājā Kāns (Ganesh), who ruled through puppet kings at Pandua. His son Jadu was converted to Muhammadanism and ruled as Jalāluddīn Muhammad from 1415.

The transference of the capital from Gaur to Pandua was due to changes in the course of the Ganges and the devastations of civil war. The retirement of the river from Pandua, however, and its attaining a stable course at Gaur led to the latter again becoming the capital under Mahmūd I (1442–59), with whose accession to the throne, after the overthrow of the house of Rājā Kāns, the line of Ilyās Shah was restored. The restored house of Ilyās was succeeded by the Habshi kings (1486–93) and by the house of Husain Shah (1493–1537).

Then a brief tenure of power by Humāyūn (1537–9) was

followed by that of Sher Shah both in Bengal and at Delhi. Two further dynasties, those of Muhammad Sūr and Sulaimān Kararānī, preceded the final conquest of Bengal by Akbar in 1576.

Gaur was displaced by Tānda as capital by Sulaimān Kararānī in 1565 owing to a further change in the course of the Ganges, but temporarily regained its position under Akbar's first viceroy. The rains causing an epidemic, however, to which the viceroy himself fell a victim, the seat of government was again taken back to Tānda and the history of Gaur closed.

Khān Sahib's volume contains four chapters, the first two being short accounts of the history of the two cities and of their more important kings and viceroys. Chapters iii and iv, which make up the greater part of the book, deal with the extant remains. There are in addition five appendices : Bibliographies of Gaur, Pandua, and other places in the Māldah district and of the inscriptions found there, an account of the local historian Saiyid Ilāhī Bakhsh and his work the *Kurshid-i-Jahān Numā* and lists of the kings of Delhi and of the rulers of Bengal from 1202 to 1576.

The work is pleasantly interspersed with charming anecdotes, such as that of Ghīyāsuddin A'zam Shah (1390-1410) and his three favourites the *Cypress*, the *Rose*, and the *Tulip*, who are commemorated by Hāfiẓ.

Each of the archæological sections contains a plan of the city dealt with, and the various building inscriptions are given in the original script and in translation. There is also a map of northern and central Bengal. According to Fergusson the architectural school of Gaur was one of the four provincial schools of northern India which arose out of the weakening of the central Pathān power at Delhi. One interesting architectural feature characteristic of Bengal is the curvilinear form of roof, copied no doubt from bamboo construction. In addition to the results of personal

observation and research the archaeological sections contain descriptions of the various buildings taken from the works of earlier enquirers, some of which record features now lost.

Some of the buildings described, such as the Adina Mosque of Sikandar Shah at Pandua and the Firozah Minar at Gaur, are, of course, well-known, but in general the book will give those interested a great mass of detailed and up-to-date information hitherto either not known at all to the general reader or at best known through works, the majority of which are from fifty to one hundred years old.

In summing up previous knowledge, as they have done here, and supplementing and correcting by personal research, Khān Sāhib and his editor have rendered a real service to Indian archaeology. The book is copiously illustrated and includes reproductions of beautiful inscriptions, although the quality of the paper in some cases results in a lack of sharpness in the photographs. The omission of an index is to be regretted.

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E. B. W. CHAPPELOW.

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THE QUARTERLY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES IN  
PALESTINE. Vol. i, No. 2. 11 × 6, pp. 48, pls. 5.  
Jerusalem : Published for the Government of Palestine ;  
London : Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press,  
1931. 5s.

This issue of the Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine contains articles on a rock-cut tomb at Nazareth, a hoard of Byzantine coins, the obverse type of the tetradrachms of the second revolt of the Jews, coins in the Palestine Museum, the second part of a mediæval Arabic description of the Haram of Jerusalem, a concise bibliography of excavations in Palestine, a note on the name Khān el Ahmar (Beisān), and an account of the discovery of two ancient street levels in the Tyropeon Valley within the walls, Jerusalem.

Perhaps the most valuable contribution is the concise bibliography of excavations in Palestine, of which the first part here printed takes in Abū Ghōsh to El Jish. It includes accounts of spade work only (including illicit digging by peasants or dealers and their agents), and excludes exploration without actual digging, popular works (where scientific works are available), reviews, articles devoted to single objects, and summaries.

The rock-cut tomb at Nazareth was discovered whilst excavating for the purpose of laying foundations of a private house near the Government Secondary School in the autumn of 1930, and consists of a rectangular barrel-vaulted chamber, within which was a shaft tomb, and opening out of which nine loculi, four on each side and one at one end, all containing human bones.

The objects discovered were of minor interest and included pottery and glass vessels, etc., beads, iron and bronze bracelets, rings and fragments, fragments of a silver ring, small bronze bells, Hellenistic lamps, and a Phoenician glass pendant with a lion and a star in relief.

The long article of nineteen pages (with two plates) on a hoard of Byzantine coins, contains but a page and a half of letterpress, the rest being technical data.

These three hundred and twenty-five Byzantine *folles* (discovered lying loose on a heap of small rough stones which were being removed from the surface of the ground to prepare it for cultivation) range from Anastasius I (A.D. 491–518) to Heraclius (A.D. 611 or 612), the majority being from the Constantinople mint under Justin I and Justinian (A.D. 518–565).

The mints are Constantinople, Antioch, and Nicomedia. There is also a table of sizes and weights.

Of a similar character to the last is the four-page article (with one plate) on the coins in the Palestine Museum (local varieties, unpublished or little known): Seleucid (Alexander Balas, Ascalon, 147/6 B.C.), Maccabean (John Hyrcanus I ?),

Herodian (possibly Herod I), Roman Procurators in Judæa, and Aelia Capitolina (Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Commodus, Elagabalus, and Decius).

Of greater interest to the non-expert is the note on the obverse of the tetradrachms of the second revolt of the Jews, which shows, between the middle two of four columns of a façade, the end of a square-sided semicircular-lidded chest with projecting bosses, of a common ancient Egyptian type, standing on two short legs. This has been identified with the screen of the Tabernacle and the Ark or, after the fragment of a frieze from the Synagogue of Capernaum, with the Tabernacle itself and the Ark.

In sinking a pumping shaft preparatory to the repair of the main drainage sewer of Jerusalem-within-the-walls, about 25 metres south of the Sūq al Qattānīn, the central western entrance of the Haram, the two ancient street levels, which are the subject of the article in this issue, were discovered. The upper one was found 2·90 metres below the present roadway and was paved with large flagstones of whitish limestone, 30 centimetres thick, not uniform in size but averaging more than a metre square, laid diagonally and irregularly bonded; in this case the street must have been 5·50 metres wide.

The other level was found 2·10 metres lower down. The flagstones in this case were, however, laid square to the sewer and not diagonally. Beneath this was found a drain.

The mediaeval Arabic description of the Haram of Jerusalem is a translation of a fourteenth-century description in the first volume of Ahmad b. Faḍl-Allāh al-'Umari's encyclopædia, *Masālik al abṣar*, to a great extent copied from the *Silsilat al 'asjad fi ṣifat aṣ-ṣakhra wa-l-masjid* of the vizier Tāj ad-dīn Abu-l-Faḍa'il Ahmad b. Amin al-Mulk.

The first instalment in No. 1 mentions a marble basin decorated on the outside with reliefs, which stood in the marble portico in front of the south door and has since disappeared, and also confirms Clermont-Ganneau's theory that the

"Buckler of Hamza" was a mirror; it is here described as a mirror of seven metals.

The instalment in No. 2 completes the description of the Court of the Dome of the Rock and proceeds to the southern wall and adjacent mosques and buildings, the eastern, northern, and western walls, and the Qubbat Sulaimān and Solomon's Stable.

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E. B. W. CHAPPELOW.

A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIAN MATERIALISM, SENSATIONALISM, AND HEDONISM. By DAKSHINARANJAN SHASTRI. With a foreword by Dr. A. N. MUTHERJEE.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. viii + 48. Calcutta : The Book Co., Ltd., 1930.

This is a useful little sketch of the evolution of materialistic philosophy in India, in which the author digests the scanty literature available for his purposes. He traces materialism from the early scepticism of the Bārhaspatyas through the Lokāyata to the hedonism of the Chārvakas and the heresies of the Nāstikas. The author has collected the scraps of information available about sects like the Kāpālikas and generally done a good deal of research on an obscure subject.

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J. ALLAN.

THE BRAHMA-SŪTRAS (II, I-II) OF BĀDARĀYĀNA, WITH THE COMMENT OF ŚAṄKARĀCHĀRYA. By S. K. BELVAKAR.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. xvi + 142 + 100 + 222. Poona : Bilva-kuñja Publishing House, 1931. 10s.

This is a second edition of Professor Belvakar's valuable work on the Smṛti- and Tarka-pādas of the Brahma-Sūtras. The notes have been considerably revised and extended. This text is an excellent thing to put in the hands of young students of Indian philosophy and they could not have it in a more accessible form. A glossary of technical terms and an enlarged Index are other features of the new edition.

664.

J. ALLAN.

- I. LINGĀNUŚĀSANA BY HARŚAVARDHANA, WITH THE COMMENTARY SARVALAKṢĀNA BY PRTHIVIŚVARA. Critically edited by MAHOPĀDHYĀYA PĀNDIT V. VENKATARAMA SHARMA. Madras University: Sanskrit Series No. 4. 9½ × 6½, pp. xxxii + 238, pls. 2. University of Madras, 1931. 2s. 6d.

The Sanskrit treatises on gender are mostly of interest only to grammatical specialists, but the one attributed to Harśavardhana is an exception. For one thing the text and commentary contain a mass of lexicographical information not yet exploited in modern dictionaries, which the age of the work in comparison with the Indian lexica makes of special value, and I have noted several difficult words, of which the commentator's explanation is illuminating. Hitherto the material has been somewhat hard to use, as Dr. R. O. Franke's edition was based on a single manuscript in which the commentary was incomplete. This new edition, prepared from three MSS. and containing the entire commentary, is therefore welcome and will, it is to be hoped, be made use of in any new Sanskrit dictionary. If the editing is not distinguished, it is at any rate adequate, and, in the not infrequent cases where exception might justly be taken to the text adopted, the critical apparatus will be found useful. Many passages, especially in the commentary, show different readings to those in Dr. Franke's manuscript, in most cases, it may be said, better ones. But the use made of the *editio princeps* calls for some comment. While a long extract from Dr. Franke's excellent introduction has been printed at the beginning of the book, the editor does not appear to have read it with any attention; otherwise how could he say of the *Pāṇiniya Lingānuśāsana* that it is "by common consent the earliest" of the treatises on gender? And under verse 13 he gives Pāṇini as the source of a *sūtra* which Dr. Franke expressly showed to be quoted in the form first found in the *Kāśikā Vṛtti*. Further, an appendix gives reprints of the *Lingānuśāsanas* of Śākataṭayana and Vararuci with explanatory

notes in Sanskrit. Comparison with Dr. Franke's edition shows that not only have the texts been copied from it but that the so-called notes are in fact the extracts he made from the commentaries ; I have looked in vain for any acknowledgement of the borrowing, not to speak of any indication that permission was sought for it. Surely a higher standard in such matters is to be expected in a book appearing in a University series and edited by a bearer of the honoured title of Mahopādhyāya.

The question whether the author of the text was the well-known king Harṣa is also affected by the new edition of the commentary. It is here attributed to Pr̥thiviśvara, son of Bhattabharadvāja, and a curious verse, which was not in Dr. Franke's manuscript, states that the *śāstrakāra* fell at his feet and asked him to write a commentary on the work. Therefore the two were contemporaries. The text shows no influence of the *Kāśikā Vṛtti*, but the commentary treats it as a leading authority and must surely be one or more generations later than it in date. Dr. Franke's manuscript, while giving the commentary the same title, names as the author Śabaravāmin, son of Bhattadīptavāmin. Moreover, on verses 6 and 28 it quotes for two words equivalents in the Kashmiri dialect, which are omitted in the commentary of the new edition. There are a large number of other minor differences between the two, though essentially they are identical. This treatise was much used in Kashmir and it looks as if some scholar there had copied out Pr̥thiviśvara's commentary, making minor alterations in it, and had then appended his own name to it. Both commentaries have the final verse which implies that the author of the text was of regal or semi-regal position, and the verse already referred to, which Pr̥thiviśvara alone has, is so unusual that it can hardly be an interpolation. Ordinarily an author and commentator, when contemporary, stand in the relation of *guru* and pupil ; here the terms of the verse make this impossible, but they become intelligible and natural if the

*śāstrakāra* was a king of non-Brahman birth and the commentator his *guru*. Complete proof is lacking, but this new piece of evidence goes to confirm Dr. Franke's theory that the author of the treatise was Harṣa of Kanauj and further, if that is accepted, then the lower limit of the *Kāśikā Vṛtti* (c. A.D. 660) must be put back by at least half a century.

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2. DIE PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-LITERATUR NEBST EINEM  
SPECIMEN DER SUVIKRĀNTAVIKRĀMI-PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ.  
By TOKUMYO MATSUMOTO. Bonner orientalische Studien,  
Heft 1. 10 × 7, pp. vii + 55 + 29. Stuttgart: W.  
Kohlhammer, 1932. RM. 7.50.

The *Prajñāpāramitā* literature has not yet been adequately studied and sound texts and translations of the principal works are needed before we can assess it at its true value. Pending such publication, this study is a useful contribution to the subject, and, though it has little that is noteworthy to say on the general question, in several matters of detail it adds substantially to our knowledge. I would invite attention to the catalogue of the materials available in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese, to the identification of certain Mahāyāna quotations in some recently published copper-plates from Ceylon, to the transliteration of Sir Aurel Stein's Sanskrit manuscript in Chinese characters of the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra*, and to the Sanskrit text with Chinese translation of the first chapter of the *Suvikrāntavikrāmiprajñāpāramitā*, one of the latest works of its class. Mr. Matsumoto is clearly a valuable recruit to the ranks of Mahāyāna students, but might I suggest that, if he intends to edit any Sanskrit texts, he should first carefully study Tibetan and the principles that govern the use of translations in that language for the correction of faulty Sanskrit manuscripts? For the Chinese translations,

on which alone he appears to have worked so far, however invaluable for the meaning, are often, unlike the Tibetan ones, unsafe guides for the decision of textual minutiae.

589.

3. DAS ALTINDISCHE BUCH VOM WELT- UND STAATSLEBEN :  
DAS ARTHAÇĀSTRA DES KAUTILYA. Aus dem Sanskrit  
übersetzt u. mit Einleitung u. Anmerkungen versehen  
von J. J. MEYER. 10 × 7½, pp. lxxxviii + 983. Leipzig :  
Otto Harrassowitz, 1926.

The first fasciculus of this work was reviewed in the JOURNAL for 1926, p. 810, and a notice of the complete book after the lapse of so many years is only justified by its outstanding importance and must be brief. Dr. Meyer's previous work had shown him to be well equipped with the special kind of knowledge required for coping with the difficulties of style and language of the *Arthaśāstra* and, when the translation first came out, the present reviewer formed the opinion that it reached a very high standard and was one of the two works indispensable for study of the text (the other is Shamastry's *Index Verborum*). Continual use of it since then has but heightened his opinion of its merits. The wording is lively, even if it would not become an Englishman to criticize the style, and the translator is skilled in penetrating the peculiarities of Kauṭilya's thought and the significance of his euphemisms, but the most important part of his work lies undoubtedly in his explanations of particular words, explanations for which I have often had reason to be grateful. Dr. Meyer would not claim that his rendering is always final ; he himself is often in doubt and a long list of passages with criticisms and suggestions for improvements could easily be drawn up. But such a procedure is best left to separate articles and might create a wrong impression in a review.

If the translation has not achieved the reputation it deserves, the author has only himself to thank. Exuberance of language

and imagination is coupled with a curious degree of incapacity for clear thought or lucid statement. The notes to the 668 large pages of the translation are often not easy to follow and are in addition frequently modified in 223 pages of additional notes and four pages of corrections. His final view is usually worth the trouble it takes to arrive at it, but why should the reader have to go through a note or series of notes several times to make sure of catching the sense ? The same symptoms appear in the introduction. What Dr. Meyer has to say on the ideas of Kauṭilya is mostly sound and worth saying, though preferably much more concisely, but I think he hardly realizes the point which will strike forcibly anyone with official experience, namely, that Kauṭilya is unique among extant Indian writers on politics for his grasp of the considerations which should determine administrative, as distinct from political, action. He is often pedantic in his prescriptions, but seldom sentimental, silly, or unpractical. The greater part of the introduction is, however, taken up with a discussion of the date of the *Arthaśāstra*, which is purely subjective in attitude, an attempt to read into the book the character of Candragupta's minister as suggested by tradition. This seems to me of little probative value, and the traditional date, tentatively supported by Dr. Meyer, is difficult to reconcile with his statement (no supporting references given in the introduction or indexes) that Kauṭilya was acquainted with the doctrines of the Vaiśeṣikas. There do not seem to be any certain references to this school before the third century A.D. and I find it hard to believe that it had enjoyed any considerable vogue before the second century at the earliest. But whether a translator has correctly dated his original or not has little bearing on the value of his translation and, as already indicated, the value of this one should be set very high.

4. THE RAMAYANA OF VALMIKI : BALAKANDA (NORTH-WESTERN RECENSION). Critically edited from original MSS. by BHAGAVAD DATTA.  $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ . pp. xiv + 490 + 18. Lahore : The Research Department, D.A.V. College, 1931.

This edition of the North-Western recension of the *Rāmāyana* was started with the *Ayodhyākānda*, the first three fasciculi of which were noticed in the JOURNAL for 1925, p. 179, but publication would have ceased on the completion of that book, if the Panjab Government had not fortunately come to the rescue with an annual subsidy. The present volume is the firstfruits of this enlightened policy. It differs, not entirely for the better, in format and paper from its predecessor ; but the changes in methods of editing are an improvement. The unintelligible diacritical signs have been dropped and a better selection of variants is given. The execution, however, does not always correspond to the good intentions of the editor. Thus each line is marked to show whether it occurs in the Bombay and Gorresio editions, but I found far too many inaccuracies in the passages for which I checked it. Similarly there is an elaborate series of indexes, which are far from complete. Names are omitted and another index which purports to give the rhetorical figures occurring in the text actually only mentions similes and omits many of these even. The prevalence of such inaccuracies naturally gives rise to the suspicion of like carelessness in the points for which a reader has to trust the editor. Nevertheless, though the edition fails to fulfil the expectations it raises, it presents us with a readable and agreeable text, as well as with some information about the state of the MSS. of the epic which we have not had hitherto.

The completion of nearly a third of the text raises wider questions than that of editing. How far in fact will it help us towards the ideal of discovering which portions are original and which later additions ? For the *Mahābhārata* we know now that we cannot hope to reach a version which is substantially

older than and different from those we have ; we can only aim at the best possible version of the existing text and that is what Dr. Sukthankar and his associates are in process of giving us. But the *Rāmāyana* is universally recognized to be a unitary work and it ought not to be beyond the resources of scholarship ultimately to arrive at a text which we could reasonably hold to contain all that Vālmīki wrote and not too much of what he did not write. The present edition can hardly be said to bring this consummation any nearer. For what is called the North-Western recension is only too plainly no more authentic than the other known recensions. If it stands on the whole closer to the Bengali than to the southern text, the similarity is more probably due to geographical and political relations than to a greater degree of authenticity.

Disappointing as this result is, still two points of some importance are brought out by this edition. Firstly, it is remarkable how close all three versions of the *Bālakānda* stand for long passages at a time, though there is every reason to think that this book preserves at most only a few verses of the original poem. The agreement seems to be greater than in the *Ayodhyākānda*, where presumably the popularity of many episodes tempted the rhapsodists to individual enlargements. Secondly, the account in the Hindi introduction of the ten MSS. used throws some light on what is meant by a recension. The position is rather like that of a country speaking a common language divided into many dialects, not one of which has been shaped into a literary form and obtained fixation or pre-eminence. The dialects shade off imperceptibly into each other and, unless physical, political, or racial limits intervene, it is difficult to distinguish their areas and characteristics definitely. The norm chosen for the description of each dialect cannot help being of an arbitrary nature. So is it with the recensions of the *Rāmāyana*. Of the ten MSS. described, none of which unfortunately is old, three have a similar text which is taken as the basis of this edition, and three more, which stand fairly close to them, have their

variants given ; the other four differ largely, mainly in the direction of agreeing with the Bengali text. Any one of the three groups might have been taken as the norm of the recension, for all that I can see or the editor has to say. A recension is indeed little more than the text of a group of similar MSS. which happens to have been edited and so obtained fixation ; it is more the product of alteration in copying than the conscious preparation of a standard text or the work of a particular reviser or school. The only absolute limit to the number of recensions is therefore the number of MSS. in existence, and the editor has already started multiplying them by naming two more.

The conclusion I would draw is that, when this edition is completed, nothing is to be gained textually by the publication of further recensions. The proper procedure would be to collect and collate the oldest and most representative MSS. from the various parts of India and Nepal and prepare from them a composite text. After excising obvious interpolations, there would remain a number of passages in substantial agreement and probably original in the main, and, secondly, many much expanded passages in which the MSS. would differ greatly and which would require skilled handling. According to all appearance we have lost little of Vālmīki's work, and it is a question in the main of determining which passages or verses are original. In the end it should be possible to obtain a coherent text which, though constructed by subjective methods, would not differ so very much from the poem as it left Vālmīki's hands ; and such a version would have the supreme advantage that, stripped of most of the accretions of later times, it would reveal to us in precise detail the genius of the greatest figure in Sanskrit literature. But to attempt this task solely on the basis of the published recensions would be folly, if only because the material they contain is utterly inadequate for deciding between variant readings of the same line.

BIBLIOTHECA ARABICARUM SCHOLASTICARUM. Série Arabe,  
tome iii. *Averroès, Tahâfot at Tahâfot.* Texte arabe  
établi par MAURICE BOUYGES, S.J. 10 × 6½, pp. xxxix  
+ 679. Beyrouth : Imprimerie Catholique, 1930.

This is the second publication of the series to appear, The first, which was noticed in this JOURNAL for 1928 (p. 208), contains the *Tahâfut* of El Ghazâli. Here Averroes (Ibn Rushd) writing in Spain towards the end of the twelfth century, less than a century after Ghazâli, criticizes the *Tahâfut* thoroughly, pointing out what he regards as its errors. At the same time he examines and discusses some of the problems that arise so that his work is something more than a commentary on the *Tahâfut* or a refutation of it, though it has been known by each of these titles. One learns that the present convenient title of *Tahâfut et Tahâfot* appears not to have attached to it originally.

The scarcity of copies of the *Tahâfut et Tahâfot* and of references to it in other Arabic books show how coldly it was received by the Muhammadan world. Father Bouyges has not been able to discover more than three independent Arabic MSS. of the text, one of which dated in the sixteenth century was the basis of the printed edition brought out at Cairo in 1885 and another is almost as early. On the other hand, the book was welcomed warmly by Latins and Jews, having it seems been translated as early as the thirteenth century, and soon found its way into Christian schools. Hebrew versions as old as the fourteenth century are in existence, and a Latin translation of the same century was published two centuries later. Before the Cairo edition referred to appeared the text was accessible to European Orientalists only through the medium of the Latin and Hebrew translations.

Father Bouyges' critical edition is excellent in every respect. He follows the same method as he employed for his admirable edition of Ghazâli's *Tahâfut*, using all the manuscript and other material available, showing the authority for readings

in footnotes, giving the fullest historical and bibliographical information in an introduction, and supplying the same useful headings and tables of reference and indices. His work is able, thorough, and complete.

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A. R. GUEST.

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ALBUM DU MUSÉE ARABE DU CAIRE. Par M. GASTON WIRT.

9½ × 6, pp. 100, 10 full page photographic illustrations.

Cairo, 1930.

Excellent examples of Islamic art are now being published in a way that puts them within the reach of anyone. This handy volume of reproductions of some of the finest pieces in the Arab Museum at Cairo makes a notable addition to the series thus rendered available. Many of the objects represented do not appear to have been published before. They have been selected so as to illustrate the decorative art of Egypt in its various branches at different dates during the part of the Islamic period when it was flourishing there—generally from about the ninth to the fifteenth century. Most of them were produced in Egypt, but a fair number came from Persia or other Islamic countries. Much of the work shown is remarkably beautiful. Some of it belongs to well-known types, but even those who are well acquainted with their style will not always have realized before to what perfection it is carried in the most outstanding specimens. Some of it falls into classes of which examples are rare, and those preserved elsewhere than in the Museum are very few indeed. The fragments of panels of carved wood from the royal palace of the Fatimids at Cairo, with their spirited scenes of hunting and dancing, admirable both for the harmonious balance of their design and for the most skilful execution, certainly deserve a particular mention. Curiosities are an inscription on stone that may be taken as a sort of artistic zero, for its extremely rough chiselling dates from only twelve years after the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs, and an apparently unique

fourteenth century brass casket inlaid with silver attributed by an inscription to Ṣan‘ā.

With regard to the pottery it seems to be impossible to decide whether one or two of the early pieces were made in Mesopotamia or in Egypt. Others are unmistakably Coptic, like nearly all the textiles even until a fairly late period. The enamelled glass lamps shown are not generally regarded as of Egyptian manufacture.

Professor Wiet limits his text to short paragraphs in French, placed opposite the plates, including descriptions, dates, and occasional comments on points like workmanship and art relations. The French has been translated into Arabic by M. Hasan Hawary, and into English by Captain Creswell.

N.R. 10\*

A. R. GUEST.

**GAIBI ET LES GRANDS FAIENCERS ÉGYPTIENS D'ÉPOQUE MAMLOUKE.**

Avec un catalogue de leurs œuvres conservées au musée d'art arabe du Caire. Par M. ARMAND ABEL. 11 × 8, pp. vii + 114, 31 photographic plates (146 figures). Cairo : Imprimerie de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1930.

Ghaibī is a well-known maker of Mamluk fine pottery, and abundant remains of work bearing his signature have been found in Egypt. The great Egyptian faiencers include all the other makers of such pottery found there whose names occur on pieces preserved in the Cairo Museum. Altogether there are some twenty-five of them. While it is convenient to style them Egyptian, it must be remembered that they were not all Egyptian by origin, and some of them may not even have lived in Egypt. Moreover, they cannot be assumed to have been the best makers of the Mamluk epoch: it is likely, or indeed certain, that there were many others whose names we do not know because they did not sign their pieces, and some of these may have turned out better pottery.

There are 262 signed pieces. Each is described in the

catalogue and the abundant and well-executed illustrations on a large scale enable an opinion to be formed of the skill of the different artists. About a third of the whole bear the name of Ghaibi. No other maker is represented by quite a quarter as many, the large majority by not more than five pieces, and several by three, two, or even by only one. Generally the pieces signed by Ghaibi consist of blue and white faience resembling Chinese porcelain ; those signed by 'Ajami, Hurmuzi, and Ghazâl include the same sort of stuff : the work of Esh Shâmi is similar but not the same in style. Another class of pottery is characterized by a coarser mode of decoration, to be seen, for instance, in all the pieces that bear the name of Abû el 'Izz. M. Abel is perhaps a little inclined to overrate the artistic merits of the pottery. They seem to be no more than moderate, even in the work of Ghaibi, with two or three notable exceptions. The rougher decoration is often extremely bad. Nearly all the pieces are fragments.

There is no date on any of the pieces, but M. Abel proposes a dating founded on a careful examination of the work of the different makers. Occasionally resemblances that form part of his argument seem to be doubtful ; thus the scroll on a lamp of Barqûq and a scroll by 'Ajami seem hardly *fort exactement pareil*. One may wonder also whether inferences of direct relationship that he draws from resemblances can always be accepted as valid. Moreover, seeing that he agrees with the general view that Ghaibi was a master potter employing a number of different hands (whence the remarkable variety of his style, his inequality, and the numerous differences in his signature are accounted for readily), and that the mark Hurmuzi likewise denotes a master or a factory, it is difficult to see why he finds it necessary to split up 'Ajami into two persons operating at different dates and Esh Shâmi into three. Apart from details, one of M. Abel's principal conclusions—that Ghaibi lived in the middle of the fourteenth century—does not seem to be supported by

any evidence whatever; but on the other hand the peculiar writing on the tile by Ghaibi certainly suggests a date for him much later, for it can be matched in several monuments in Cairo, the earliest according to information kindly given by Captain Creswell being one of Jauhar Lâlâ, dated 1430. Further, nothing seems to be known about the competition of China, which M. Abel first assumes to have occurred and then treats as a fact, whence the deterioration of Egyptian pottery to a very low ebb by the middle of the fifteenth century is proved.

M. Abel overlooks the waster bearing the mark of El Ustâd el Misrî found near Damascus by M. de Lorey. The appellation adopted by this potter might have suggested by itself that he did not work in Egypt, where it would hardly have been distinctive. When he is eliminated, the connection that M. Abel discovers between earlier Egyptian and Mamluk pottery disappears almost entirely, for none of the other makers whom M. Abel places earlier than Ghaibi is represented by more than a very small number of pieces. Thanks to an observation by M. Husain Rashid, M. Abel shows that it is likely that Ghaibi manufactured in Egypt and, incidentally, it may be remarked that he was not the originator of the style associated particularly with him. The question whether Ghaibi was an Egyptian manufacturer or not can, however, hardly be regarded as settled. It is remarkable that among the large quantity of his pieces brought to light in Egypt no waster has been found.

A piece by Ghaibi has been discovered in Syria, perhaps after the book came out. That by Ibn Ghaibi published by Dr. Fouquet might have been alluded to.

The headings of the figures are not always sufficient, and it seems to be impossible to make out exactly what some of them represent.

M. Abel's book will be most useful to students of Islamic pottery, even if some of his conclusions are disputed.

## BOIS SCULPTÉS D'ÉGLISES COPTES (ÉPOQUE FATIMIDE).

Par EDMOND PAUTY. Avec une introduction historique par GASTON WIET. 10 × 14, pp. vii + 38, 45 full page plates. Cairo : Publications du Musée Arabe du Caire, 1930.

The subject of this book is the carved panels of four wooden screens taken from the churches of Saint Barbara and Abū Saifain in Old Cairo and now preserved in the Coptic Museum and in the chapel of Saint George in the town. There is a close connection between the carvings and those from the palace of the Fatimid Khalifs which are to be seen in the Arab Museum at Cairo. It is therefore probably more convenient to class them under the Fatimid art of the tenth-twelfth century than to attempt to determine whether they are to be regarded as Islamic or Coptic. As Professor Wiet observes, in his introduction, it would be a difficult matter to lay down a satisfactory definition of Coptic art, but it is not to be supposed that Muhammadan workmen were employed to embellish Christian churches. The form of art in question would accordingly have been the work of Christians.

The panels in the screen from Saint Barbara's, thirty-eight in number, are all carved with interlacing floral scrolls combined with figures of men or animals. There is great variety in the designs, no two being exactly alike; the composition is skilful, the figures are rendered with admirable grace and spirit, and at the same time harmonious balance is preserved. Most of the panels are worn by age, but few so much as to prevent the beauty of the work from appearing. It is to be seen in full in three or four that happen to be almost perfectly preserved, the minute delicacy of the detail being astonishing. In the panels of the principal screen from the church of Abū Saifain geometrical compositions are to be seen, combined sometimes with figures. Where the combination occurs the geometrical element tends to become independent of the figure element, the latter being used as a filling. The

most remarkable of these panels are twenty-two representing monks, saints, and angels. Some of the panels in this screen are more or less poor restorations and altogether the work has not so much distinction as that of St. Barbara. The other two screens from Abû Saifain, one of which is attributed to St. Barbara by a slip in the headings of the plates, resemble the preceding but are of minor importance.

Professor Wiet in a historical introduction brings together facts bearing on the relations between Christians and Muhammadans in Egypt and on the churches. Monsieur Pauty describes the panels and points out the features that concern their dating. He also gives some useful details on the architecture of the church of Abû Saifain. His conclusion as to the panels from St. Barbara is that they date from the reign of El 'Aziz, a flourishing period of toleration when Christian influence was at its highest, and those from Abû Saifain are later, the principal ones belonging to the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century. The book is extremely well turned out. The illustrations are conveniently arranged, and their execution is excellent.

N.R. 12.

A. R. GUEST.

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ŞALÂH AD - DÎN HALÎL İBN AİBAK AS - ŞAFADÎ, DAS  
BIOGRAPHISCHE LEXICON, TEIL 1. Herausg. von  
HELLMUT RITTER. 8vo, pp. 8 + 385. Istanbul, Staats-  
druckerei. 1931. Price M. 25.

The value of this vast collection of biographies, filling about 30 volumes in some copies, has long been known, but the difficulty remained that only scattered volumes existed in Western libraries and no complete copy was known either in Egypt or Constantinople. It is principally due to the efforts of the editor that manuscripts have been traced which make it possible to publish a complete edition of the whole work. Some of these copies are in the handwriting of the author himself, while others have been copied from his

originals. A list of the biographies had been commenced by Professor Gabrieli in the *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Licei* and I have published a biography of the author in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, with a list of his works, to both of which I could now make additions and corrections. The author who, in spite of his official duties, found time to write a number of bulky works, gives us in the introductions to this work, the Arabic title of which is *Al-Wāfi bil Wafayāt*, two long lists of the volumes he has used in the composition of his dictionary, of which the principal is on pp. 47–55 of this publication. We possess a number of these works, either in print or manuscript, which enable us to check his method, but the majority of them has long been lost, or up to the present, not been recovered.

The present edition is based in part upon an autograph of the author, from which, unfortunately, many leaves are missing, while for the remainder, an excellent copy has been used which has been twice collated with the author's original, in 869 and 873 A.H., so that we have a guarantee of possessing the text as the author left it.

While the author intends to follow a strictly alphabetical order, he begins the biographical portion, after the introduction, with a life of the Prophet, and then, in the hope of obtaining blessings, follows it with biographies of such men whose name, as well as that of their father, was Muḥammad. Of these he has no less than 201 : next come the biographies of those whose father's name begins with the letter Alif. The volume ends in the middle of those who were named Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm (No. 246).

If we compare the biographies of such men as have also found notices in other biographical works we find that Ṣafadī very often abbreviates his accounts considerably. If we take for example the first biography, that of Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Bāghandī, which consists in Ṣafadī of three lines only, we find that his authority, the *Tārīkh Baġhdād of the Khaṭīb*, ed. Cairo, vol. iii, pp. 209–13, has

91 lines! I do not wish to detract from the value of the work, as the Khaṭīb in the biography mentioned has much which most of us will consider of little real value. We must not forget that most biographies are derived from works which no longer exist, and also that Ṣafadī compensates for his brevity in older biographies by detailed accounts of his contemporaries. Further, while the Khaṭīb and others lay special value upon biographies of traditionalists, Ṣafadī gives us accounts of men who have excelled in other branches of learning or as men in public service.

That the author at times made errors is evinced by some marginal notes found in the manuscript used for the greater portion of the text. These are mostly by Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī. Another instance is the biography of Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Asadī (pp. 356-7) where we are told that he was born in 441 and died in 500 A.H., yet lived to be nearly a hundred before he died. May be that in the autograph of Ṣafadī, as is quite frequent in his other works, there was a small blank before the word حسنه, which he hoped to insert when he could ascertain the exact date. In the biography of Ibn Zafar is perhaps a similar error (p. 141, l. 16). Ibn Zafar was so poor that he had to marry his daughter without dowry; then her husband travelled away with her and sold her in some country فاسف بهازوجها و باعها في البلاد.

At the beginning of the volume, facsimila of pages of the MSS. used for the edition are given, and the writing of Ṣafadī is here the same as in the two autograph copies of the Taḍkira of that author, preserved in the India Office Library.

The volume is furnished with an index in proper alphabetical order and it was a good idea of the editor to give also the names by which the persons whose lives are contained in this volume were generally known. It is one of the difficulties one has always to contend with that most persons are, in books, cited not by their proper names but by some nick-name such as Ibn Hajar, al-Qastalānī, as-Ṣafadī, etc.;

and in many cases, on this account, it is not easy to trace a biography.

The material in this volume is so great, and the quantity of poetry so considerable, that it is impossible to survey all in a short account like the present.

A few errors which I have noted down may follow here :—  
 p. 140, l. 15, *نقطويه*, or *ذفنه*; 151, 10, *واقع*; 152, 7, *عبد الباقي*, or did Safadi really vocalize as printed?; 152, 16, 162, 18, *ابن ابي الصبغ*; 170, 12, 179, 16, *ابن حزرة*; 173, 13, *ابن الغزال*; *ما يصرف عليه* “what he might expend on it”; 183, 4, *البناني*; 185, 10, 201, 8, *ابراهيم بن احمد*; 214, 13, *الحرستاني*; 231, 9, *مناد*; so also often in the Durar al-Kâmina meaning: “He transmitted on his authority a great quantity.”

I express the hope that Professor Ritter will be able to edit further volumes, and finally the complete work.

N.R. 5.

F. KRENKOW.

### BEITRÄGE ZUR ARABISCHEN LITERATURGESCHICHTE. Von OTTO

SPIES. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

6 × 5½, pp. x + 126. Leipzig : D. M. G. in Kom. bei F. A. Brockhaus. 1932.

The old catalogues of the libraries of Constantinople, in spite of their inefficiency, had revealed that many treasures of rare books existed there, but it was only when scholars like Rescher, Schacht, and Ritter after the Great War got access to these treasures that we began to realize the magnitude of their value. While most of the articles of former explorers are hidden away in scientific journals, unless one is fortunate enough to possess separate prints, we have here a contribution in book-form. Spies has selected the works dealing with history and biography and in his account we find that he has discovered not only complete

sets of several important works like the History of Damascus, by Ibn 'Asākir, but in many cases we find accounts of the autographs of the authors of these works themselves. Of the *Muntażam* of Ibn al-Jauzī also the complete work can be put together from several libraries. When we consider the quantity of material left for future scholars to edit we almost feel that we are only at the beginning of our studies in Islamic history. As regards the History of Damascus Spies has overlooked that I have given an account of some copies in the British Museum, which have been acquired since the publication of the catalogues (*Majalla* of the Arab Academy). His statement, p. 76, that the first to fourth *Juz'* of the *Mir'at* of Yāfi'i has been published at Hyderabad requires correcting. The complete work has been printed, but I have found, on comparing portions with the India Office MSS., that the edition contains rather too many errors.

In the Arabic text of the introduction to the *Ikmāl* of Mughultā'i, pp. 106–10, are some words which I interpret differently. Page 106, line 16, read عظيم الفائدة, l. 2 add من after فه, l. 23 read يشبهه; p. 107, l. 14 and 16, read لفظه, l. 17 perhaps وسباب ويعده الاختخار تعزى; p. 108 perhaps l. 11 read خلاف, l. 13 read لم ارافق; p. 109, l. 9 read ي, l. 10 read حدیا, l. 11 read الاحاین; p. 110, l. 9, read اغتابه.

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F. KRENKOW.

THE MEMOIRS OF MIR 'ALAM. By MUHAMMAD SIRAJUDDIN TALIB. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 230, pls. 11, map 1 (paper covers). Hyderabad Book Depot, 1930. Rs. 3.

This is an interesting account in Urdu of the career of Mir Abul Kasim, better known as Mir 'Alam (A.D. 1752–1808). On the recommendation of Araistu Jah, madār ul muhām of Hyderabad, he obtained his first public appointment as sadr talukdar in the Nizam's dominions. So creditably did

he perform his duties that, when Hollond became resident at Hyderabad, Mir 'Alam, as vakil of the Nizam, was made responsible for all negotiations with that envoy. In 1787, during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Cornwallis he was sent on a mission to Calcutta for the purpose of settling outstanding disputes. While serving in this capacity he received the much discussed letter which Cornwallis declared to have the force of a treaty. An Urdu translation of this letter will be found on pages 37-8. It was as a reward for his successful conduct of these negotiations that he received the title of Mir 'Alam. After serving as envoy to the Marathas at Poona, he commanded the Hyderabad troops in the final Mysore war at the end of which he was entrusted with the administration of the Nizam's share of the spoils.

Unfortunately for Mir 'Alam his military and diplomatic successes aroused the jealousy of Araistu Jah who accused him of appropriating the jewels taken from Tipu Sultan's collection. He was therefore kept under strict surveillance until the death of Araistu Jah in 1804. Eventually, on the recommendation of the British he became chief minister of the Hyderabad State. The importance of this appointment was that it served as a precedent for later nominations.

On his jagirs in Hyderabad he constructed numerous mosques, serais, gardens, and tanks, photographs of which illustrate the volume under consideration. But his activities did not cease here, for we are informed that he was the author of several books of a devotional character. According to Rieu he died at Kerbela, but the author proves conclusively that his death took place at Hyderabad in the year A.D. 1808.

The bibliography shows that the author has based his account upon English, Persian, and Urdu works, and also upon various unpublished sources. His treatment of the subject, however, would have been improved by more references in footnotes to the original authorities. The years of the Christian era equivalent to A.H. 1209 and A.H. 1202 on pages 55 and 56 respectively are obviously incorrect.

The transliteration of Monsieur Raymond on page 58, and the use of the English word "character" on page 181 will mystify many readers.

The author is to be congratulated upon having furnished his book with an excellent index.

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C. COLLIN DAVIES.

DIE GESCHICHTE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN IM ISLAM. By MARTIN PLESSNER.  $9 \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. 36. Tübingen : J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1931. M. 1.80.

This little book represents an expanded version of an inaugural lecture delivered by the author at Frankfurt a. M. in 1931. Dr. Plessner points out that Muslim knowledge is predominantly traditional and that the collective sense of 'ilm is always in the forefront of the Muslim consciousness. The sciences in Islam are still medieval, i.e. dogmatic and scholastic ; it is true that Muslims have made important contributions of an original character to medicine, to the natural sciences, to the writing of history, to chronology, to sociology, and to the history of religions, but in general the spirit of tradition and of belief in authority has remained unchallenged. Enthusiastic and indefatigable accumulators of knowledge, the Arabs excelled in the compilation of works of an encyclopedic nature, and, to the sciences of the ancient world, 'ulūm al-awā'il, they added such branches of learning (Qur'ānic exegesis, polemics and the theory of mysticism) as found no place in the classical scheme. But always, in Islam, knowledge has been regarded as *ancilla theologie*, and its dogmatic and scholastic spirit is an inevitable corollary of the theocratic constitution of the Islamic State. Dr. Plessner's pamphlet is a clear demonstration of the thesis that, to understand the Muslim sciences, one must never lose sight of the fact that Islam is not solely a religion but a complete civilization.

260.

E. J. HOLMYARD.

LA SYRIE ANTIQUE ET MÉDIÉVALE ILLUSTRÉE. Par R. DUSSAUD, P. DESCHAMPS, et H. SEYRIG. 11 × 8½, pp. 22, pls. 160. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1931. Frs. 200.

Connoisseurs of art, no less than orientalists, will welcome this handsome volume, which forms Tome xvii of the *Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique* of the *Service des Antiquités et des Beaux-Arts* of the French authorities in Syria and the Lebanon. The photographs have been skilfully chosen and admirably reproduced, while the notes that accompany them, though brief, are sufficiently informative for the purpose. Among the subjects illustrated are the Castle of Raymond de Saint-Gilles (Hosn Sandjil) at Tripoli—an attractive ruin only a few yards from the Monastery of the Whirling Dervishes; several buildings at Aleppo and Damascus, together with a fine general view of the latter city; the Basilica and other ruins at Qal'at Sim'an; the imposing *Crac des Chevaliers* (*Qal'at el-Hosn*), which still preserves the aspect it wore at the time of the Crusades; the aqueduct from Daphne at Antioch (with the inevitable train of donkeys on the ancient bridge); and the temples of Bacchus and Jupiter at Baalbek. Such a representative collection of photographs (which the above list by no means exhausts) has a definite cultural value, and one may hope that it will be followed by a similar volume on modern Syria. We should have liked to see a photograph of the enormous stone, partially hewn, still in situ in the quarry at Baalbek, for this impresses perhaps more than those in the trilithon; but the authors are to be congratulated on their judicious selection and technical achievement.

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E. J. HOLMYARD.

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GRAMMATIK DER TEXTE AUS EL AMARNA. Von FRIDA BEHNK. pp. 72. Geuthner, 1930.

The inscriptions of Tell el Amarna must of necessity always be of great importance to the Egyptologist, since they form

by far the greater part of the Egyptian documents for the reign of Akhenaten. To the student of the Egyptian language they have an added interest for two reasons. In the first place, they form a compact body of material for the study of a limited and sharply defined period. Secondly, they are of prime importance for the study of the beginnings of Late Egyptian, since they are the first considerable body of texts to employ Late Egyptian constructions to any great extent. A book, then, that seeks to give the grammar of these inscriptions, and to analyse the Late Egyptian elements which enter into them is a welcome accession to the Egyptologist's library. Nevertheless, one cannot but admire the courage of the writer who attempts such a task before a modern grammar of Late Egyptian has been written. Erman's *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, valuable as it is, is almost fifty years old, and the quotations are drawn from a very limited number of texts. Modern knowledge of Late Egyptian is drawn from a far wider field, yet the majority of the rules upon which we work still remain to be formulated in a modern and scientific grammar, and are handed on in a sort of oral tradition. The whole trend of modern research, as exemplified by Gardiner's recent articles, shows how profoundly the student must be prepared to modify many of his ideas. Thus, the writer of any book dealing with Late Egyptian is handicapped at the outset by the lack of a modern grammar of his subject, and the book under consideration suffers severely in this respect.

A grammar of the Amarna Texts is essentially a specialist work, and, as such, must fulfil certain conditions if it is to justify its existence. The reader can hardly expect a treatise on Late Egyptian grammar, but he can reasonably ask to be provided with an exhaustive survey and analysis of all the forms and constructions which were employed during the period. The ideal Amarna Grammar, to the reviewer's mind, must be established on a wider basis than the present volume. It should include not merely the inscriptions found

in the Amarna tombs, but those, both hieroglyphic and hieratic, found in the excavations. It should include the contemporary inscriptions from other sites, such as Thebes, and also such documents as the letters published by Griffith in *Kahun Papyri*, xxxviii, and Peet in *Liverpool Annals*, xvii (1930), 82 ff. It should certainly include all inscriptions of the reign of Smenkhkarē<sup>1</sup>, and possibly even those of the early years of Tutankhamūn. Only on such a wide basis as this is it possible to form an adequate conspectus of the whole period, and to see, for instance, whether the new influences were confined to Amarna alone, or were spread throughout the land.

With such sources the ideal Amarna Grammar would then give a complete survey not merely of the forms employed; but of the grammatical constructions used. Naturally such a book would be incomplete when compared with that grammar of Late Egyptian that has yet to be written, or with Gardiner's *Egyptian Grammar*, but such a state is inevitable, and would in no way detract from the value of the work.

Viewed from such a standpoint and with such hopes, this book is a great disappointment. It is no grammar of the period but a laborious and valuable corpus of the forms and spellings which occur in the inscriptions of Amarna. A study of forms is invaluable to the student, but forms in themselves are not grammar and never can be.

The book consists of 102 paragraphs, 89 of which are devoted to "Formenlehre" and the remainder to "Syntax". A few grammatical notes are scattered about the main body of the text, but as a general rule this book has no concern with grammar proper. The treatment of most of the verbal constructions is grossly inadequate, and the writer on the whole, as in the case of the Old Perfective (to give only one of many instances), is content to give the forms alone, and to make no mention of the grammar. One looks in vain for an analysis of the uses of the negatives *n*, *nn*, *bn*, and

*bw*; or of *iw* and *wnn*; or for a reasoned and complete presentation of the periphrasis with *lrl*, and yet these are all vital for the comparison of Middle with Late Egyptian. The writer shows an apparent ignorance of the main results of recent research, and in many cases shows a complete inability to analyse and appreciate even ordinary grammatical constructions. Finally, one must note a too frequent dismissal of whole sections as showing nothing of interest. Surely the function of a specialized grammar such as this is not so much to say what is interesting or otherwise, but to present fully and clearly all the data referring to all grammatical elements regardless of the fact that they may not differ from those recorded in existing grammars. In the following lines are given comments on some of the points which were noticed in reading through the book. No attempt has been made to comment on purely grammatical or philological points for to do so would entail the writing of a complete Amarna Grammar on the spot.

§ 12. Behnk is surely wrong in saying that the writings of *kmz* and *imsw* show that *m* and *z* have been transposed. It is far more probable that they indicate the disappearance of the *z*.

§ 15. The reference to *.ky* (suffix, 2nd person dual) should be vi, 21, 2.

§ 16, b, last line. The correct reference is v, 28, n. 24.

§ 17. Insert a final cursive *w* in the transcription of *mns*.

§ 24 ff. It is obvious that *pz* and *pzy.i* are related, but the one is the definite article, and the other the possessive adjective, and as such they have separate and defined meanings and functions. In these sections which deal with the article some distinction should have been made in the treatment of these two elements. A notable omission is the absence of all reference to such constructions as *itf.i pz ln*, and *pz ln pzy.i itf*.

§ 30, p. 19. It is strange that Behnk has apparently omitted to note a striking feature of Amarna orthography—

the spelling of the name of Nefretiti. *Nfr-nfrw-ltn* is a name not only of Nefretiti, but of one of her daughters, and also of Smenkhkarē<sup>t</sup>, but in the case of Nefretiti it is an almost invariable rule that *ltn* is written in an opposite direction to the rest of the name. The spelling which Behnk gives twice in this section occurs, to the best of my knowledge, in only three or four certain instances in the six volumes of Davies' *Amarna*. This reversal of the normal manner of writing also occurs occasionally in the name of Akhenaten himself, and the variant spelling of Meritaten in ii, 41 (which is incorrectly transcribed by Behnk) may possibly be a bungled attempt to write *ltn* in the reverse direction.

In the name *Stp-n-R<sup>t</sup>* (from ii, 38) insert *p* between *stp* and *n*.

§ 43. The treatment of the simple prepositions is hopelessly inadequate. The reader is entitled to be told more about them than that they do not differ from the lists given in Erman, *Ägyptische Grammatik*.

§ 44, a. *T<sub>3</sub> nb (m) hb*, "every land is in festival," not "das ganze Land ist in Festesstimmung", which would require *t<sub>3</sub> r dr.f.*

§ 44, d. Gardiner has shown (*JEA.*, xiv (1928), 86 ff.) not only that *mtw.f sdm* is not an inaccurate writing, but that *hr* in *mtw.f hr sdm* is entirely secondary.

§ 47, a. Surely more could have been said about the particle *in* than these pitifully few lines. *in*, when used to express the agent, is in any case a *preposition* and not a particle. The uses of the particle are confined to four lines, and no attempt is made to show the constructions into which it enters.

§§ 48–89 are concerned with the verb, but are so incomplete in all respects that it is impossible to deal even briefly with all the points that are raised, or omitted.

§ 59, b. *tm hni bz.l m mr.n.f* is not an instance of the negation of the *sdm.f* but of the infinitive. The whole passage is a series of infinitives depending on *dī.f*; literally, "May

he (Rē-horakhte) grant a smelling of incense, a receiving of ointment, a drinking at the swirl (?) of the river, and my soul's not being restrained from what it desires." In the case of *nn hni b3.l m mrrt.f* we may have a case of *nn sdm.f*, but on the analogy of many similar passages it is probable that even here *hni* is an infinitive.

§ 67, b. *8ms lb.k*, "follow thy heart," not "(du) folgst, etc." Correctly translated § 101.

§ 68, end. *n dd.f*: *dd.f* is not a relative form but *sdm.f*, cf. Gardiner, *Gram.* §§ 191; 442, 5. The same mistake is frequently made in this book, especially in § 101 where every example quoted is in reality either *sdm.f* or *sdm.n.f*. The two examples quoted in § 68 are peculiarly instructive; the first, *hsw n dd.f*, "favours of his giving," gives the imperfective *sdm.f*, but the second, *hd nb l.dd.f*, "silver and gold which he gives," contains a relative form in which the prothetic aleph is indicated by *r*, and thus an excellent contrast between the two constructions is afforded.

§ 74. *mkt.f*: this is not an infinitive, "*sich schützen*," but the noun *mkt* followed by the suffix pronoun. The whole passage is transcribed on page 13, *lb mn, h3ty hr mkt.f*, and should be translated "the *lb* is firm, and the *h3ty* is on its proper place (*mkt*)". This is a not uncommon expression, and from it is undoubtedly derived the late word for "heart", *hrl-mkt*.

§ 77, b. Strictly speaking, it is inaccurate to class such constructions as *nn* or *bn* followed by an infinitive as negation of the infinitive. Such constructions predicate the non-performance or non-observance of some verbal action, cf. Gardiner, *Gram.*, §§ 307; 308 Obs.

§ 92, fourth example. *p3y p3y ir.l 'h' r.f*. Behnke assumes that in each case *p3y* is the demonstrative pronoun. This is obviously not so. The first *p3y* is the pronoun, but the second is the Late Egyptian equivalent of the Middle Egyptian *pw*. The same mistake is made in § 26.

§ 101. Cf. the remarks on § 68. Except for the last

example, which is *sdm.n.f* (cf. Gardiner, *Gram.*, § 192) all of the examples quoted here are in the *sdm.f* and none of them are relative forms.

196.

H. W. FAIRMAN.

PHOTOGRAPHS OF CASTS OF PERSIAN SCULPTURES OF THE ACHAEMENID PERIOD MOSTLY FROM PERSEPOLIS. Twelve plates,  $13\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ , in case. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1932. 7s. Set of 12 plates 6s. Separate plates, 6d. each.

Achaemenian Art not being indigenous struck no roots in the land of its adoption and serving purely imperial ends did not survive the fall of the dynasty. Consequently the known examples of this school are limited in number and it is unlikely that excavation will reveal more. In general the most that museums can hope to exhibit of its greatest efforts in architecture and sculpture are collections of casts. The needs of students of this art were to some extent met by the temporary exhibition in the British Museum from May to December, 1931, of a number of casts of reliefs taken from moulds procured by a private expedition to Persepolis in 1891 and prepared under the superintendence and at the expense of Mr. Herbert Weld-Blundell.

As the remains at Persepolis show a fairly continuous development of Achaemenian art from the time of Darius to that of Artaxerxes Ochus these casts afforded an exceptional opportunity for study. Unfortunately their great size precludes their continuous exhibition in the British Museum, and, failing these, scholars will welcome the issue of these twelve excellent plates reproduced from photographs of the casts. Four pages of letterpress by Sir Cecil Harcourt-Smith detail briefly the provenance, history, and subject of each relief. A plan of the monuments of Persepolis marking the position of the reliefs adds to the value of the all too brief text.

583.

H. HARGREAVES.

SOME MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF AGRICULTURE AND AGRICULTURISTS IN ANCIENT INDIA. By RADHARAMAN GANGOPADHAY.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ , pp. iv + 147. Serampore: N. C. Mukherjee & Co., 1932. Rs. 3.

The author offers this as a pioneer work, which may "draw young investigators to this new line of research". The general result of his studies is that agriculture has been declining since the Gupta epoch, an interesting generalization, but one which requires more detailed examination by expert Sanskritists, a class to which Mr. Gangopadhyay does not claim to belong. The presentation of his materials occasionally lacks precision: for instance, the somewhat surprising statement (p. 118) that "much larger and more extensive irrigational works were carried out in ancient days than have yet been attempted in modern times" is attributed to "Wilcohx", but no reference is given, nor does the name appear in the bibliography. Misprints are fairly numerous.

594.

W. H. MORELAND.

THE DOMESTICATION OF THE CORMORANT IN CHINA AND JAPAN. By BERTHOLD LAUFER. Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series, Vol. XVIII, No. 3.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 61, pls. x. Chicago, U.S.A., 1931.

Dr. Laufer's monographs in the Anthropological Series of the Field Museum are always absorbing and invariably surprising. Who but he could write a hundred pages on the cormorant? Who but he would have been struck by the exceeding interest of the phenomena presented by the fishing cormorant? Travellers and students in China and Japan, both foreign and indigenous, have seen but have not observed; and now Dr. Laufer opens our eyes to the strangeness and interest of the proceeding. No other peoples in the world have even attempted to induce fish-eating birds not only to seize their prey to order, but to then meekly relinquish it!

He analyses the Chinese terminology and the Japanese terminology, he gives historical data, traces geographical distribution, studies the relation of Japanese to Chinese cormorant fishing and its relation to otter fishing and egret taming, he studies the iconography, and finally gives notes on the folklore connected with the "black-headed net" as Chinese fishermen call the bird.

Apparently cormorant fishing was evolved in China and Japan independently. The earliest mention of the industry is in the Chinese Annals of the Sui Dynasty, A.D. 590-617. We read that "in Japan they suspend small rings from the necks of cormorants, and have them dive into the water to catch fish, they can catch over a hundred a day". The Chinese record this as a strange proceeding and the first document referring to trained cormorants used by man in China is the *Tsing I Lu*, a work of the tenth century. These references and the fact that the methods of cormorant fishing pursued in the two countries are entirely different lead Dr. Laufer to the conclusion that neither land has instructed the other. Furthermore, in China the birds are completely domesticated and breed in captivity; whereas in Japan young wild birds are caught and trained. The Chinese method is, as Dr. Laufer points out, infinitely superior, he in fact suggests that "it might be advisable for the Japanese to send a commission of experts to China for a thorough study of the Chinese system"; on the other hand, "the Japanese nurse and treat their birds better than do the Chinese," and their birds live to a greater age.

It is all very interesting, and any traveller who has read Dr. Laufer's monograph will observe with "eyes that see" the rafts laden with "black-headed nets" as they float on the peaceful canals of central and southern China, or the teams of twelve cormorants harnessed together fishing the Japanese lakes.

WALLFAHRT ZU ZWEIEN. Die 88 heiligen Stätten von Shikoku von ALFRED BOHNER. Supplement XII der Mitteilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. vi + 158, 88 ills., 1 plan. Tokyo: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 1931.

ÉPISODES DU HEIKÉ MONOGATARI. Traduits par S. GOTO et M. PRUNIER. Publiée sous les auspices de la Maison Franco-Japonaise, et sous la direction de M. Sylvain Levi.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ , pp. 147, 6 ills. Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1930.

No feature of Japanese life strikes the stranger upon his arrival in the beautiful island of the Rising Sun more forcibly than does the universal love of pilgrimage. He can hardly enter a temple that he does not find a group of schoolchildren who are being led from shrine to shrine, nor is it easy for him to take a day's journey without meeting a troop of pilgrims who are visiting a prescribed round of holy places.

One of the most famous pilgrim roads in Japan is that which leads to the eighty and eight holy cities of Shikoku, and this is now treated in every detail by Alfred Bohner.

In an introduction he describes the "Phenomenon of a Japanese Pilgrimage" and then proceeds with the body of the book, dividing this into four main sections each fully subdivided. Section A gives the history of the pilgrimage, and the first chapter is devoted to a most interesting biography of Kobo Daishi, the spiritual father of the Shikoku route. It is doubtful whether the holy man ever took the journey in the flesh, but so potent is the influence his spirit still exerts that pilgrims refer to the undertaking as "A Pilgrimage side by side", meaning that Kobo Daishi is—in spirit—their companion. Section B is devoted to the Temples: to their number, and position in the four provinces of Shikoku; to their division according to sects; and to the chief divinity housed in each. Section C is given over to the

pilgrim himself: his motives are analysed and his outfit is minutely described. Section D, by far the longest—it contains eleven chapters—is a detailed and fascinating account of the pilgrimage.

There follows a short summary and a most excellent appendix. This contains a list of the eighty-eight Temples, a curious vocabulary giving words and phrases in use among the pilgrims, an ample bibliography, and an excellent map.

Even a short notice of this delightful book, which opens a door into a fascinating and unusual world, cannot close without a word of appreciation for the fine illustrations made from truly beautiful photographs.

A very different Japan is presented in the *Heiké Monogatari* or History of the Heiké Family, published under the auspices of the able Frenchmen who are fostering an understanding between the West and far-off Japan.

We are now carried back to the thirteenth century of our era, and read with interest extracts from one of the chronicles so popular at that time: chronicles of war and love, telling of powerful warriors, and of lovely courtesans who eventually find peace in nunneries. The *Heiké Monogatari*, written in a delicate but vigorous style, was recited to the accompaniment of the *biwa*, and has inspired many works of a similar nature. Apart from the stories and legends themselves, the work is important from a sociological point of view and gives a vivid picture of that period when *Samurai* were coming to the fore, and when, under the influence of Buddhism, women were accepting a more retired position than that they had held under the *Fujiwara*.

The *Episodes from the Heiké Monogatari* form a charming little book with an atmosphere and flavour all its own.

**JEHOL: DIE KAISERSTADT.** By SVEN HEDIN. 9 x 6,  
pp. 212, 80 ills., 1 plan. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1932.

This account of a visit to Jehol—the summer seat of the Manchu Emperors—is of special interest to English readers because there in 1793 Lord Macartney, as narrated in Ch. 8, led the first mission from a crowned head in Europe to the court of the Chinese Emperor. It is full of splendid—though relatively modern—temples and shrines and the excellent photographs, which include several of Peking temples and scenes, add to the interest of the volume.

579.

T. C. HODSON.

**LES COLLECTIONS KHMERES DU MUSÉE ALBERT SARRAUT  
À PHNOM-PENH.** Par GEORGE GROSPLIER. Préface de  
GEORGE COEDÈS. *Ars Asiatica*, No. XVI. 13 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ ,  
pp. 129, pls. li. Paris: G. Van Oest, 1931.

The above-mentioned museum was founded in 1919 and bears the name of the Governor-General who took a leading part in its initiation. It is the national museum of Khmer art, from the earliest to the most recent times, and with room for its future developments, for it is closely associated with a flourishing school of art in which the old traditions are continued. Though under the management of the local Arts Department, it is subject to the general supervision of the Director of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient at Hanoi. Its collections consist of stone statues and statuettes, inscriptions, pieces of decorative sculpture, bronzes, objects in gold, silver and enamels, arms and utensils, pottery, coins and medals, illuminations, and a variety of miscellaneous exhibits.

The plates included in this volume are excellent and illustrate a representative series of specimens of Hindu and Buddhist iconography as treated by the Khmers, besides some of the other classes of objects just specified, and all of them are earlier than the fifteenth century. Each plate is

briefly described in the letterpress on the opposite page, bibliographical references being added where necessary. The frontispiece shows the frontage of the museum, which is built in modern Khmer style, and also one of its galleries. An historical and general description by M. Groslier takes up nearly eighteen pages, and, after dealing with the museum and its contents, gives a useful survey of the development of the local sculpture in its various stages during some ten centuries. A short preface by M. Coedès introduces the work and its distinguished author.

Altogether this volume, in virtue of its contents and the admirable style of its production, takes a worthy place in the valuable *Ars Asiatica* series.

443.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

DIE KOPTISCHE KIRCHE IN DER NEUZEIT. Von R. STROTHMANN (*Beiträge zur historischen Theologie*, No. 8). Tübingen : J. C. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1932.

Western writers upon recent Coptic church history have mostly been conscious of a body of literature in Arabic, which would obviously be an unequalled source of information, had an adequate familiarity with the language allowed them to make use of it. Wansleben, in the seventeenth century, had perhaps that necessary knowledge, but since him all has of necessity been accepted at second or third hand. Professor Strothmann is the first, I believe, to draw, almost exclusively, on native sources—historians, controversialists, periodicals, official documents—and this gives to his work a freshness and a value denied to its predecessors. His bibliography (pp. 102 ff.) consists of Arabic works, of which it is safe to say that the mere names are unknown to most of us and that the European libraries which have, so far, thought them worth acquiring are few indeed.

The book is divided into seven main sections : I. The Church's heritage (apostolical succession, dogmatic and liturgical tradition, attitude in ethical questions, e.g. divorce,

simony). II. Biographical sketches of the last five patriarchs, that is, since 1796, the beginning of "modern Egypt" (p. 17). III. The intrusion and growth of lay influence in ecclesiastical politics. IV. The Coptic church's neighbours: the other ancient "heretical" churches, the Uniate communities, the missions from western Christendom. V. Modern literature of the subject (with interesting notices of recent authors); Coptic institutions: the Coptic Museum, the schools; also the historical elements in church life: the calendar (*Synaxarium*), monasticism. VI. The present day: relations of patriarch with government and with laity; the reigning patriarch, John XIX, and his policy as foreshadowed in his pastoral letter. VII. Lists of the patriarchs of the various Christian creeds extant in Egypt and comparative statistics. This bare outline is sufficient to show that no side of the religious or "national" life of the Copts of to-day has been neglected, but it gives no idea of the wealth of new information packed into 160 pages. At the present time the sections describing the relations of the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries (patriarch and bishops) with the progressive and dissatisfied party in the laity, one of whose main grievances has been the continued domination, in ecclesiastical affairs, of the retrograde monastic element, will probably appear the most interesting, as they naturally are those upon which the author has most to say. A good index ends the book, which is written in a lively and readable style, and is one whereof an English translation would be welcomed by many.

Some minor details suggest comment.

p. 54. *Abruschīja* is surely *παροικία*, not *ἐπαρχία* (cf. *Z. f. Semit.*, vii, 228); p. 98, *taschbīh* should be *tasbih*.

p. 99, n. The modern Copt quotes Nehemiah, a book not to be found in the canon of his church.

p. 107. I do not think the assumption—in itself highly improbable—that John of Nikiu's Chronicle was composed partly in Greek, partly in Coptic, can be maintained (cf. *JEA.* iv, 207).

ibid. Yakub Nachla Rufeila's *History of the Coptic Nation* was translated by the late B. T. Evetts, but his MS. remains unpublished.

p. 111. Among periodicals Labīb's short-lived but sometimes valuable *Ain Shems* is not named, presumably because exclusively devoted to past history.

p. 114. The statement that many a European work dealing with Coptic art or archaeology in reality bases its main results on information derived from Copts is remarkable and, at the least, questionable.

586.

W. E. CRUM.

VELI KRISAN RUKMANI RI BY PRITHIRAJ. Translated by the late JAGMĀL SIH. Revised (in translation) and edited by THĀKUR RĀM SIH and SŪRAJ KARAN PĀRĪK. 9 x 6, pp. 9 + 914. Allahabad : The Hindustani Academy, 1931. Rs. 6.

This is a well-printed edition of a valuable Dingal poem written by Prithiraj, a prince of Bikāner, who lived in the second half of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century. The poem is much esteemed in Rājputānā, and several commentaries have been written upon it, but among literary critics it has not yet received the recognition which it merits. This fine edition will do much to end the undeserved neglect which has been its lot.

The prime mover in the publication of this volume was the late Jagmāl Sih, who translated the poem into Hindi and then with unusual self-effacement handed over his work to two Hindi scholars, Thākur Rām Sih and Sūraj Karan Pārīk, giving them permission to do what they liked with it before publishing it. He died before it appeared, but a short preface written by him is printed in it.

Dingal is the name given to the literary form of old Rājputānī. Europeans generally confine the term to Mārvārī, but the difference is more apparent than real.

There is a long and valuable introduction (pp. 1-131),

mostly by Sūraj Karan Pārik, but the Dingal grammatical notes are by Narottam Dās who also compiled the vocabulary (pp. 631-732), a very useful piece of work. The text and Hindi commentary occupy pp. 133-272. The poem itself is 610 lines long (305 couplets); the commentary is founded chiefly on four older ones. The first of these, in the Dhūdhārī dialect spoken in Jaipur, was written while Prithirāj was still alive, and is the best of them. The second, probably by a Jain pāṇḍit, is in Mārvārī and dates from the second quarter of the seventeenth century. The third and fourth, in Sanskrit, are founded on vernacular commentaries. The first and third are here printed as appendixes (pp. 751-816 and 817-904). Apart from all this material there are 300 pages of notes in Hindi and a table of the first few words of every couplet.

The editors claim a high place for Prithirāj among Hindi writers, and protest against his having been dismissed as "ordinary" by the Miś Brothers, an estimate of him which is attributed to pure ignorance. It is claimed that not only is he the greatest of all Rājputānī poets, among whom is reckoned Cand Bardāī, but that for versatility he ranks with the greatest Sanskrit and Hindi writers, and as a poet with Sūr, Vidyāpati, Tulsī, Cand, and Jāyasī (a somewhat unequal list).

They are to be congratulated on having produced a splendid piece of work, and the Hindustani Academy on having arranged for its publication. One cannot help wondering whether in places it might not have been curtailed; for example the discussion of figures of speech, emotions, and other details dear to Hindi critics, is not really necessary, because a person approaching a poem from their point of view would have the same things to say even if it were in French or German. But the translation, the explanation of the text, the remarks on Rājputānī literature and dialects, and finally the estimate of Prithirāj's place as a poet, constitute a valuable contribution to thought and knowledge.

HINDI SABD SANGRAH. Compiled by MUKUNDI LAL and RĀJ VALLABH SAHĀY. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 7, pp. 600. Benares, 1930. Rs. 4-8-0.

The compilers of this dictionary intended at first that it should contain only the special Braj, Avadhī, and Bundel-khaṇḍī words which are found in the literature known as Hindi. Doubtless “*ityādi*” is meant to include Rājputānī and Bihārī. When, however, they realized that the volume would be about 100 pages shorter than they had expected, they decided to add loan words from Sanskrit, Persian, and other languages. So far as space permitted these were inserted in the original MS., but the great majority were left over for an appendix. Apart from these two classes of words very many quite ordinary Hindi words have been given a place. The dictionary has thus grown till it contains 36,259 words and is an extremely handy companion for anyone desirous of reading Hindi literature.

By means of severe compression the editors have not only managed to include a large number of words in a comparatively small space, but in the case of about 7,500 of them have found room for references to poetical works, generally quoting the relevant part of the line containing the word.

The words are, on the whole, well chosen and the meanings succinctly and well expressed. The *Hindi Śabd Sangrah* must be considered an important addition to the Hindi dictionaries already available. All explanations and meanings are given in Hindi.

We must acknowledge our great obligation to the two men who have worked so hard and to such good purpose, and to the Gyān Mandal Press of Benares for their public-spirited initiative in bearing the expense of bringing out the book.

## VISVA BHARATI STUDIES NO. 4—NAIRĀTMYAPARIPRCCHĀ.

Edited by SUJITKUMAR MUKHOPADHYAYA. p. 22.

Calcutta : Visva-Bharati Bookshop, 210 Cornwallis Street, April, 1931. Rs. 2.

Visva-Bharati, l'Université fondée par Rabindranath Tagore à Santiniketan (Bengale), est devenu le foyer des études tibétaines dans l'Inde. Sous l'impulsion et la direction du savant Vidhushekara Bhattacharya, à qui j'ai eu le privilège d'"enseigner le mantra des études tibétaines" comme il a bien voulu le rappeler dans une affectueuse dédicace, des étudiants accourus de toutes les provinces ont entrepris de rétablir dans la langue originale les ouvrages sanscrits auxquels nous n'avons plus accès qu'à travers les versions tibétaines. Le présent fascicule, publié d'abord en article dans le *Visva-bharati Quarterly*, vol. 8, parts I et II, nov., 1930, puis édité à part en mars, 1931, contient un petit texte, la Nairātmya pariprcchā, en tibétain avec une restauration sanscrite due à M. Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya. L'ouvrage, très court, est d'un intérêt médiocre ; mais un incident curieux lui donne une valeur inattendue. J'avais, dans un article du *Journal Asiatique*, Oct.-Déc., 1928, à l'occasion d'une étude sur Aśvaghoṣa, imprimé l'original sanskrit qu'on avait cru perdu et que j'avais retrouvé au Népal en 1922. M.S.M., informé tardivement de cette publication qui lui avait échappé, a eu l'heureuse idée d'ajouter à sa tentative de restauration l'original authentique. On peut mesurer avec précision, par le sanscrit seul et sans savoir le tibétain, le degré d'exactitude qu'on peut atteindre par un exercice de ce genre. L'expérience est concluante. Si les nuances du style s'évanouissent dans ce voyage d'aller et retour, la merveilleuse fidélité des traducteurs tibétains permet de rétablir le sens littéral avec une indiscutable certitude. Ainsi l'Inde, qui a laissé avec indifférence se perdre tant de monuments de son passé, peut réintégrer dans sa tradition un ensemble d'œuvres qui ont fait jadis honneur à son génie.

THE JESUITS AND THE GREAT MOGUL. By Sir EDWARD MACLAGAN.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. xxi + 434. London, 1932. 17s. 6d.

Sir Edward Maclagan's interest in the subject of this book has extended over a period of forty years. In 1896 his first paper on the Jesuit missions at the court of Akbar appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and contained valuable new matter from original unpublished sources. Since that paper was printed, members of the Society of Jesus and other orders have pursued the study of the Catholic records and have brought out material which had for many years lain neglected. Of all this, due note has been taken and the result is a volume which must for many years be an indispensable guide to students of the subject.

In the first place the history of the three missions to Akbar, and the varying fortunes of the Jesuits under his successors, are skilfully presented. Beginning with great hopes to sustain their efforts the Fathers bravely met disappointment and persecution. Their chances of success were probably highest under Akbar with his active, restless mind, seeking for truth in all faiths and, while recognizing that each contained elements of good, ending with the attempt to establish a new religion. Jahangir was tolerant, except when political matters swayed him, but too dilettante to contemplate seriously a change of faith, while Shah Jahan was satisfied with a moderate practice of Islam. Under Aurangzeb with his bitter fanaticism the task became hopeless, and through the eighteenth century the Fathers barely maintained their position. When the Society of Jesus was suppressed in 1773 only two members remained in India, one surviving till 1803.

The original records of this long effort are scattered and of unequal fullness and value. To weave them into a continuous and attractive fabric has required great powers of selection and arrangement, which Sir Edward Maclagan has fortunately possessed. Interesting as the story is in itself, its narration also gives opportunities for throwing light on

Indian history and in particular on the characters of many of the chief personages. Monserrate's description of Akbar is a valuable corrective to those of the courtier Abul Fazl and the dour historian Badauni. New light appears on the temporary conversion of Daniyal's sons and on the relations between the English and Portuguese at the court of Jahangir. It is interesting to note that while in Europe the Mogor mission prompted bitter religious controversy, in India the Catholic Corsi and the Protestant Roe were on good terms.

Besides the history of the mission and the Mughul empire the book contains valuable discussions of connected topics, such as the tradition of Akbar's Christian wife, the Indian Bourbons, Mirza Zu'l Qarnain, and Donna Juliana Diaz da Costa. It analyses the European books and literature used by the Jesuits and their knowledge of Oriental languages and literature, with a full description of the Persian works by Father Jerome Xavier. One of the most interesting chapters studies the effect of the missions on Mughul painting which copied from European art. The congregations of the Christians, their churches, residences, and cemeteries all receive notice, and there is a final chapter on the Tibetan mission.

Hardly a statement in the volume is without a reference to authority, but the footnotes are conveniently placed at the end of the chapters, and there are useful chronological appendixes which include a list of the contributions and the subject by Father Hosten, S.J., *nomen praeclarum*. In the mass of figures and dates only one misprint has been noticed ; in note 4 on page 302 the date 1924 should apparently be 1624.

The work has received the imprimatur of the Vicar-General at Westminster.

EDWARD BLAGDON. Edited by F. M. GAMLEN.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 43. Oxford : University Press. 7s. 6d.

Mrs. Gamlen is to be congratulated for publishing these letters, which narrate how a military cadetship in the Company's service was purchased for a youth aged 17 in 1805, and his brief adventures on the voyage to India. They bear the human touch, familiar but always fresh. Youth entrusted with money cannot account for its expenditure except the small proportion used for military instruction. At Cork he is forced into a duel, and like Clive in Browning's poem he is bravest when he is most afraid. That adventure over, he lays in apples and cheese for the voyage, to be supplemented later by the abundant and excellent fruit at Madeira and San Salvador. Here the letters unfortunately stop. Henry Martyn sailed in the same convoy and from his letters we know that there was fighting with the Dutch at the Cape when it arrived there. Blagdon died at Barasat in August, 1806, four months after his arrival.

Besides the personal interest, however, the letters are historically valuable. They give full details with the cost of each item of the equipment of a cadet at that time. More important still are the letters describing the purchase of the nomination. The first item is a bill for advertisements in the *Herald*, *Times*, and *Chronicle*. Nine replies were received, the sum asked varying from 150 guineas (from an impostor) to 300 guineas. Payment of the latter figure would secure a strong letter from an influential person to the Governor General which would certainly obtain a lucrative appointment such as paymaster at an early date.

Scandals connected with such transactions led the Company to take steps to prevent them. Mrs. Clarke's intimacy with the Duke of York had enabled her to make large sums by selling King's commissions and promotions, and after the exposure of these matters a select committee was appointed to inquire into the case of the Company's cadetships. The Parliamentary debates of 1809 contain its report, which

was followed by a motion to censure Lord Castlereagh for having as President of the Board of Control offered a writer-ship to secure a seat for an Irish peer. Canning was successful in opposing the motion, but only by urging that on the evidence it appeared that the intention referred to was not carried out, and the House of Commons would not think it necessary to come to a criminatory resolution on the matter.

493.

R. BURN.

MEDIAEVAL INDIA. By A. YUSUF ALI, C.B.E., M.A., LL.M.

$7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ , pp. xii + 55. Oxford : University Press, 1932. 5s.

This little book is an English version of four lectures delivered in Urdu before the Hindustani Academy of Allahabad, which is doing excellent work to encourage the development of the modern vernacular.

The author divides his subject into three periods : India at the death of Harsha in the seventh century A.D. and the rise of the Rajputs in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the permeation of Muslim influence from the raids of Mahmud of Ghazni early in the eleventh century to the expedition of Malik Naib in 1310 which penetrated to Madura, and the final break-up of the Delhi Sultanate in 1526. For the earlier periods he draws largely on literary sources which are partly fiction and partly legendary, but at the same time he uses judiciously the accounts of the Chinese, Arab, and other foreign sources and the evidence of inscriptions, coins, and other more reliable though less picturesque authorities. The picture of social and economic conditions is well drawn, but the nature of the material available causes it to resemble Disraeli's sketches of conditions in England during the first half of the nineteenth century rather than Mrs. Gaskell's.

565.

R. BURN.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. NO. 38 :  
 KUSHANO-SASANIAN COINS. By ERNST HERZFELD.  
 With four plates. Calcutta, 1930. Price Rs. 7-12 or 13s.

Indian history in the third century after Christ is obscure ; the relations between Iran and India are almost unknown. Historians have much to say of the contacts between Persia and Rome, but merely hint at the events which took place on the eastern marches. There is no Iranian written history ; Indian literature is not helpful. As yet no inscription has been found which refers to the relations of India with the Sassanian Empire. In the splendid work *Paikuli* (Berlin, 1924) it was Ernst Herzfeld's great achievement to throw considerable light on this difficult period ; his materials were the Paikuli inscription itself and the coins. According to tradition, Ardashîr I conquered all Khurâsân and Sijistân (Seistân). "The Kushânshâh and the kings of Turân and Makrân sent envoys to declare their allegiance" (*Tabari*) ; these Kushâns were the Later Kushân kings of the Kabul valley and the Panjab. E. Herzfeld holds that this was a substantial achievement and not "a great exaggeration" (Nöldeke), a view already suspected by Vincent Smith (*JRAS.*, 1920). The course of events appears to have been on these lines. The eastern conquests of Ardashîr remained subject to the Sassanian empire. In the reign of Varhrân (Bahrâm) II (A.D. 276-293) these provinces supported the rebellion of Hormizd, the king's brother, but were crushed by the king, who made his son, afterwards Varhrân III, Sakânshâh or governor of Sakastân (Seistân). The Paikuli inscription mentions the Saka satrap of Avanti amongst the retainers of Varhrân III, Sakânshâh. The Kabul valley and the Panjab continued in the possession of the Later Kushâns. After the lapse of half a century a new nation, the Chionites, makes its appearance in Khurâsân.

More material has come to hand since the publication of *Paikuli*, and Ernst Herzfeld, continuing Cunningham's work, has produced *Kushâno-Sâsânian Coins*, an authoritative

numismatic and historical account of the important pieces of the hybrid type once called Scytho-Sassanian.<sup>1</sup> E. Herzfeld holds that these are the money of the Sassanian prince-governors of Bactria, who bore the title *Kushānshāh*. The coins fall into two groups, one with Sassanian *Kushān* script, a cursive Greek writing which had been used by the Great *Kushāns*, and the other with inscriptions in Sassanian *Pahlavī* of the third century A.D., or *Pārsik*; the two classes are linked together by some rare pieces with both scripts, *Pārsik* on the obverse, Greek on the reverse. The language of the Sassanian *Kushān* coins is pure *Pārsik*. The author holds that the coinage with legends in Greek *Kushān* script belongs to Balkh, the centre of Buddhism; that with *Pārsik* inscriptions to Zoroastrian Merv. Some of the copper coins must have been struck on the Indian side of the Hindu Kush because they are commonly obtained at Rawalpindi. It is E. Herzfeld's merit to have worked out correct transliterations and translations of the legends. These are set out in tables, while the value of the illustrations is enhanced by the inclusion of enlargements.

The corrupt Greek script is also found on the early coins and seals of the Ephthalites. E. Herzfeld has read the name *Chionite* on the silver piece *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xvi, 9, 10: *Num. Chron.*, 1894, pl. vii, 1, hitherto regarded as the initial coinage of the Ephthalites. It bears what is called the Ephthalite symbol, which in view of this attribution originated with the Chionites, the predecessors of the White Huns. The only references to Chionites are found in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, where we are told that in the years 356 and 358 *Shāpūr II* was occupied with the Chionites and the Cuseni on the confines of his empire. Marquart identified the Cuseni with the *Kushāns-Ērānšahr*, pp. 36, 50. The Chionites on their way through to *Khurāsān* must have conquered the *Kushāns* of Bactria; also their silver coins imitate those of

<sup>1</sup> A. Cunningham, "Later Indo-Scythians," *Num. Chron.*, 1893, pp. 166 ff.

Shāpūr II (310–379). Hence Herzfeld holds that the year 358 marks the latest time limit for any Sassanian Kushān coin. New silver coins of the Kidāra dynasty have just been discovered; these include one of Sassanian model which appears to be copied from Shāpūr II.<sup>1</sup> Hence Kidāra, the founder of the so-called Little Kushāns in Gandhāra, must be placed in the fourth instead of the fifth century.<sup>2</sup> So the companions of the Chionites seem to have been the Little Kushāns, in which case the confines of Ammian's "gentes extimæ" are those of Gandhāra.

On p. 5 there is a digression concerning the correct interpretation of the legends on the coins of the Great Kushāns. The author does not follow A. v. Staël-Holstein in his special point, but considers he was right in holding that these kings called themselves "Shāh of the Kushān" and not "Kushān".<sup>3</sup> But out of the 139 gold coins of Huvishka as described in the British Museum Catalogue only two, both of a very unusual type (in gold), exhibit the fuller legend; that is to say, Huvishka in the vast majority of cases was content to describe himself as "Kushān" and not "Shāh of the Kushān".<sup>4</sup> This was pointed out by Mr. J. Allan from the ampler material of 1914.

Mr. Herzfeld's monograph is an admirable work of outstanding interest and value. It has been well produced at the Government of India Central Publication Branch, Calcutta.

256.

R. B. WHITEHEAD.

<sup>1</sup> For this material I am indebted to Captain M. F. C. Martin, R.E. These important coins are in his Cabinet, and he will publish them. They were found in Gandhāra.

<sup>2</sup> A. Cunningham, *Num. Chron.*, 1893, p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> *JRAS.*, 1914, "Was there a Kuṣana Race?" by Baron A. von Staël-Holstein. This article was followed by two rejoinders. "The Name Kushan," by J. F. Fleet; "A Note on the name Kushan," by J. Allan. There is a reply by the Baron on p. 754.

<sup>4</sup> *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum: Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, London, 1886.

THE FOUNDER OF MODERN EGYPT. By HENRY DODWELL.  
8½ × 5½, pp. viii + 276. Cambridge: University  
Press, 1931.

Mohammed Ali does not lack biographers, but there will always be a place in their ranks for historians of the eminence of Professor Dodwell. It is intelligible enough that this ruler of Egypt should attract writers: for his career was a romance, and his life an endless adventure. Born at Kavalla in 1769, he came to Egypt a humble aga of Albanian irregulars, and died eighty years later its hereditary pasha and governor of Nubia, Darfur, Kordofan, and Sena'ar, the four great provinces of the northern Sudan. It was something of a triumph, even in an age when high office was open to any Turk sufficiently audacious and enterprising to make use of his opportunities. Mohammed Ali was both daring and unscrupulous, and dominated by ambition in addition. Not content with a simple pashalik dependent on Constantinople, he aspired to an independence and to Empire. He missed both goals it is true; but the manner of failure was not inglorious. He was a man of singular contrasts; remorseless and forbearing by turn in his administration, virtuous and deceitful by turn in his foreign politics. His affection for Egypt was profound: deeper it must be said than his regard for its inhabitants. Their submission he expected as a right, their disobedience he punished as a duty. But if his government was personal and his administration arbitrary, there were times when he remembered his duty as a sovereign; for he kept order, set a limit to corruption, and vindicated justice. Above all, he revolutionized Egyptian agriculture by introducing perennial irrigation, and laid the foundations of Egypt's present prosperity by promoting the cultivation of long staple cotton: two achievements sufficient to perpetuate his reputation. His manner of rule was too despotic to last beyond his time. Nor did it do so, as the subsequent history of Egypt testifies.

Here, then, is a rich field for the biographer, and Professor

Dodwell has produced an excellent account of the period : an unbiased and well documented book, enlivened by incursions into the bypaths of history, notably the story of the overland and Red Sea routes to the East, and of the curious Algerian episode. Yet despite these many merits, the work is disappointing in one important respect : Mohammed Ali emerges from its pages an unconvincing figure. We are told little of his private life, we are given a meagre portrait of the man himself. Perhaps the author's endeavour "to escape from the traditional hero of French and villain of English writers" is partly responsible for the impression left at least upon one reader of the book that Mohammed Ali was a colourless personality : perhaps also the author's fancy for relegating to the penultimate chapter a sketch of Mohammed Ali's conduct of Egyptian administration is also a little responsible. It is a pity : for a ruler's memory must, or should, depend surely upon his conduct of domestic administration as much as upon his successes in politics and in war. The administrative triumphs are duly recorded, but perhaps too late for the average reader.

On the other hand, Professor Dodwell's account of the hesitation and mental confusion of Europe when confronted by Mohammed Ali's audacious occupation of Syria and Asia Minor is masterly and convincing : so also is his chapter on Mohammed Ali's little known administration of Crete and Syria. The book, in short, is both interesting and instructive.

421.

P. G. ELGOOD.

BIBLE CHARACTERS IN THE KORAN. By JOHN WALKER.

9 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 136. Paisley : Alexander Gardner, Ltd., 1931.

This modestly written and unpretentious little book brings together all the passages in the Kur'an in which reference is made to the characters in the Bible. Such a work should prove useful to students both of Arabic and Biblical literature, as well as to the general reader. The author has made a read-

able version of his own from the *Kur'ān*, which he has checked with the translations of Sale and Rodwell. While the author shows a knowledge of the Kuranie affiliations to Christian legend, one is disappointed to find that he has not seriously correlated his subject with the *Midhrāsh* and other early Jewish literature, concerning which so much has been written by Jewish scholars. Mr. Walker would have found ample material to hand for this purpose in the books and articles of W. Bacher ("Bibel und biblische Geschichte in der mohammedanischen Literatur", in Kobak's *Jeschurun*, viii, 1-29); J. Barth ("Midraschische Elemente in den muslimischen Traditionen", in *Festschrift für A. Berliner*, Frankfurt a/M., 1903, pp. 33-40); M. Grünbaum (*Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leiden, 1893), and others. In the *Jewish Encyclopedia* in particular there are special sections devoted to the Mohammedan (as well as Rabbinic) legends of the characters in the Old Testament. A study of these sources would have profitably enlarged the scope of Mr. Walker's attractive and useful little book.

452.

J. LEVEEN.

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**TEXTS AND STUDIES IN JEWISH HISTORY AND LITERATURE.**

By JACOB MANN. Abraham and Hannah Oppenheim Memorial Publications, Volume I. 9 × 6, pp. xvi + 728, facsimiles 27. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1931. \$10.

What a wealth of material is here revealed in this massive volume of over 700 pages! These texts long buried in oblivion in the lumber rooms of synagogues of Cairo and elsewhere, and snatched from the decaying hand of time by the efforts of Schechter and others, are here integrated by Professor Jacob Mann, who has established himself as one of the leading authorities upon Gaonic history. The "stones the builders rejected" have indeed become the corner stone of a new and brilliant structure reared by the hands of Jewish scholars.

The fragments range over many countries and cover many aspects of Jewish life in the Middle Ages. The author has brought to his task much zeal and erudition, and has been able to fill the gaps of many obscure periods in Jewish history. It is to be regretted, however, that Professor Mann does not possess the graces of style, but the material he has assembled will provide a rich source for the future Graetz to draw upon.

Where so many documents have survived in a mutilated and much faded state, it goes without saying that scholars have not always proved to be right either in their readings or in their suggestions. Professor Mann, who has set himself a high standard of accuracy, and does not shrink from exposing the mistakes of his more human fellow-workers in the same field, occasionally falls into error himself, and allows his preconceived opinions to get the better of his palaeography. For example, in the fragment at the British Museum press-marked as Or. 5536, III, with which Mann deals in a long footnote upon page 215 of his book, he accuses the late Rev. G. Margoliouth of being wrong in his date "575". Mann corrects this to "475", but having examined the document myself, I find that Margoliouth was quite correct in his reading. The disputed passage reads as follows: סנה כנים וסבעין [ו]ארבעה מאה . . . For ס . . . Mann reads ס [ו]ארבעה. The ס, however, in this word is quite clear and one can see faint traces of a מ. As the ס is the last letter of the word, this numeral cannot be anything else than ו[א]כטם. Professor Mann makes another mistake two lines further down in his footnote when he reads אָדָב for אָרָב, which shows that he has failed to grasp the sense of the passage. Moreover, a closer investigation of the document might perhaps have enabled the author to reconstruct the missing and mutilated letters in this line. His reading of ק תלמידנו . . . should be reconstructed thus: אָסִ אָלָאָדָב פָּלוֹהַק תַּלְמִידֵנו i.e. "He has corrupted good manners and made our disciple an object of suspicion."

That Professor Mann has not an expert knowledge of Judæo-Arabic can be seen in the above example. On the other hand, when it comes to Hebrew documents, his mastery of the material is much more assured. We miss, however, a consistent scheme of transliteration of Hebrew names, although the author adopts one for the Arabic. Mistakes in transliteration are bound to occur (there is a particularly bad one of a Hebrew title on page 666, line 15). The form "Bagdād", which the author uniformly adopts, will appeal neither to the Arabist nor to the non-Arabist. We wish, too, that the author had taken more care over the English portion of the book. There are some queer locutions, which, we suppose, are undiluted Americanese. Phrases like "went into discard" and "won out" grate somewhat on the ear. The author, too, displays an inordinate affection for the word "emanate" when describing the provenance of the documents. Many of the sentences are slipshod. For example: "The long epistle . . . is instructive for the scattering of the Genizah fragments." Prepositions are used incorrectly. Examples are: "boxed *in* the ear"; "any clue *about* this allusion"; and again, "any clue *of* the time." And, finally, the tenses are not always right. These faults could easily have been removed if the book had been revised by someone possessing a sound knowledge of English. For they tend to mar a work of very solid scholarship.

We could have wished, too, that the Hebrew Union College Press had devised more pleasing founts for the Hebrew text. When one thinks of the great typographical possibilities of such a noble and monumental script as Hebrew, it is disappointing to find that the types employed should be so singularly lifeless.

A CATALOGUE OF PAINTINGS RECOVERED FROM TUN-HUANG  
BY SIR AUREL STEIN AND PRESERVED IN THE SUB-  
DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL PRINTS AND DRAWINGS IN  
THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND IN THE MUSEUM OF CENTRAL  
ASIAN ANTIQUITIES AT DELHI. By ARTHUR WALEY.  
10 x 7½, pp. lii + 328. London : British Museum, 1931.

Of the paintings recovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Central Asia and preserved partly in London and partly in Delhi, a portion has been reproduced in *Serindia* by Sir Aurel Stein and in *Ancient Buddhist Paintings* by Sir Aurel Stein and Laurence Binyon. In either case little space was given to the technical interpretation of the various subjects which those paintings are supposed to represent.

The study of the iconography of Mahāyāna Buddhism is still at its very beginnings, and its progress cannot help keeping the pace with our knowledge of Mahāyāna theology, demonology, agiography, and symbolism, which are as yet insufficiently explored.

As a matter of fact, the more our researches progress, the more we realize that within Buddhism there have been various areas with their own peculiar beliefs or ways of expressing religious experiences. For instance, as Dr. Waley rightly remarks, the iconography of the Nepalese *sādhanas* can hardly be applied to the Central Asian paintings and I can add that the same is to be said as regards Tibetan iconography. A better knowledge of this subject can therefore be acquired only when all *paṭas* and *māṇḍalas* described in the Tantras have been thoroughly investigated and the collections of *dhāranīs* and *sādhanas* still preserved in the Tibetan and Chinese collections have been compared and systematically arranged.

The aspects of the diverse gods are so numerous that infinite varieties can be found as to their expression or the ways of interpreting the symbolical value attached to them. All this shows the great difficulty of the task undertaken by Dr. Waley. His catalogue is, no doubt, a sound

contribution to the iconography of later Mahāyāna Buddhism, and therefore to our knowledge of Mahāyāna religious theories, because it is impossible to dissociate the ideas from their representation. In the introduction, after having shortly discussed the artistic value and the style of the paintings, the author classifies the various types represented in them and tries to trace out the development of the ideas therein contained, his chief source of information being the Chinese material embodied in the Canon of which the author has a wide knowledge. Tibetan sources which also contain much valuable information on this subject have not been utilized.

The illustration and detail of the various paintings is very minute. All Chinese inscriptions have been rendered into English. As a whole, a very good book and a noteworthy contribution to Buddhist Mahāyāna iconography.

415.

G. TUCCI.

**NYĀYAPRAVEŚA.** Part I: Sanskrit text with commentaries.

Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. XXXVIII. Critically edited by ANANDSHANKAR B. DHRUVA.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. xxxvii + 82 + 104. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1930. Rs. 4.

The book contains the edition of the Sanskrit text of the *Nyāyapraveśa*, the *vṛtti* on the same by Haribhadra and the *pañjikā* on the latter by Pārvadeva. The short treatise gives a very good résumé of the formal logic between Diñnāga and Dharmakīrti, and this explains its great diffusion even among non-Buddhist sects.

As a matter of fact, there are Jaina and even orthodox authors (*Māṭharavṛtti*) who follow this book very closely, as I remarked in this same JOURNAL (1931, pp. 381 ff.).

The publication of this Part I comes after that of Part II containing the Tibetan translation and comparative notes (on which see ibid., p. 412). Meanwhile, almost contemporary with the edition under discussion, Dr. Mironov has edited

(in *T'oung Pao*, 1931, Nos. 1-2, p. 1) the same booklet, but without commentaries.

As to the authorship of the work the learned editor first reviews the various arguments advanced by different scholars, *pro* and *contra* its attribution to Diññāga, and then expresses the opinion that the *Nyāyapravṛṣṭa* "is a work composed by Sankarasvāmin to facilitate the entrance into the *Nyāyadvāra*, which is a work of his master Diññāga."

The *Nyāyadvāra* mentioned here means the *Nyāyamukha*. I think that there can hardly be any doubt that this view be the right one. I cannot agree with the opinion of the author about the relationship between Diññāga and Praśastapāda, and I should like to refer to p. 31, note 58, of my translation of *Nyāyamukha*. I venture also to differ from him in many a point as to Diññāga's contribution to Indian logic.

Anyhow the introduction is well informed, the text well edited, the notes learned and useful, and the book deserves to be mentioned here as a good contribution to the study of Buddhist logic.

436.

G. TUCCI.

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RASHI'S COMMENTARY ON EZEKIEL XL-XLVIII EDITED ON THE BASIS OF ELEVEN MANUSCRIPTS. By ABRAHAM J. LEVY, Ph.D. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 6, pp. vi + 118. Philadelphia: The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1931. \$2.0.

This monograph is, we are told, "a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Dropsie College," and certainly exhibits the qualities of industry and patience. It can scarcely be said with conviction that these qualities have been usefully employed; for Rashi, though indispensable as an interpreter of the Talmud, has no great merit as a commentator on the Old Testament; and he is likely to have possessed no special qualifications for reconstructing Ezekiel's Temple, and indeed occasionally confesses that he does not know the meaning of

the description. Hence the recovery of the exact text of his notes on these chapters would seem to be of little importance. Nor does comparison of the new edition with that in the Warsaw *Migraoth Gedoloth* indicate that the latter is untrustworthy; indeed, in some cases its text is clearly the better.

The editor does not claim to have done more than collate MSS. and indicate sources of corruption; hence one must not complain of his neglecting to render certain services which would help the reader, such as furnishing references to the Biblical and Talmudic passages cited, interpreting the foreign words occasionally quoted, and glossing the less familiar Rabbinic expressions. It would seem that the circle whom this monograph might interest should have been addressed in Hebrew rather than in English.

540.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

#### CATALOGUES OF ISLAMIC MSS.

##### CATALOGUE OF THE PERSIAN, TURKISH, HINDUSTANI, AND PUSHTU MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

Part II. By the late HERMANN ETHÉ, Ph.D. 12 x 9.  
Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1930.

This volume consists in the main of the much-needed Indices to Dr. Ethé's *Catalogue*, of which the first part appeared many years ago. The industry and learning of its compiler are well-known, and the completion of this important work should be generally welcomed. Those who have had occasion to use the *Catalogue* can testify to the care with which Dr. Ethé discharged his tedious task.

##### CATALOGUE OF THE ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE. Vol. II : 1. QUR'ANIC LITERATURE. By C. A. STOREY, M.A., Librarian. 11 x 9. Oxford : Humphrey Milford, 1930.

Many years have elapsed since the appearance of the first Catalogue of Arabic MSS. in the India Office Library, and since then large additions have been made. The first fasciculus of the new volume covers Nos. 1051-1217, which

have been arranged by Mr. Storey in groups representing the different Qur'anic disciplines, and described in detail with notices of other copies and printed editions, and such other information as may help the student. Mr. Storey seems to have done his work with ability and conscientiousness, though the region which this volume traverses is to many of us a dreary one.

SYSTEMATISCH - ALPHABETISCHER HAUPTKATALOG DER  
KÖNIGLICHEN UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK ZU TÜBINGEN.  
VERZEICHNISS DER ARABISCHEN HANDSCHRIFTEN. I.  
Von CHR. SEYBOLD. 10 × 8. Tübingen, 1907. II. Von  
MAX WEISWEILER. 12 × 9. Leipzig: Harrassowitz,  
1930.

In the interval between the appearances of these volumes the adjective *königlich* has disappeared. Further the adjective *systematisch-alphabetisch* does not figure on the title-page of the second volume, and its signification on that of the first is far from clear. Herr Weisweiler has prefixed to his volume, which is much the larger of the two, some interesting statistics of the Arabic collections in the German libraries; that of Berlin is by far the richest, whereas that of Tübingen comes sixth in the list. The bulk of the latter was got together by the German consul Wetzstein, who also made comprehensive studies of the language and customs of the Syrians, and whose name was made familiar to Biblical students by his contributions to the widely read commentaries of Delitzsch. The Wetzstein collection amounts to 170 MSS., made up to 274 by MSS. acquired before and after. The Catalogue includes some Christian and some Druze works, both branches of Arabic literature which occupied Professor Seybold's attention, though his interest seems chiefly to have lain in the literature of Islamic Spain. Herr Weisweiler has given scholarly descriptions of the greater number of the MSS. and added a series of indices, one of which furnishes the chronological order of those which bear dates.

WOODBROOKE STUDIES : CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC, AND GARSHŪNI. Edited and translated with a critical apparatus by A. MINGANA. Vol. IV : The Work of Dionysius Barṣalībi against the Armenians. 10 x 6½, pp. viii + 111. Cambridge : W. Heffer & Son, Ltd., 1931. 5s.

After having wandered in the trackless wastes of Christian-Arabic apocalyptic literature, Dr. Mingana has now resumed his edition of the polemical works of Dionysius Bar Ṣalibi, the Jacobite Bishop of the twelfth century.

Before the appearance of Dr. Mingana's editions little was known of the works of this author. Labourt (and before him Assemani) had published his commentary on the liturgy ; Sedlaček had edited the commentary on the Gospels and the Apocalypse ; one of the polemical treatises, that against the Jews, was known from the work of J. de Zwaan. It was therefore a meritorious act on the part of Dr. Mingana to render Bar Ṣalibi's controversial treatises available to scholars. He had already published part of the tract against the Muhammedans<sup>1</sup> and the discourse against the Melchites.<sup>2</sup> This fourth volume of Woodbrooke Studies is entirely devoted to the polemic against the Armenians. Dr. Mingana has enriched his editions of these works with learned introductions and notes ; we are also indebted to him for the photostats which accompany each fascicule, thereby making the Syriac text accessible to scholars. One must, however, confess that, at any rate for those whose sight is at all weak, the reading of white on black photostats entails a great strain to the eyes. But no doubt photographs were impossible for reasons of economy.

These tracts are all edited from MSS. belonging to Dr. Mingana's own collection. Of the polemic against the Armenians he asserts that "MSS. containing this work are

<sup>1</sup> *Ryland's Bulletin*, vol. 9 (1925).

<sup>2</sup> *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i (1927).

so rare that none is definitely known to Baumstark". But the editor has apparently overlooked the existence in the British Museum of a MS. containing this as well as other treatises by Bar Ṣalibi. This codex, Oriental 9377, which is duly listed in the inventory of Oriental MSS., was copied for Sir Ernest Wallis Budge in the year 1890, and was acquired by the Museum in 1924. All the polemical writings of Bar Ṣalibi which are enumerated in the catalogue of his works extant in Codex Vaticanus Syriacus 37<sup>1</sup> are to be found in the British Museum volume.

The discourse against the Armenians does not seem to be among the most interesting of Bar Ṣalibi's works. Of the polemic against the Muhammedans Dr. Mingana wrote : "The treatise is divided into three discourses subdivided into thirty chapters, two-thirds of which would offer no compensation for the trouble taken by a diligent reader intent on perusing them thoroughly."<sup>2</sup> Readers of the present volume may well feel that the treatise against the Armenians deserves an even severer criticism. Even among students of theological literature there must be very few who can with pleasure read through the quaint discussions on the use of leavened or unleavened bread, with the accompanying argumentation about what Dr. Mingana delightfully calls "digested food" and mice. Evidently our modern standards of taste have changed. Dr. Mingana, however, seems to be steeped in the spirit of these ancient controversies ; he must be thoroughly at home in this kind of literature. How otherwise could he have penned such notes as those on pp. 54 and 58 ? One would have thought it was superfluous to say that the statement that "Syrus" built Syria was legendary ; one would have supposed that it was equally self-evident that such phrases as "wild boars which are cruel and vicious, dirty and filthy like domestic swine" were hardly terms of endearment.

<sup>1</sup> See Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, tom. 2, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> *Ryland's Bulletin*, vol. 9 (1925), p. 188.

Nevertheless, the discourse against the Armenians is by no means without interest. Perhaps the most valuable part of this work is the section treating of the uncanonical habits current among this people. When one consults the list of these customs given by Dr. Mingana on pp. 2-4, one cannot but surmise that the Armenians must have been much influenced by Jews and Judaism. This is indeed expressly stated by Bar Salibi himself on pp. 52, 58, and 64 of his tract.

"The Armenians, whom we see keeping the whole law, should be called new Jews, not in their religion but in their habits." The practices which seem most Jewish are : (1) The defilement of food by a dead mouse, and (2) the breaking of a polluted earthenware vessel and the purification of a polluted metal vessel by fire. These customs would seem to depend ultimately on Leviticus xi, 31, though as regards a metal vessel the scripture says, "Whatsoever vessel it be, wherewith any work is done, it must be put into water." (3) The unclean character of pork is explicitly referred to in Leviticus xi, 7.

(4) The use of unleavened bread for the Eucharist may have been adopted on the analogy of the unleavened *Massoth* eaten by Jews during the Passover; and, of course, pure wine unmixed with water is partaken of by Jews in such ceremonies as *Kiddush* and *Habdalah*.<sup>1</sup> (5) The sacrifice of lambs at Easter is perhaps a replica of the Paschal lamb. But it is difficult to suppose that the Armenians learned this custom from the Jews. For what Jew would dare to offer up a Paschal lamb after the destruction of the Temple and outside Jerusalem? Still, we see from the story of Theodos of Rome that there were men who accustomed their fellow Jews to eat lambs or goats on the Passover prepared in the fashion prescribed in the scriptures for the Paschal lamb, that is,

<sup>1</sup> Dr. A. Fortescue maintains, however, that the use of unleavened bread in the liturgy is certainly a Latin infiltration. As to the use of pure wine in the chalice, he notes : "This custom is said to have begun as a reaction against heretics (Enkratites), who consecrated only water. See *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, p. 442, and p. 30 in Bar Salibi's polemic here reviewed.

roasted in their entirety with the entrails and legs on the head.<sup>1</sup> However, this practice savours of paganism rather than Judaism.<sup>2</sup>

A few other points call for criticism. Bar Ṣalibi asserts that the Armenians are descended from Togarma. On this Dr. Mingana remarks : "This is probably Thorgoma, the legendary father of the Armenians."<sup>3</sup> But is it not more probable that the author refers here to Genesis x, 4, where we are told that Togarma was one of the sons of Gomer, and was thus a descendant of Japhet ? This probability becomes almost a certainty when we read on p. 54 that the Armenians are descended from Togarma, who was from the children of Japhet, whereas the ancestor of the Syrians was Shem. Evidently Bar Ṣalibi had the tenth chapter of Genesis in mind when he wrote these words.

The "book" to which Bar Ṣalibi refers as containing the words, "Do not rely on the remission of sins and add sins to sins" is Sirach where, in chapter v, 5, the Peshitta version reads as follows : "Do not rely on forgiveness, lest thou add sins to sins ; for love and wrath are with Him, and His wrath shall rest upon the wicked." Bar Ṣalibi apparently quoted the verse from memory.<sup>4</sup>

On pp. 58 and 59 there is an obscure and almost incomprehensible discussion about baptism and re-baptism. In so difficult a context would it not have been better to have adhered rigidly to the Syriac text in translating the passage ? But a literal translation of the paragraph from the last sentence on p. 58 beginning with the words : "If you pretend

<sup>1</sup> See *Tosephtha*, *Bēsāh* ii, 15, and parallels.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Fortescue, *op. cit.*, p. 441. "An ancient Armenian abuse is the sacrifice of beasts. A bull, cow, sheep, or fowl is brought to church in procession ; a chapter of the Bible is read, salt is put in its mouth, and it is killed, then divided as a feast. The bishops try to put down *this piece of paganism*." (The italics are mine.)

<sup>3</sup> p. 7, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> The passage on p. 13. "I was fashioned into flesh in the womb of my mother, while I was in it formed of blood for ten months," is a quotation from *Wisdom* vii, 2.

that water came out," would perhaps read as follows : " And if you say that water came down and baptised Adam, we will answer you : Well then, Adam was baptised with two baptisms ; once in that, when our Lord was baptised, he baptised<sup>1</sup> Adam. Well then, for our sake and for the sake of Adam was our Lord baptised, and not for his own sake ; and he put on the flesh of Adam. And when he was baptised, he was not baptised for himself, as we said, but he baptised Adam ; and for this reason he was called the second Adam. And he baptised him with the second baptism,<sup>2</sup> when he saw him lying prostrate ; and with wine did he heal his wounds,<sup>3</sup> and also with oil which is the mystery of baptism.

In spite of criticisms on certain points of detail, Dr. Mingana's work is to be welcomed as a valuable contribution to Syriac patristic literature.

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C. Moss.

RÉPERTOIRE CHRONOLOGIQUE D'ÉPIGRAPHIE ARABE. Tome premier. Sous la direction de ÉT. COMBE, J. SAUVAGET et G. WIET. Publications de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. 11½ × 9, pp. xii + 312. Cairo : Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1931.

The French Institute of Oriental Archaeology of Cairo has undertaken a monumental task in editing a complete collection of Arabic epigraphs. The work is dedicated to the memory of Max van Berchem, the initiator of studies in Arabic epigraphy. The collaboration of nineteen experts of this branch of science is necessary to collect and publish the total of 6,100 epigraphic texts of the European and Oriental museums and private collections with the exception of Tunisia, where this has not been possible.

<sup>1</sup> The verb *a'medh* is transitive.

<sup>2</sup> Adopting Dr. Mingana's emendation.

<sup>3</sup> 'dəsabb = "sanavit" as well as "obligavit", and Dr. Mingana has supplied the words : "And poured into them" from Luke x, 34.

The complete work will comprise sixteen volumes, each of them containing 400 inscriptions, arranged in chronological order. All the Islāmic countries are represented from the beginning till A.H. 1250.

The first volume contains the famous pre-Islāmic inscriptions (Namāra, Zebed, Harrān, Umm al-Jimāl) and those of the years A.H. 1–243. Within every year the texts are classified in geographical order from west to east. The text of every inscription is preceded by a short description and followed by a French translation. The inscriptions published in the first volume mostly include epitaphs and texts relative to the construction of monuments.

The work is indispensable for Arabic scholars, who have hitherto had to consult scores of reference-works in finding out the Arabic inscriptions of a given country or period.

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JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI.

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DIE FALKNEREI. Eine ethnographische Darstellung von  
Dr. HANS-HEINRICH VÖGELE. Mit 99 Abbildungen. 1931.  
Verlag Neumann-Neudamm. Veröffentlichungen des  
Geographischen Instituts der Albertus-Universität zu  
Königsberg Pr. Neue Folge, Reihe Ethnographie, Nr. 1.  
pp. x + 106, xxvi pages of illustrations.

The author, induced by his journey in Turkistān in 1927, gives in his book a very detailed survey of the falconry, this noble sport which was much practised especially in Persia. The book is the best existing description of the falconry. Discussing its geographical spread, the author states that there is no falconry on the southern hemisphere and even north of the equator its territory is limited to the subtropical and temperate zones. It is chiefly customary with the peoples living in the territories of desiccation where also its origin is to be sought. The cultural development does not prevent the practice of this sport, suitable to nomadic tribes and to the highly civilized Western Europe as well. The practice

is well characterized especially for Turkistān, Persia, and Japan, where the technical terms are also enumerated.

A comparative table representing the names of the different kinds of falcons in the several Oriental and Western languages, as well as about 100 figures representing the gear and practice of falconry, are of peculiar interest to the Orientalists, particularly for those studying Persia or Japan.

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JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI.

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BONAPARTE'S ADVENTURE IN EGYPT. By Lieut.-Col. P. G.

ELGOOD, C.M.G. pp. 262, 17 illustrations, 2 maps.

London : At the Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1931.

Lieut.-Colonel Elgood's book is a very valuable contribution to the ever-increasing volume of the Napoleon-literature, an excellent monography on Napoleon's Egyptian campaign based on all the available sources. After a comprehensive survey of the French revolution and the earlier life of Napoleon, the author expounds the reasons for his campaign in Egypt and the conditions of that country during the Mamlūks, which seemed to promote the realization of such a plan. A detailed description of the campaign and of the departure of Bonaparte is contained in the second half of the book.

A score of valuable illustrations, as well as the chart of the Battle of the Nile and two maps of the campaign, adorn the book, which is worth being read by all those interested either in Oriental studies or in the life of Napoleon.

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JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI.

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THE LEGACY OF ISLAM. Edited by the late Sir THOMAS ARNOLD and ALFRED GUILLAUME. 7½ × 5, pp. xvi + 416, 92 ills. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1931. 10s.

This is a new volume of the *Legacy Series* with the object of "giving an account of those elements in the culture of

Europe which are derived from the Islāmic world". These elements are so manifold, their effects are so far-reaching and dispersed that a "*Legacy of Islām*" could only have been written by the co-operation of a dozen of prominent experts in Islāmic studies, each of them contributing to it a summary of his speciality. The task taken up by the editors, the late SIR THOMAS ARNOLD and ALFRED GUILLAUME, is more difficult and complicated than that of the editors of the preceding *Legacy*-volumes, because concerning Islām the systematic research work has a great deal more to do in order to arrive at definite results in all the fields of knowledge than as regards either Greece, Rome, Israel, or the Middle Ages, for which territories the investigations have always been more extensive.

Yet a careful study of the book can convince the reader that the editors have succeeded in reaching their end. Both they and all the collaborators have done their best in demonstrating what Europe owes to Islām and have successfully solved the difficult problem of drawing up a succinct textbook which in one volume should give the synopsis of all the researches made in different branches of Muslim civilization.

In the Preface, A. GUILLAUME accounts for the characteristical features of the Arabic language as the means of the spread of Islāmic culture. Then the first chapter deals with a territory of the West which belonged to Islām throughout the Middle Ages. As J. B. TREND expounds it, in no other country did the question of the legacy of Islām undergo so many criticisms as in *Spain*. The real unluck of this country is to be seen in the fact that while it was divided between Christian kingdoms and Muslim territory during the Middle Ages, her civilization attained a degree unequalled in the Europe of that time, but as soon as the expulsion of the Moors resulted in the political union of Spain, a religious intolerance initiated by an ecclesiastical minority became predominant, to which the country sacrificed her greatness. The bearers of Arab civilization were the Mozarabes expelled from the Christian part of the peninsula, who excelled in art and craft.

The Arab influence manifested itself both in the Arabic origin of a considerable portion of the Spanish vocabulary and in numerous translations from the Arabic in the literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which was chiefly due to the activity of Alphonse the Sage, whose reign left a permanent impression on his country. It was he who also introduced chess into Europe. To a smaller extent the same activity was displayed by the Infante Don Juan Manuel.

But Western civilization was influenced not only from Western Islām, but also from the Orient during the period of the *Crusades*. According to ERNEST BARKER, we have to do here both with the direct effects gained from the Orient by the Crusades and with their general influence as a movement of Western Europe on the home of their origin. Referring to the direct effects it must not be forgotten that many influences obtained from the Orient during the Middle Ages are due to the Spanish Islām. The main effect of the Crusades consisted in bringing Latin Christianity into close contact not only with Islām, but also with Greek Christianity. It was through the feudal Latin kingdom of Jerusalem that a great many Arabic words flowed into Western languages, that some devices in the art of war were introduced into Europe, and that numerous Oriental plants and manufactures were known in the Occident. The Crusades fed the main trade-routes of Europe by the transport of goods, troops, facilitated shipping, developed banking, and influenced medieval poetry. The general influence of the Crusades on Europe is fourfold : (1) the power and revenues of Papacy and clergy were enhanced, (2) the taxation by the State on personal property, (3) the creation of an international spirit in Europe, (4) the widening of the geographical horizon, which was also due to the Mongolian invasion.

The subsequent chapters treat of the legacy of Islām in the different branches of human civilization. J. H. KRAMERS writes on the effects in the sphere of *geography* and *commerce*. With the Muslims geographical studies began in the ninth

century under Ptolemaic influence and developed into their systematical treatment in the tenth century. The map-making reached its acme in the twelfth century with al-Idrīsī, many records on travels were also written in the same period. Perhaps still greater was Muslim influence in astronomy, an auxiliary science of their geographers : they kept alive the theories of the sphericity of the earth and of the world-summit which was imagined to be situated at an equal distance from all the cardinal points. The influence of the Arabs in the domain of commerce is chiefly due to their travels on which they reached even the Far East and Northern Europe. As a result many commercial institutions and technical terms passed from Arabic into Western languages.

As to arts, especially Islāmic *minor arts* influenced European work. A. H. CHRISTIE shows how Islāmic inlaid metal works, pottery, textile arts, carpet-weaving, ivory-carving, and book printing and binding were introduced into Europe during the Crusades and later also during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The products of these minor arts were soon imitated in the West, as also some decorative motifs of Islāmic painting. As regards painting, SIR THOMAS ARNOLD's *Legacy*-study has remained unfinished by his sudden death.

The influences of Islāmic *architecture* are dealt with by MARTIN S. BRIGGS. Though Muslim architecture itself is a resultant of many artistic traditions of the Near East, Western architecture, nevertheless, owes a great deal to Islām in consequence of the Crusades. The Crusaders brought with themselves into Europe some devices, as the machicolation, the pointed arch, and probably also other kinds of arches. The carved inscriptions of late Gothic work is presumably of Islāmic origin. The Italian *campanili* are probably derived from the minārets just as the Arab lattice of wood known as *mashrabiyya* was imitated in Europe in the making of English metal grilles.

Numerous are the Arabic *literary influences* in Europe,

a domain in which a great amount of detail work is still to be done. As H. A. R. GIBB points out, these influences fructified the West from two areas, from Andalusia and from Sicily. In the eleventh century the French poetry of Provence was presumably influenced by the court-poetry of Andalusia both metrically and for its subject-matter. Similar influences were transmitted from the Norman kingdom of Sicily. European prose-literature was also influenced by the translations of Arabic works like the *Book of Sindbād*, the collection of sayings of the eminent philosophers by Mubashshir ibn Fātiq and chiefly the *Kalīla wa Dimna*. It is, however, due to the translations of the *Arabian Nights* and of Persian poetry that a veritable "Orientalism" was created both in the English and the German and the French literature in the eighteenth century, whereas in the nineteenth century Fitzgerald's *Omar Khayyām* roused new interest in Oriental spirit. The present century shows a new understanding of the Orient by its scientific study.

In his article on *mysticism* R. A. NICHOLSON sketches the development of Sūfism both in Western and in Eastern Islām from its beginnings to al-Ghazālī, Ibn al-'Arabī, and Jalāladdin Rūmī. Recent investigations show that Ibn al-'Arabī very probably influenced some prominent Christian scholars of the Middle Ages and the *Divina Comedia* of Dante as well.

More conspicuous is the legacy of Islām in *philosophy* and *theology*. In his article A. GUILLAUME first refers to the world-famous medieval universities of the Arabs which preceded in existence the great Western universities. It was especially through the universities of Spain (Cordoba, Toledo) that Arab philosophical ideas were known in the West. The stimulus for such kind of studies was first given in the East by the Caliph al-Ma'mūn, who ordered the translation of Greek works into Arabic. On the base of the translations of Aristotle, al-Kindī, al-Fārābī, and Avicenna developed their philosophical systems. Similarly, Greek

(Aristotelian, neo-Platonic, neo-Empedoclean) ideas, together with the activities of the Mu'tazilites started philosophical studies in Spain. There are three salient figures in the philosophy of Spanish Islām: (1) Ibn Masarra, to whose school belonged the Jewish Avicenna of Malaga, (2) al-Ghazālī, who deeply influenced the Spanish philosophers Raymundus Lullus and Raymundus Martinus, (3) Averroes, whose authority in the West lived on into the sixteenth century. All these three impressed the philosophy of St. Thomas de Aquinas.

In matters of *law* and *society* only a few Western institutions were borrowed from the Orient as expounded by D. DE SANTILLANA. The high ethical standard of Muslim law, however, may have influenced some Western institutions. Muslim society is based on two institutions: (1) The Divine Law (*shari'a*) is far from the austerities of Jewish and Christian law and is founded on equality and good faith. It disciplines human activity tending towards the common end of public weal and considers freedom as an inborn right of every man. (2) The leader of the Muslim community and the director of the *shari'a* is the *imām* whose authority has been established by God. The *imām* receives his investiture by the election of the most able members of the community and is not the heir of the Prophet's mission, but simply his vicar (*khalifa*). Though in later times the caliphs were not elected, yet their *de facto* rule has always been recognized by the jurisconsults.

MAX MEVERHOF treats of the legacy of Islām in *science* and *medicine*. The Arabs borrowed their whole scientific knowledge from the Greeks. The Christian Nestorians, chief bearers of the Hellenistic civilization in the Near East founded a medical school at Jundeshāpūr in the sixth century which was a meeting-place of Greek scholars and translators from Greek into Syriac and Persian. Their activity was continued by the caliphs al-Manṣūr and al-Ma'mūn under whose reign Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq translated into Arabic Galen and many other Greek authors on medicine and physical science. By

unknown translators Aristotle was also rendered into Syriac and Arabic. Under the influence of the Greek works also independent text-books were composed chiefly on medicine, natural history, and mineralogy; the works of al-Kindī are especially noteworthy in this respect, too. Very soon also an original scientific literature was started by scholars like ar-Rāzī whose medical works dominated Western Islām for centuries, Isaac Judeus, the much-discussed "pseudo-Jābir" who wrote works on alchemy, Avicenna with his medicinal canon and some scholars of Cordoba. The optics of Alhazen (Ibn al-Haytham) is also to be quoted from the "golden age" of Arabic literature. During the "age of decline" (from A.D. 1100 on) scientific activity was exhausted in summarizing and commenting on previous literary lore. But in the twelfth century a new translating activity began at Toledo comparable to that initiated by al-Ma'mūn in Baghdaḍ three centuries before. All the important Arabic works were translated into Latin and fructified European science till the middle of the sixteenth century. Generally speaking we can state that the Arabs did not supersede the Greeks in *theory*, but by furthering clinical and therapeutical *practice* they rendered an invaluable service to Western science.

Exactly the same can be said of the *music* of the Arabs. H. G. FARMER describes how they took over the musical legacy of the Greeks under the influence of which an independent literature on music developed. These works, like those of al-Fārābī in the East and of Ibn Bajja in the West, were soon translated into Latin and influenced Western ideas. In musical theory the mensural music is undoubtedly due to the Arabs. Greater is their legacy in practical art: many Western musical instruments and their nomenclature owe their origin to the Arabs.

In the last chapter CARRA DE VAUX deals with *astronomy* and *mathematics*. Having a practical mind, the Arabs developed both sciences to a high degree. Their development

is again due to the translating activity ordered by al-Mansūr and al-Ma'mūn by which many Greek astronomical and mathematical works were translated into Arabic and started an independent literature. The chief representatives were al-Khwārizmī in algebra, Thābit ibn Qurra in geometry (especially in the theory of conical sections), al-Baṭṭānī in astronomy, Abul-Wafā with his famous *Almagest*, 'Umar Khayyām who wrote a complete *Algebra*, Nāṣiraddin Ṭūsī the famous geometer of the Arabs, and also some Spanish scholars.

Many illustrations of artistic and scientific concern adorn the "Legacy of Islam". By editing it the editors have rendered a remarkable service to both the research workers and the students of Islāmic culture. From the book we can see at a glance not only what work has been done in this branch of science, but also what work has to be done in the future. We can only hope that in reading this new *Legacy*-volume the world of Islām will be better appreciated by the public, whereas the scholar obtains from it a good concise survey of all the attainments of Islām in different branches of human activity.

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JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI.



## NOTES OF THE QUARTER

### The British Museum Excavations at Nineveh, 1931-2

On 13th October, 1932, Dr. R. Campbell Thompson read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on his excavations at Nineveh, conducted for the British Museum in the season of 1931-2. He had been accompanied by his wife, and with him as colleague was Mr. M. E. L. Mallowan, whose wife also accompanied him. As before, the expenses of the expedition had been generously borne by Sir Charles Hyde, Bart., and the lecturer thanked him not only for his liberality in financing the work but also for his personal interest in the work and welfare of the staff of the expedition.

The first work to be carried out was the completion of the excavation of the Temple of Ishtar. A large pavement of burnt brick was discovered, but none of the bricks bore any name to indicate their maker, and the presumption is that it was built in the early part of the first millennium B.C. The area of the temple is now shown to have been approximately 300 by 150 feet, built on a solid foundation of unburnt brick some 6 feet thick. Few traces of walls were left, as the combined effects of weather and the ravages of man have woefully ruined it. But numerous pieces of *zigâti* (inscribed "bowls") were found, which enable a complete list of the various restorations to the temple to be made. Among the objects found was half a mace-head inscribed with the name of Kadashman-Enlil, a Kassite king of the fourteenth century B.C.

With the completion of this area there was time and money left to test the unfinished ground to the north-west of Sennacherib's palace, and three trenches dug here show that more of the palace actually exists in this direction. Here were found fragments of cuneiform tablets from the Royal Library, and various Parthian remains, including a silver ring with a gold figure attached.

As a third part of the programme, the house on the flat (supposed in 1927 to have been built by Sennacherib for his son) was finally cleared. It will be remembered that the beautiful prism of Esarhaddon and about eighty pieces of prisms came from this spot, and the new diggings resulted in the finding of about 250 more pieces, many of them large, and, most curious to relate, two Hittite linear hieroglyphic inscriptions (one being on a clay tablet).

But the most important work of all was the digging of a pit 90 feet deep, in the charge of Mr. Mallowan. This was done in order to complete our knowledge of the prehistory of the mound, and it was dug to virgin soil.

Mr. Mallowan has now been able to divide the prehistoric periods of Nineveh into five, the earliest, about 5000 B.C., showing rough incised pottery, and the second, about 4500 B.C., producing some extraordinary painted sherds. The third period, about 4000 B.C., was noteworthy for its burials in pots; and the fourth contained the rough votive bowls, almost always upturned, as though for offerings. The last, the fifth, about 3000 B.C., showed a great quantity of the black-painted ware, with birds and long-necked ibexes. It had been altogether a most fruitful season.

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### Revival of the Hebrew Language and Literature in Palestine

On Thursday, 24th November, Mr. I. A. Abbady, Chief Hebrew interpreter to the Government of Palestine, read a paper on this subject to the Royal Asiatic Society.

Mr. Abbady reviewed the growth of the Hebrew language from its infancy to its present stage of development in Palestine as a modern spoken vernacular. He described how the language managed from its very early beginnings to absorb and assimilate a number of foreign linguistic elements without losing any of its vitality. In this respect it is distinguished from Classical Arabic in that the latter,

although it could assimilate words and brief composite phrases, remains to-day largely the same language that was used in the Koran and in pre-Islamic poetry. The main grammatical and stylistic skeleton of Arabic has thus remained unchanged, and all efforts in the last century to reduce the various vernaculars to a permanent form of writing have failed because of the sanctity attaching to the Koran.

Continuing, the lecturer adduced considerable evidence, linguistic, ethnographical, historical, and literary, to rebut the theory that Hebrew had ever been a dead language. Although it was never "dead", it may be said that it was not "alive" in the accepted sense of the term. A compromise in this discussion could be reached by adopting the phrase of Jespersen, the distinguished Danish philologist, when he spoke of the "biological growth" of Hebrew.

It was with the beginning of civil emancipation in Europe when the so-called "Haskala" (enlightenment) movement commenced in Eastern and Central Europe that an intensive literary revival was born. Mappo, who is known as the Father of the Hebrew novel (1808-1867), may be regarded as the precursor of this literary revival. But it was not until the advent of Eliezer Ben Yehuda (1858-1923) that Hebrew was fully restored to life as an ordinary vernacular and as the common speech of the Jewish people in Palestine. Ben Yehuda had declared in his essay, "An Important Question" in *Hashachar*, his faith in the vitality of the Hebrew language as the main link that should unite all Israel in the present generation. He was the first to introduce Hebrew as a spoken medium in his household and refused to converse with any Jew in any language other than Hebrew. Ben Yehuda was also a lexicographer, as well as a distinguished journalist and stylist. In his *Thesaurus Toutium Hebraitis* (of which eleven volumes have, so far, appeared) he embodied all the linguistic wealth of the Hebrew language throughout its long history, and unlike Dr. Johnson, who in his preface to the great dictionary stated that he discarded most English

words which were no longer understood in his times (i.e. prior to Spenser, Sydney, and Shakespeare), Ben Yehuda was keen on including every single word that occurred at any time in any Hebrew writing. Again, unlike Dr. Johnson, who was cautious in introducing new additions to his dictionary, Ben Yehuda went out of his way to invent new terms for concepts which had not existed before, mechanical and linguistic inventions, sometimes in complete disregard of the rules of Hebrew grammar and rhythm. For he always emphasized the value of Hebrew as a *practical* means of communication, rather than as a purely literary medium.

The lecturer then referred to some problems of language and style, and of the simplification of Hebrew script and grammar, and to the prominent rôle played by the "Vaad Hallashon" (Language Committee) in the field of the expansion of Hebrew.

Discussing the present literary revival in Palestine, the lecturer said that while they were still drawing on the pre-War literary tradition of Russia, they had the beginnings of the Hebrew novel with the colour of Palestine in it, and they had a number of writers of short stories which would compare favourably with the short stories of a good European standard. The same applied to poetry, and although the lecturer did not single out any one poet for merit, he referred to Schimonoviz (*Idylls of Gallilee*) and Asaph Hallevi as two poets whose work gave powerful expression to the wealth of colour of the modern Palestine and of the old and new Jerusalem respectively.

The sum total of this literary renaissance of Israel in Palestine, which is yet at its beginning, is that a contented Jewish community, under a civilized government evolving its own cultural life on the foundations of the best Jewish traditions of the past, is sure to make its own specific contribution to the cultural life of the world.

In the discussion that ensued, Dr. Daiches stated that the lecturer exaggerated the importance of Ben Yehuda in the

linguistic revival. He played, no doubt, a prominent rôle in this revival, but he merely continued the tradition of the fathers of "Haskala" and contributed to the transformation of Hebrew into a common speech in Palestine. Dr. Gaster said that he was happy, as Vice-President of the Society, to have recommended this paper to the Council. He thanked the lecturer for his lucid paper on such a subject and remarked that although he was sceptical as to the modern linguistic inventions and was not sure whether some of them were not too crude, it was certainly a remarkable intellectual phenomenon that was taking place in Palestine. He enquired for further information as to the impact of modern Arabic on modern Hebrew.

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### Notice

Authors and Reviewers who use Oriental names, words, or quotations in the text of their writings for the JOURNAL are requested, as a convenience for the general reader, to append a translation (into English) of all quotations and also a transliteration of all names or single words.

Their attention is drawn to the system of Transliteration published on p. 267 of the 1932 JOURNAL, a copy of which has been issued from time to time. For Chinese the use of the Wade system is requested, and for Japanese that of the Rōmaji-kwai (Romanization Society).

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### FONDATION DE GOEJE

1. Depuis novembre 1931 deux changements se sont produits dans la constitution du Bureau. Conformément aux statuts, M. Tj. de Boer, en quittant Amsterdam, a donné sa démission comme membre du Bureau ; il a été remplacé par M. J. L. Palache. Depuis, M. M. Th. Houtsma a résigné ses fonctions de membre du Bureau et a pu, à la faveur d'un autre article des statuts, être remplacé par le membre démissionnaire, M. de Boer, de sorte que le Bureau est

actuellement composé ainsi : C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), Tj. de Boer, J. J. Salverda de Grave, J. L. Palache et C. van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. La date à laquelle paraîtra, comme no. 9 des publications de la Fondation, le *Fragment de Constantinople du Kitâb ihtilâfât al-fuqahâ de at-Tabârî*, par le professeur Joseph Schacht, ne peut pas encore être précisée.

3. Dans l'année qui vient de se terminer a paru, comme no. 10 des publications de la Fondation, *Hadramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled*, par D. van der Meulen et H. von Wissmann.

4. Des neuf publications antérieures de la Fondation il reste un certain nombre d'exemplaires, qui sont mis en vente au profit de la fondation, chez l'éditeur E. J. Brill, aux prix marqués : (1) *Reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde de la Hamâsah de al-Buhturî* (1909), fl. 96 ; (2) *Kitâb al-Fâkhîr de al-Mufâddal*, éd. C. A. Storey (1915), fl. 6 ; (3) *Streitschrift des Gazâlî gegen die Bâtinijja-Sekte*, par I. Goldziher (1916), fl. 4·50 ; (4) *The Book of the Dove de Bar Hebraeus*, éd. A. J. Wensinck (1919), fl. 4·50 ; (5) *De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, par C. van Arendonk (1919), fl. 6 ; (6) *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, par I. Goldziher (1920), fl. 10 ; (7) *Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes, übersetzt und mit einer Einleitung und Erläuterungen versehen*, par S. van den Bergh (1924), fl. 7·50 ; (8) *Les "Livres des Chevaux"*, par G. Levi Della Vida (1928), fl. 5 ; (9) see para. 2 above ; (10) *Hadramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled*, par D. van der Moulen et H. von Wissmann (1932), fl. 9.

LEYDE.

Novembre 1932.

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TRANSLITERATION  
OF THE  
SANSKRIT, ARABIC  
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given within is based on that approved by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894. A few optional forms have been added so as to adapt it to the requirements of English and Indian scholars. The Council earnestly recommends its general adoption (as far as possible), in this country and in India, by those engaged in Oriental Studies.

## SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ	.	a
आ	.	ā
इ	.	i
ई	.	ī
उ	.	u
ऊ	.	ū
ऋ	.	r or ṛ
ॠ	.	ṝ or ṡ
ऌ	.	l or ḥ
ऌ	.	l̄ or ḡ
ए	.	e or ē
ऐ	.	ai
ओ	.	o or ö
औ	.	au
क	.	ka
ख	.	kha
ग	.	ga
ঘ	.	gha
ঙ	.	ṅa
চ	.	ca or <u>cha</u> <sup>1</sup>
ছ	.	cha or <u>chha</u> <sup>1</sup>
জ	.	ja
ঝ	.	jha
ঢ	.	ঢa
ত	.	ta
ধ	.	tha
ঢ	.	da
ণ	.	dha
ণ	.	ণa
ত	.	ta
ঠ	.	tha
ঢ	.	da

<sup>1</sup> In modern Indian languages only.

ध	.	<i>dha</i>
न	.	<i>na</i>
प	.	<i>pa</i>
फ	.	<i>pha</i>
ब	.	<i>ba</i>
भ	.	<i>bha</i>
म	.	<i>ma</i>
य	.	<i>ya</i>
र	.	<i>ra</i>
ल	.	<i>la</i>
व	.	<i>va</i>
श	.	<i>śa</i>
ष	.	<i>ṣa</i>
स	.	<i>sa</i>
ह	.	<i>ha</i>
ऋ	.	<i>la</i> or <i>la</i>
• (Anusvāra)	.	<i>m</i> } or -
◦ (Anunāsika)	.	<i>ṁ</i> }
:	(visarga) .	<i>ḥ</i>
×	(jihvāmūliya) .	<i>ḥ</i>
॥	(upadhmānīya)	<i>ḥ</i>
¤	(avagraha)	,
<i>Udātta</i>	.	.
<i>Svarita</i>	.	.
<i>Anudātta</i>	.	.

## ADDITIONAL FOR MODERN VERNACULARS

ঢ	.	<i>ra</i>
ঢ	.	<i>rha</i>

Where, as happens in some modern languages, the inherent *a* of a consonant is not sounded, it need not be written in transliteration. Thus Hindi करता *kartā* (not *karatā*), making; कल *kal* (not *kala*), to-morrow.

The sign ~, a tilde, has long been used by scholars to represent anunāsika and anusvāra and nūn-i-ghunna—when these stand for nasal vowels—in Prakrit and in the modern vernaculars: thus *ଅ̃ a*, *ଅ̃ a*, and so on. It is therefore permitted as an optional use in these circumstances.

## ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

† at beginning of word omit; hamza elsewhere ' or alternatively, hamza may be represented by - or -

ب	b
ت	t
ث	t or <u>th</u>
ج	j or <u>dj</u> <sup>1</sup>
ح	h
خ	h or kh
د	d
ذ	d or dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh or <u>sh</u>
ص	sh
ض	d
ط	t or t <sup>1</sup>
ظ	z or z <sup>1</sup>
ع	'
غ	g or gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n

<sup>1</sup> Although allowed by the Geneva system, the use of dj for ظ in England or India is not recommended ; nor for modern Indian languages should ل be transliterated by f or ظ by z, as these signs are there employed for other purposes.

, w or v

ه h

ڻ t or ڻ

ي y

vowels - a, i, ڻ u

lengthened ڻ a, ي i, و ڻ u

also ē and ō in Indian dialects, ڻ and ū in Turkish.—

*Alif maqsūra* may be represented by ڻ

diphthongs ي ay and ڻ aw, or ي ai and ڻ au  
respectively

Also in India, in transliterating Indian dialects, and  
for Persian, will be recognized s for ڦ, z for  
ڏ, and ڙ for ڢ

wasla

A final silent h need not be transliterated,—thus بندہ  
banda (not bandah). When pronounced, it should be  
written,—thus گناہ gunāh.

#### ADDITIONAL LETTERS

Persian, Hindi, Urdū, and Pashtō.

پ p

ئ c, e, or ch

ڙ z or zh

ڱ g

Turkish letters.

ك when pronounced as y, k is permitted

ڭ n

Hindi, Urdu, and Pashto.

ٿ or ٿ ٿ

ڏ or ڏ ڏ

ڙ or ڙ ڙ

ڻ (nūn-i-ghunna) - as in the case of the Nāgari  
anunāsika

Pashto letters.

ڌ ڌ, ڌ, ts or dz

ڍ ڍ or ڳ (according to dialect)

ڎ ڎ

ڎ ڎ or ڱ (according to dialect)

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# JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

## 1933

PART II.—APRIL

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### The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle

TRANSLATED BY A. S. TRITTON

WITH NOTES BY H. A. R. GIBB

(Concluded from p. 101.)

IN 1143 Zangi advanced with his army to the neighbourhood of Edessa and besieged a fort to the east of the town which the Franks had surprised from an Arab, Mani' son of 'utair. Zangi took the fort of Shann,<sup>1</sup> marched close to Edessa, sent an ambassador to the townsmen, and said that he did not wish to fight the Franks but to be at peace<sup>2</sup> with them. They sent him gifts and presents from the town, food and drink, and he passed on to Aleppo.

Táj ul Mulúk ruled in Damascus after the death of his father Tughtagín; after a time Ismailians killed him.<sup>3</sup> His brothers and young sons who were left did not agree. A great chief Unur (Yunar) who had been with Táj ul Mulúk seized Damascus in the name of one of his sons and another son took Baalbek. Zangi took an army and besieged Baalbek, setting up engines which battered that wonderful building day and night so that every day a thousand great stones were hurled against it.<sup>4</sup> In their distress they surrendered;

<sup>1</sup> As-Sinn at junction of Lower Záb with Tigris; in 1129.

<sup>2</sup> Blank in MS.

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 1132.

<sup>4</sup> A.D. 1139.

thus Zangi captured Baalbek and then began to fight constantly against Damascus.

When Unur of Damascus saw that Zangi was strong and like to prevail while his own strength was insufficient, he sought aid from the king of Jerusalem and bribed him to come to help him. The king gathered an army and advanced till he was close to Zangi. Craftily Zangi retired before him as if running away, till the king had penetrated far into those lands, and then turned on him fiercely so that the king was defeated and his army fled. The Turks began to slay with the sword so the king with a few men fled to Husn ul Akrád in the land of Tripoli and hid there with the men who escaped. Zangi besieged it till the garrison were in great straits and ate horses and donkeys without salt. The king sent to Pitabin of Antioch and Joscelyn the younger of Edessa to gather their forces and come to his aid. He was in great distress till they had collected and come. When Zangi heard of the commotion, assembling, and coming of the Franks, and of the distress of the king, he sent special dainties to him, made an agreement and established a covenant with oaths and promises, and went away.<sup>1</sup> Soon the Frank force arrived and wanted to pursue Zangi but the king would not allow it because of his covenant and oath. Zangi grew strong, fought Damascus constantly, and took its land and Tadmur in the desert.

After making peace with the king Zangi did not again attack the Franks but all his fighting was to take the lands of the Muslims and bring them under his sway. There was a fort near Aleppo named Athárib (Tarib) and another Hadadna<sup>2</sup> under a Frank chief who took an army and laid waste the land of Aleppo, taking captives and departing. When he heard the news, Zangi took an army and invested these places.<sup>3</sup> In their distress they asked him to swear to spare their lives. He swore deceitfully that he would take

<sup>1</sup> This refers to the siege of Fulk in Ba'rin in A.D. 1137.

<sup>2</sup> Zaradna ?

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 1135.

them to the gate of Antioch. When they opened the gate, he took them all, men and women, boys and girls, to Aleppo, to the gate of Antioch, thus keeping his oath. He slew all the men with the sword and the women and children became slaves and slave girls.

When Gházi son of Dánishmand died,<sup>1</sup> his son Muhammad reigned in his land. He became strong and his yoke was heavy on his possessions in Cappadocia, especially on the men of Malaṭia. He oppressed them with taxes and poll tax. God slew him by an evil disease and he died. Gházi had two sons Dawla and Ya'kúb; when Muhammad died, Dawla ruled after him.<sup>2</sup>

In 1446 (rightly 1137) zeal awoke in the emperor of the Greeks, John, to invade Syria. He collected an army of four hundred thousand men, Greeks and Franks, Germans (?) and Hungarians (?), and got ready to march along the coast of Cilicia so that the sea should be beside him and his baggage be carried in ships and ships bring fodder and food to his men regularly. Then the ruler of Cilicia was Leo (Lábún son of Ráfin) the Armenian, the maternal uncle of Joscelyn the younger of Edessa. Leo progressed and grew strong and when Bohemund was killed in his land he prevailed still more over the Franks and the land on the coast called Tagra,<sup>3</sup> capturing Tarsus and Maṣīṣa. He caused great loss to the Franks. When Pitabín ruled in Antioch this enmity grew. Leo regularly ravaged the lands of the Greeks to the annoyance of the emperor. At the time of the emperor's invasion, Pitabín gathered his army and ravaged Cilicia. Leo prepared to fight but a Frank ambush surprised and captured him and he was taken to Antioch a captive.<sup>4</sup> While a prisoner there, the emperor reached the Cilician Gates and sent a

<sup>1</sup> c. 1126 according to the Byzantine chroniclers, but see above, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> 'ain ud-Dawla b. Gházi, first of the Malaṭia branch of the Dánishmand family, d. 1151.

<sup>3</sup> Arabic التر, i.e. Lower Cilicia.

<sup>4</sup> A.D. 1137.

message to the Franks that all under his authority who wished him well should come to pay their respects to him. Joscelyn and Pitabin came to do homage to the emperor, meeting him beyond Tarsus ; he received them joyfully and they went back to their cities. He took Tarsus, Maṣīṣa, Adana, and captured Anazarba after a siege. He advanced to the plain of Antioch, his army spreading in all directions in the hills and plains doing great damage to the villages of the Christians. The rulers of Antioch and Edessa came again to do homage to the emperor. He desired to put the baggage of his army and his treasure in Antioch as a pledge that when he had conquered the lands of the Muslims he would give them to the lord of Antioch instead of it. The lord of Antioch did not like this. The emperor had marched out with a great army, abundant treasure, his four sons, his brothers, his sons-in-law, and all his court. He had sworn an oath that until his death he would not go back with his Cæsars, Augusti, Patricians, and the rest of his nobles, without winning a great victory. So he proposed but God gives victory and authority and increases the salvation of kings. When Pitabin returned to Antioch he set free Leo who went to his own land and then to the emperor as a suppliant. He made him a prisoner and sent him to Constantinople with his sons and household.

While the emperor was in the plain of Antioch and the Franks were deceiving him, not being straight with him, came bad news deserving of groans from Adana for a bitter judgment had overtaken it. Adana was full of Jacobite Christians with their metropolitan John (Jesus son of Arik) of Edessa. When the emperor captured it he left a force to guard it and moved on to Antioch. They rejoiced to be under Greek rule and freed from the severe taxes of the Franks. While they were quiet and unsuspecting at dawn on a Sunday a Turkish army<sup>1</sup> came upon them, surrounding them like a moat. They began at once a fierce attack like a wind (?) of swords, planting ladders against the walls and

<sup>1</sup> Belonging to the Saljuqid sultan of Konia, Mas'ud (1137).

swarming up them. When they pushed them down on one side they sprang up on another. The garrison were weakened by the blows of arrows and stones and the great assault (?) that encircled them. They endured in this distress from dawn till midday. God turned his face from them and they were delivered into the hands of the enemy in a way marvellous to tell, incredible to the hearer. A Turk climbed a ladder against the wall and, when he reached the top, the wall was still above him. He gripped a stone projecting from the wall and stood on it. One of the garrison who stood on the wall above him, thrust at him with his spear to throw him down. The Turk laid hold of the spear and the man on top pulled it hard to release it from his grip and in this way the Turk was pulled up on to the battlements. He brandished his sword at the man below who gave way before him and went down ; fear and trembling took hold of those near and they fled. The Turks were encouraged, climbed up after the pioneer and seized the wall. In a moment it was full of Turks. They went down into the town, opened the gates, and the army entered. God was angry with Adana and its inhabitants. They drove out all the people, made the men kneel, and killed them with the sword ; they sacked the houses, convents, and churches ; gathered spoil without end ; and took captive boys and girls, whole groups. They took also the metropolitan, priests, and young deacons, binding them with ropes and taking them into sad captivity. They destroyed the town, laid it waste, and went to their own land. When the news reached the emperor he sent an army to pursue the Turks, but it did not overtake them as they had seven days' start. The captives were sold in various places, especially in Malatia. Those who escaped went back to the town ; the emperor took care of them and gave them what they needed to maintain life. Adana was destroyed five months after the emperor's start. Winter came, he spent it with the army in Cilicia ; there was much sickness and many deaths.

At the end of October, when the emperor was in Cilicia, a great multitude assembled in Sumaisát to go to Edessa, for only a great company could travel by reason of the enemies who always beset and ambushed the roads. There were carriers of fodder, wine, and all the necessaries of life, men and beasts without number, accompanied by Frank horsemen and footmen. When they had crossed the Euphrates and were within a few miles of Edessa, the forces of Timurtásh son of Ghází, lord of Mardin and Mayyafáriqín, ten thousand horse, overtook them at sunset on the 29th October, 1447, and fought with them the whole night. They were harassed from the dawn of that bitter day till noon and the justice of God thundered against the caravan beside a village named Patal on the road to Edessa. The Turks fell on them with the sword, killed an endless number, captured thousands, took spoil without measure, horses, ponies, mules, and asses passing count. They took the captives and brought them in bonds to the wall by the gate of Edessa, lines and lines of them, and addressed the townsmen. "Fools, why do you hope? Deliver the town and I will set free your prisoners." They did not submit so he went away as he had no engines to besiege the town.

When winter passed and spring came<sup>1</sup> the emperor prepared to enter Syria and sent to the Frank chiefs according to agreement. He passed by Mar'ash, 'ain Táb, Tell Báshir, and came to Mabbúj. Joscelyn led him to besiege the fort of Buzá'a between Mabbúj and Aleppo. He captured it, with its lord, sacked the place and gave it to Joscelyn.

In 1448 (1449)<sup>2</sup> they marched from Buzá'a and passed by Aleppo, seeming to it like locusts, an army without number. The hearts of the men of Aleppo were shaken for they thought that he had come to attack them, and knew that if he did, the town would soon be taken. But the deceitful Franks did not wish the emperor well, showed him a false appearance

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1138.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. A.D. 1138.

of affection, advised him not to attack Aleppo then, but gave him the bad and fatal advice to besiege Shaizar, a strong fortress. It is a strong fort situated on the top of a high rock with a river flowing at its foot below the rock. It was held by noble Arabs called Banú Munqidh, kin to the lord of Qal'at Ja'bar who, as we said, gave security for Baldwin when he was ransomed from Mosul. They were noble natured, loved all men, and were good mediators at all times. Zangi was in Aleppo and rejoiced when he saw the bad policy of the Greeks and Franks because he then realized that they were at cross purposes and that he had for the moment avoided war. While they blockaded Shaizar, Zangi like a prudent man protected his own borders and advanced near to the Greek camp. They attacked the place but uselessly though they themselves began to suffer from famine, for they were a huge army and Zangi wisely prevented the arrival of supplies. When famine grew severe and there was no means of taking the place by assault, the emperor saw the treachery of the Franks in wasting his time in the siege of this fort. The garrison sent ambassadors to the emperor saying, "The Franks have misled you ; have brought you to invest this place, though we have done wrong to none and have not molested the Christians." They sent him presents, sacramental vessels of gold and silver, crosses of gold obtained in victories over the emperors and preserved by them from the days of their fathers. The emperor left Shaizar, went to Antioch, and after a toilsome march to Anazarba, having done nothing that summer.

Zangi marched to Buzá'a, took it, and killed all the Franks in it. The prisoners who had been taken at its capture (by the Franks) were in 'ezáz ; every day they were taken into the bean fields to eat as food was scarce. Zangi put a strong troop in ambush which seized the way of return as these men spread over the fields. Many of the guards were killed and all the captives released and taken to Buzá'a.

The emperor was in Cilicia ; his eldest son died, was

embalmed, and sent to the capital ; soon after another son died, was embalmed, and taken to the capital. The emperor was deeply grieved and went back to Constantinople, without taking one house from the Muslims or having won one victory.

At the turn of the year the emperor John again prepared and came to Tarsus with a big army ; he sent for the Frank chiefs, blamed them for what had gone before, and arranged a marriage that they might agree in true love. While arranging this he went hunting one day as a holiday. A deer got up, he laid an arrow in his bow to shoot it, and the point wounded his left hand. It became inflamed, his arm swelled, and in a few days he was dead.<sup>1</sup> With him was his young son Emmanuel who had been proclaimed emperor in his father's lifetime. The army embalmed him, took him with his son to Constantinople in great distress. In that year 1449 (1450)<sup>2</sup> was a severe earthquake, many towns were ruined especially in Cilicia and Syria. The strong fort of Athárib disappeared in the ground as if it had never been. Jerusalem was spared. At this time the king of Jerusalem died and Baldwin his son reigned.<sup>3</sup>

Zangi, lord of the Turks in the eastern lands and Aleppo, having no anxiety from the side of the Christian princes, crossed the Euphrates and attacked the sons of Ortúq, Timurtásh and the sons of Dáud, taking captives from their lands and capturing Dára, Tell Muzalt, Gumlín, and all Shabaktan. He took Hánín, Araqnín, and Hamíma.<sup>4</sup> In their extremity the sons of Ortúq asked help of Joscelyn of Edessa, giving him the fort of Bábúla in the land of Gargar. He prepared to join them in fighting Zangi. He being crafty made peace with the Ortúqids who were very willing as Joscelyn could not give them the help they had hoped for. Zangi felt aggrieved with Joscelyn and employed every

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1143.

<sup>2</sup> Michel le Syrien, iii, 251.

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 1143. Here the text has an account of the crusade by the emperor of Germany. As it is repeated almost word for word in the proper place it is omitted from the translation here.

<sup>4</sup> A.D. 1141-3.

means of capturing Edessa, sending spies constantly to know if the town were empty of troops. There was in Harrán a chief of the Muslims named Faql ullah son of Ja'far who hated the men of Edessa ; to him the spies went and by him they were directed. At that time Zangi was besieging Ámid.

Joscelyn gathered all his troops and went to raid the districts on the Euphrates near Balis and ar-Raqqa. The chief of Harrán at once told Zangi at Ámid that the town was emptied of soldiers. He at once sent doughty warriors under the brave *Şalâh ud dîn* if perhaps they might take Edessa by surprise. If they could not do this, they were to assault it and try its strength. If it was defended boldly and strongly they were to return, otherwise they were to invest it and call for him. When the expedition started, Zangi followed it. They marched in haste all that day and the next night and had they arrived in the dark they would have taken the town as the inhabitants expected nothing of the sort. But heavy rain fell, the night was extra dark, so when the expedition came near the town, they lost their way, and dawn found them on the road to Harrán ; and when they returned surprise was hopeless. They attacked the town at dawn on Tuesday, 28th November, 1455, reached the mounds of the town, and killed some men between the walls. When they saw the weakness of the town they sent pigeons to Zangi to come at once. He arrived at dawn on the Thursday with an army as numerous as the stars, which filled all the plain round the town. They surrounded it rank behind rank and pitched their tents round it like beggars ; they took care to pitch the tents within the outworks. Zangi pitched his tent on the north opposite the Gate of the Hours on the hill above the church of the Confessors. To the east of him was the tent of the great king, the sultan's son, and to the north of him was the tent of a prudent Persian, Jamál ud dîn the vizier, who was in charge of all the taxes and revenue of Zangi's land. He camped on the hill of the Observers. The great and wise *Şalâh ud dîn*, Zangi's

commander-in-chief, pitched on the west opposite the Fountain gate on the hill of the graveyard where is the tomb of Mar Ephraim. Above him at the head of the valley of Sulaimán was Zain ud dín 'alí Kuchak, lord of Arbíl and Shahrazúr, opposite in the garden of Barşúma. On the east of the Kasas gate was the great chief Dubais,<sup>1</sup> lord of the lower lands opposite Babylon, who for an offence had once joined the Franks.<sup>2</sup> North of him in the garden of Buzán was Abú 'alí (Bu 'alí) lord of Za'farán and Araqnín. To the north-east the sons of Bagsag,<sup>3</sup> rulers of Sababark<sup>4</sup> and the shores of the Euphrates, camped. South of the Kasas gate was 'ain ud dawla lord of Shabaktan; south of that again camped various tribes of Turkmen; at the South gate towards Harrán were many tribes of Kurds, and above them many foot soldiers, Arabs, and men of Aleppo. On the west opposite the citadel Hasan of Mabbúj pitched his camp.

The town was very weak as there were no soldiers in it, only cobblers, weavers, silk merchants, tailors, priests, and deacons. Three bishops were in it, the Frank Papias<sup>5</sup> who took command, the Syrian Basilius son of Shumna a native of the town, and the Armenian Ahnanius. They resisted stoutly and fought as long as they could. The enemy set up engines, each leader doing so, and battered the wall violently; they dug mines under it on the north side under the bridge outside the gate of Hours and reached the foundations while fighting went on constantly. Zangi tried to weaken them by sending proposals of peace (they did not listen) for he wished a surrender so that the town should not be destroyed and the inhabitants killed. He said to them: "Fools, you see that there is no hope of saving your lives, why do you watch and hope? Have mercy on yourselves, your sons and daughters,

<sup>1</sup> Muhammad b. Dubais. Dubais was killed in 1129.

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 1124.

<sup>3</sup> Same as Básag (?), p. 72. Cf. Michel Le Syrien, iii, 247.

<sup>4</sup> Formerly Semkat.

<sup>5</sup> The metropolitan.

your wives and houses, and your city, that it be not laid waste and empty of inhabitants." There was no one in the town who had authority, each one did as he pleased, so they were left to ruin and a bad end. They answered Zangi rudely with insults and abuse, foolishly, beyond all measure. The Syrian bishop proposed and took counsel with the Frank bishop that they should write to Zangi asking for a truce for a fixed time in case help should come. This seemed good so they took advice from other prudent men, wrote the letter, and read it to the people. The object was to postpone the decision while they drew breath, for they had lost hope of life, were tired, weary, and exhausted with work on a new wall opposite the mines ; the women, girls, and boys were fatigued beyond words by carrying stones, water, and other necessaries to the labourers and fighting men ; stones from the engines fell on them from without and there was no end to the tribulation they suffered. Therefore the bishop thought they should arrange a truce to get some relief or postpone a little the wrath that threatened them. They saw the wall broken on all sides by the engines ; in the mine on the north the foundation of the wall was destroyed while beams, pieces of wood, and rows of coverings (?) were put in its place, and the gaps between them were filled with naphtha, oil, and sulphur, that they might burn like a torch and the wall fall. Then an ignorant silk merchant named Hasnún put out his hand and tore the letter ; there was a great commotion and this wise plan was foiled. Although Zangi said, " If you want a truce we will grant it. If help come— ; and if not, surrender and be safe." He did not want the town to be ruined but when he saw that persuasion was useless, as Scripture says " The Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart to his destruction ".

Zangi gave orders to start the fire beneath the wall and Righteousness ordered the destruction of the town. Heralds called the camps to prepare for fighting that, when the wall fell, they should leap into the town through the breach.

He allowed the sack of the town for three days. The fire devoured the oil and sulphur and began on the beams; they poured oil on it while a north wind blew the smoke into the faces of the garrison. The great wall swayed and fell and the temporary rampart proved to be too short at both ends, for the part that fell was longer than what they had built. The garrison fought in the two gaps from dawn till the third hour on the eve of the feast of the Mother of God, 24th December. When many had been killed, the Turks forced their way in (God was angry with the inhabitants) and slew with the sword, sparing none. That day about six thousand were killed.

When the Turks entered, the women, children, and youths ran to the upper citadel to escape from the enemy and hide from destruction. The gate was shut according to the bad custom of the Franks and their bishop had given orders that it was not to be opened unless they saw him. The crowd was crushed together, rank after rank, from fear of death and captivity, pushing upwards, treading on one another—a pitiable sight and full of terror—they were squashed and crushed into a solid mass and some five thousand were miserably suffocated. Ten thousand boys and girls were led into captivity. When Zangi came near the citadel and saw those who had been crushed to death he was perturbed and at once stopped the slaughter. The Frank bishop was killed by an axe on the road to the citadel and many priests, deacons, and monks were slain.

When Zangi came to the citadel gate, he spoke peaceably to them and asked them to surrender, promising to save their lives. Some of them came out to ask security for the Franks in it. Among them was the priest (but not of God) Barṣūma of Ishmael.<sup>1</sup> By his power of talk he had made himself prominent in the citadel. Zangi gave a sworn promise and they surrendered two days after the capture of the town. The next day Zangi reviewed the prisoners from all the camps,

<sup>1</sup> Ten lines describe this man's wickedness, mainly theological.

some were selected and sent into captivity. They set guards that no Turk might hurt the townsmen and at the gates that none might enter the town. The men of Edessa went to their homes and Zangi gave them what they needed, fodder, etc., and cheered them. They dwelt in their homes.

We now proceed to tell what happened to those in the citadel, when it was surrendered to the Turks and when a multitude without end of women and children perished, being chosen for captivity. They were about two thousand ; six thousand or more died by the sword or suffocation in front of the citadel. The governor released about ten thousand from the soldiers ; those who hid underground or in the two forts also escaped. When the upper fort was taken and they received the promise of their lives, Zangi fetched the metropolitan Basilius who was in the keeping of a soldier, and they began to bring out the Franks from the citadel with their women and children, and priests and deacons, with much gold, vessels of silver, and raiment. Many of the townsmen had joined them to go with them for Zangi had sworn to take them across the Euphrates that they might go where they wished. The commander *Şalâh ud dîn* went into the citadel, took the metropolitan by the hand and said, “ We want your holiness to swear on the cross and the gospel to be true to us for you know well that you all deserve death because you have resisted our authority and despised our prophet. We are ready to treat you well and set free those of you who are captives. You know that from the time when the Muslims conquered this town it remained under their power two hundred years and was populous like a capital city ; to-day it is fifty years since the Franks took it and they have ruined its territory as you see. The governor is ready to treat you well, so live in peace, shelter under the authority of his rule, and pray for him.” They brought out of the citadel all the townsmen in it, Syrians and Armenians, and all went to their homes. They robbed the Franks of all they had, gold and silver, church vessels,

cups and bowls, crosses and many jewels. They set apart the priests, nobles, and chiefs, stripped them, and sent them prisoners to Aleppo ; of the others they set apart some as craftsmen, leaving them to work as prisoners each man in his trade ; about one hundred more or less were tortured. Some they made targets for arrows, some they slew with the sword, and so all were undone.

Then Zangi called the metropolitan, charged him straitly to keep truth with the Muslims, gave to the men of Edessa cattle, oxen, and fodder, and made the Turk Zain ud dín 'alí Kuchak, lord of Arbíl and Shahrazúr, governor of the town with seven other chiefs and a strong garrison to guard it. Four days after the siege Zangi went past Harrán to Callinicus (ar Raqqa) on the Euphrates. The men of Edessa redeemed their captives and were given the town. The governor Zain ud dín was a just man and showed them much kindness.

Forty days after the siege Zangi sent his army to Sarúj, the Christians fled to al Bíra, and the Turks took Sarúj. They marched on al Bíra on the new moon of March, 1455 (A.D. 1144), and Zangi himself came with all his forces and set ten engines up against it in a fierce attack. The fighting lasted without break from Easter Thursday till the evening of Sunday of the Resurrection the 24th day. They destroyed the outer wall. In a further attack they mounted the wall and held the outer castle. There was a great noise which rent the earth ; but the garrison took heart, drew their swords, sprang on the Turks, and drove them in headlong flight.

A commander of the count, Robert the Fat, with another also named Robert, both tried and mighty warriors, with two hundred men, came to Qal'at ar Rúm on the Euphrates a day's journey or less above al Bíra. They armed two boats and embarked in them, making defensive works of broad planks and shields, took with them provisions and weapons such as were needed, and sailed down the river. When they were near the fort they did a foolish thing, they sounded the

trumpets. The Turks heard the call and were startled ; they rushed up from all directions and, when they saw that the boats were coming to relieve the garrison, attacked them from both banks and from boats in midstream. The garrison did not know what had happened and fear fell on them at the sound of the trumpets for they thought it was an enemy attack. When the boats came near the bank there was no one to throw a rope or stretch out a spear to hold them. They jumped one by one into the water and came out quickly in great fear. Some were carried down by the stream and were caught by the enemy ; some were drowned. The boat in which was Robert the Fat was driven below the fort and came into the midst of the enemy as there had been none to hold it. They lost hope and some jumped into the water to drown while the Turks killed those who stayed on board. Robert the Fat threw himself into the river, walked in the mud, and reached a village on the west bank. As he was barefoot and very heavy he could not go far but hid in a barn full of straw. That day some Turks came to the village for straw, found him in that barn, seized and took him to Zangi who sent him with the prisoners to Aleppo. The other Robert with the few survivors got into the fort. During the fighting he was wounded in the eye by an arrow and died at once. The siege of the fort lasted forty days.

While the siege was in progress a messenger on a camel, riding like a storm in the night, brought the news that *Naṣr ud dīn*,<sup>1</sup> Zangi's lieutenant, had been killed in Mosul and Assyria was in revolt. He had left in haste and did not know what had happened in the town. Zangi was frightened for he thought that the sultan's son had made himself king and seized all his province and he also feared the army that was with him. At once he summoned *Zain ud dīn* of Arbīl and Edessa and sent him hurriedly to Mosul to take *Naṣr ud dīn*'s place. Zangi that night left al Bíra and went to Aleppo lest a revolt should break out there. When morning

<sup>1</sup> *Nasir ud din.*

dawned there was no one in the camp, not a tent or a man. They saw this marvel from the fort, that the flame (of war) was taken away from them. Thus al Bira was saved from Zangi after a siege of forty days.

Naṣr ud dīn was stationed in Mosul to uphold Zangi's authority as his deputy ; he was a great warrior, a commander, wise and prudent. The two sons of the great Turk sultan who ruled in Persia were in Zangi's care. When their uncle Maṣ'ūd came to the throne in Ispahan he sent them with Zangi whom he had appointed to guard these lands. He took the two youths with him as if the lands had been given them by their uncle and he was their guardian and the commander of their army. They had all the honour due to kings ; one lived in Mosul and the other moved about with Zangi who held the land in his name. In name he was their servant, in fact they were his servants. When the one<sup>1</sup> who lived in Mosul grew up, some reminded him that he was a king, that the land belonged to him and his father, that he had no power and was like a slave, that he ought to act as a king instead of being obedient to slaves. He hearkened to them ; they plotted to kill Naṣr un dīn, seize Mosul and the house of Zangi. In the morning when Naṣr ud dīn came according to custom to pay his respects to the sultan's son, slaves killed him between the doors of the great hall, and fear fell on the town. But the Kurdish troops in Mosul and the slaves of Naṣr ud dīn took heart, united, entered the hall, seized the sultan's son, and imprisoned him in an apartment. Ten days later Zain ud dīn arrived with Zangi's commission. They handed over to him the town, forts, treasury, and all authority. He was firmly seated as ruler, seized many who had caused the revolt, impaled them, and had the sultan's son killed secretly.

'ain ud dawla of Shabaktan was governor of Edessa after Zain ud dīn ; Fadl ullah son of Ja'far, chief of Harrán, who was the cause of the capture of the town, was also there.

<sup>1</sup> Alp-Arslān b. Mahmūd.

Those who lived there after the first captivity did not turn from their evil ways though the bishop exhorted them, reminding them of the disaster that had befallen them.<sup>1</sup> 'abdún was prominent in wickedness though nearly eighty years old. Barṣúma of Ishmael was another evil man. Women of Edessa married Turks, paining the spirit of God. Before the Turks had been a year in the town, more than a hundred women had married pagans. So God was angry with them, forsook them, and delivered them to calamity.

After staying in Aleppo for a year Zangi, 'imád ud dín son of Áqsunqur, came to Edessa at harvest in the second year, leaving his troops on the river Julláb between Kasas and Ḥarrán on the stream. He with his governors, chiefs, commanders, and other councillors came to the town on the five days, on Tuesday in the middle of Pentecost. The metropolitan, priests, deacons, and all the Christians went out to meet him on one hand, and the Muslims who had gathered from all quarters on the other. He greeted the Christians with joy, kissed the Gospel, saluted the metropolitan, and asked after his health. He said that he had come for their sake to supply what they lacked. He passed the east gate to enter by the north gate where the town had been captured. They had rebuilt the breaches and the seven towers which the engines had destroyed, a work even stronger than the foundations, and had carved on them in Arabic the story of the capture and the ruler's name. They had destroyed the church of the Confessors and used the stones for the wall. They began to build a fortress for the ruler beside the beautiful church of S. John in which he lodged. They set guards over the church to save it from damage for the Franks had beautified it, altering the roof and renewing the bricks. In it were nearly a hundred great windows; for all they had made leaden lattices to let in the light and keep out birds. Many bishops and patriarchs were buried

<sup>1</sup> Much abridged.

in it, the Frank bishops including Papias, who was killed during the siege, behind the pulpit. His tomb was covered by a block of red marble carved in the likeness of the bishop. The bodies of Addai the apostle and Abgar the king were in a silver gilt coffin. At the capture the coffin was stolen and the bones scattered; but believers collected them with many fragments of saints and put them in an urn in the church of the Syrians called S. Theodore. The Muslims also took the churches of S. Stephen and Thomas the apostle, because the Franks had prayed in these three. They made S. Thomas a stable, and S. Stephen a store for fodder and other revenue of the governor. They destroyed also the churches of SS. Theodore and Michael the angel on the east of the town and used the stones to repair gaps in the wall on that side and the upper castle where the crowd was crushed. The Muslims also thoroughly repaired the mosque which had been used as the residence of the Frank bishop. Zangi entered by the north gate, the gate of Hours, went towards the church of S. John, went down to the springs, and inspected carefully. He went to the church of Thomas the apostle, broke bread there. He mounted and went up to the round spring, called Abgarus, where was formerly a palace of king Abgar, long since destroyed. A garden was planted there which is still called the Metropolitan's. Late at night he went up to the church of S. John where he lodged; round it were pitched the tents of his chiefs. In the morning he summoned the metropolitan, inquired about the well to the south of the town where lepers were healed. He was told the whole story from the beginning.<sup>1</sup>

Zangi suffered much from gout in the feet and, when he heard the story, he believed that the blessing of Christ could still work such miracles. He rode to the well, drew water, and washed his feet. All that was left of the convent was the altar on the east. Zangi gave orders that a great hostel should be built for the convenience of the sick and suffering

<sup>1</sup> The tale of the well is omitted.

who came there and endowed it with the fields near by. God did not want this to be accomplished so let his death interfere with it.

Zangi visited our Syrian churches, examined their beauty, ordered two great bells to be given them and hung on them, as was the custom in the time of the Franks, and got ready to go. He told the metropolitan to be zealous in guarding the town and not to betray his government. He left on the evening of Friday after Pentecost, and went by Harrán to ar-Raqqa. He sent troops who plundered the land of Qal'at Ja'bar. He settled three hundred families of Jews in Edessa.

After a short stay in ar-Raqqa, Zangi marched with his army to besiege Qal'at Ja'bar. He attacked it fiercely but without success as it was very strong. He harassed the castle with his attack as he had sworn not to turn aside till he had taken it. On the night before Sunday of the feast of the Holy Cross, 14th September, as he lay asleep without care, hoping for many years, two of his trusted eunuchs killed him in his bed and fled to the castle. It was known that night that he had been killed; fear and confusion fell on the camp; they plundered one another, and each who had a grudge against his neighbour and had the power took vengeance on him. The chiefs and leaders, in fives and sixes, made secret agreements till they escaped to their own lands. The rest of the troops, the assembled crowd, and the traders were plundered. The guards sacked the tent and camp of Zangi, the treasury, arsenal, and royal property, camels and horses beyond number; all were stolen. All went their own ways. He who at eve terrified the world was left alone in the morning with none to bury him. He had four sons. The eldest Ghází Saif ud dín was in Persia with the sultan of Media and Babylon; the second Mahmúd Núr ud dín was in the camp with him when he was slain; the two others, Quṭb ud dín Mawdúd and the Amír amirán,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nuṣrat ud din Mirmirán.

were in Mosul. The wise old chief Ṣalāḥ ud dīn, as soon as he heard of the murder of Zangi, took his son Maḥmūd and the other chiefs who followed him, went quickly to Aleppo, and installed him as ruler. He seized the huge treasure with the great wealth that was stored up there. They did not bury Zangi but left him till some men just took him up, carried him to ar-Raqqa, and buried him there. Quṭb ud dīn Mawdūd ruled in Mosul with Zain ud dīn as his adviser. Nūr ud dīn ruled over Aleppo and Mesopotamia in 1458 (A.D. 1147); he took Hamath, Hims, and Damascus,<sup>1</sup> though his father could not. He made peace with the Franks; he met Joscelyn and they made sworn promises to each other. He was more cunning and crafty than his father, he grew strong and his power was established. He possessed 'ezáz and took Baalbek from an Egyptian named Dāhhák (Takhak).<sup>2</sup>

The Franks sat each one in his own land at peace. Count Joscelyn was grieved for Edessa but could do nothing. When he heard of the murder of Zangi he rejoiced for he thought that the Muslim chiefs and leaders would be at strife and careless of Edessa. He arranged that Baldwin of Kaisún and Mar'ash should help him; but Pitabín of Antioch neglected to help as he was enraged with both of them for not acknowledging him as their overlord. Forty days after the murder of Zangi, Baldwin and Joscelyn collected their forces at Dalik and got ready to march on Edessa. They thought they might surprise it at night. The lords in Aleppo heard of the levy and sent messengers to the lords in Edessa to say, "The Franks have concentrated; whither they are going we know not; if they go towards you, we have also collected our forces and will come with speed. Take heed to yourselves and guard the town; make the Christians swear (fealty) and take hostages." When this order came, they took hostages from the Christians, about fifty men, builders, craftsmen, and smiths, and prepared all that was

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1154.

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 1150.

needful in the forts of the town. Soon the Franks came, Sunday, 27th October, two years after the capture. They hid in a wadi till evening and, when it was dark, sent forward many strong men on foot who drew near the town on the west. They chose a corner where no guards were, climbed the wall immediately, let down ropes, and drew up ladders and their fellows. When the watchmen advanced to find out who they were, they attacked them, killed some, and threw them down outside the wall. Screams and a great noise were heard. The Franks on the wall shouted lustily in praise of God, the troops in ambush at a distance heard, sprang up and rushed forward in a mass, and reached the town at the third hour of the night, the first watch. They went down and opened the gates, the west gate beside the spring, and the Frank horse and foot went in. At once the brainless fools ceased fighting and neglected the Muslim guards in the forts and fell to plundering houses and sacking the markets. That night they began to break open the doors of shops and houses of the just and unjust, of Muslims and Christians, laying hands on all they could find. The Muslims, as soon as they saw this error, ran to the forts; those in the forts opened the gates and received them, their children, and their goods without confusion. They did not make the mistake of the Franks at the first capture who shut the gate and caused the great suffocation. Many Muslims also dropped down from the wall by night and escaped to Harrán, for no one pursued them. When it became light the count sent for the Syrian metropolitan and asked him to prepare engines to attack the forts. They set them up and attacked the lower fort fiercely but without success as it was lofty and strong. They could not attack the upper fort for it was full of men and strong. Thus the town was subjected to travail six days. When the Franks saw that they could not take the forts, that their enemies were many and arriving from all parts, anxiety and fear fell upon them. Every night the townsmen gathered round

the Frank camp beside the convent of Abgar for fear of the Turks. On Saturday a spy came from the direction of the enemy and told Joscelyn to beware for himself and his men for troops from Aleppo and Mabbúj had come, many Turkmen and various tribes, who were hidden in the hills intending to surround them on the morrow like a ring, while those in the town were ready to attack and annihilate them. When Joscelyn heard this, fear fell on him and giddiness laid hold of him and he knew not what to do for the Turk armies had come and spread over the eastern plain and the hills. The Franks decided to leave the town secretly at night unknown to the Muslims in the forts and the Turks in the eastern plain and the hills. Was it possible that many thousands of men and horses should go out by one gate without it being known ? Had they gone out by day they would have been stopped. They waited till three hours of the night had gone, opened the north gate, the gate of Hours, and began to march out. When the townsmen and the women and children gathered there saw that the Franks were going and leaving them in the hands of the pagan oppressors, they screamed in distress, and trembling fell on them. The town was in an uproar, bitter screams from women and children, mothers calling to their children who did not answer, lost children straying on every side, crying bitterly for their mothers and not finding them, running every way through the throng of men and horses, thrown down, torn, and trodden on by the hoofs of horses and other animals with none to pick them up. The night was dark, there was no light ; all rushed headlong through the street which led to the gate of Hours ; soldiers, men in armour, horses, and animals were mingled with boys, women, and children, pushing and trampling on one another without pity ; the cattle, mules, and ponies which bore the plunder taken from the town by the Franks fell and no one could raise them or loose their loads. Children were crushed between them and lost their lives miserably. In every road many lay, men and animals, women, children, and youths,

shamefully crushed ; no one cared or stretched out a hand. Such was this disgraceful exit ; they left houses full of goods and all necessaries, the doors open, lamps lighted, and beds ready.

The Frank troops and those who could go with them left the town and assembled round a tower, the pillar of the anchorites in front of the church of the Confessors, where the Turks formed a ring round them showering arrows on them like rain and piercing many. They were mixed up with the mob and began to slay like butchers so that a noise was heard like axes falling on trees. There was a clamour in the dark and Christian could not be distinguished from Turk. The Frank soldiers were mixed with the crowd, each in fear hiding himself by pushing to the centre. The Frank leaders cried out in anguish, "For God's sake, come to the outside, fight manfully, resist the assault of the enemy, or we are lost." The horsemen dismounted and encircled the crowd. Thus they stayed. When morning came, Baldwin and Joscelyn mounted and restored discipline. Baldwin rode ahead and Joscelyn brought up the rear while the foot were on the right and left of the crowd. At daylight on this sad Sunday, 3rd November, the feast of S. George, they marched quietly on the road to Sumaisát. The enemy in thousands and tens of thousands encircled them and slew many soldiers and non-combatants but the soldiers fought valiantly and did not let the enemy fight near the crowd as many of them were mighty archers. They moved in weariness and danger. Who can tell the sad and ominous sight of a people smitten with the sorrows of the men of Edessa ? They walked barefoot on stones, thorns, brambles, and spikes ; their feet were torn as with knives ; blood ran from them painfully. Without order they pushed and burdened one another and fell ; they pushed and shoved ; from fear of the arrows that smote them they hid one behind the other ; one was weary and fell, another was strong and ran towards safety ; another fell and stretched himself towards the east. The

pursuers slaughtered them like sheep. Children and babes ran with bare feet among the thorns, torn by sharp spikes, tongues hanging out for thirst, mouths bitter as aloes, teeth black as soot, strayed, crushed in the throng, trampled under the hoofs of horses, trodden on and perishing. Above all this, their way was not a beaten road but lay through thickets and a great forest in the plain. The enemy set fire to this and it blazed before and around them ; they could not turn aside but struggled through the fire with scorched feet. They were in this torment till the ninth hour of that day. The enemy also had laboured all that night and day, fighting and marching, and prepared to return. They feared lest the Franks might leave the non-combatants in some fort and attack them. Others wished to share in the spoil of the town, for many of the foot had stayed there and the garrisons of the forts had begun to sack the town. So the enemy went back and only a few Turkmen were left.

The Franks made a fatal mistake ; they resolved to attack the Turks who were still hanging round them. Accordingly count Joscelyn and his men who were in the rear attacked the enemy near them on the left, that is the west ; Baldwin of Kaisún, when he saw the count attack and the trumpets sound, attacked on the right. The Frank horse charged in confusion without order. The Turks gave way on either hand till the leaders had charged past impetuously then attacked from the rear and broke them. The Franks thought no more of cohesion and order but all sought safety in disgraceful flight, casting away spears, shields, coats of mail, and all their armour, even the swords drawn in their hands for the fear that gripped them. The foot reached a ruined fort near by on the left on the Eagle's hill and about two thousand found safety there. They were the lusty youth of Edessa. The women, children, and infants were given over to plunder and slavery. Joscelyn was wounded in the side by an arrow but escaped to Sumaisát in trembling and consternation. Baldwin, who was a beautiful youth,

fair to see, head and shoulders above all in his time, famous in war, fell in this disaster from arrow thrusts and sword strokes. At the time they did not know who he was. Many priests, deacons, and monks who escaped the first capture perished at this time. The Turks seized the whole town, and the goods and valuables of Joscelyn, Baldwin, and all the townsfolk.

The Turks and various tribes became masters of this famous town which had not been sacked since its foundation in the days of Seleucus, one thousand four hundred and sixty years. At the first capture it had been sacked for two days only and had been hurriedly saved from plunder and destruction at the command of Zangi. All had gone back to their homes and heritages. In this, complete ruin ; not for two days only but for a whole year they went about the town digging, searching secret places, foundations, and roofs. They found many treasures hidden in the times of the fathers and elders and many of which the inhabitants knew nothing.

Those who escaped destruction and took refuge in the fort scattered in fives and tens at nightfall ; some were taken and some reached Sumaisat for Frank territory was then near. The Armenian bishop was taken and sold in Aleppo, Basilius the Syrian escaped to Sumaisat. Of the priests in the town few escaped, some were killed and some captured. The chief priest—chief of disorder, rather, and disturber of the church—abdun was caught that hapless night outside the town gate. He fell in the moat and, thinking that Christians would pull him out, cried, “Who will earn a hundred dinars by pulling me out ?” A Turk went down, killed him, took his purse of gold and the wealth he had on him ; dogs ate his carcase and his soul went to eternal punishment. If God does not respect his person, hell is his miserable lot for ever. Those who escaped captivity and ruin wandered about seeking their enslaved kindred. Then the Christians to the east of the Euphrates, especially those of Mardin, Shabaktan, and Sababark were kind and humane ; may the

Lord show them mercy ! Among them the merit of John bishop of Mardin, a native of Edessa, is beyond words. May his name be written in Jerusalem above ! To the west of the Euphrates there was no mercy in the Christians but only wickedness, hardness, thickness of head, and an evil mind, especially in the priests, monks, and bishops.

In 1148 (rightly A.D. 1148) after the second capture of Edessa, the king of the Germans and the king of the Franks with three hundred and ninety-five thousand men came by sea to the capital of the Greeks. The emperor caused them to go by a bad road and sent with them guides to lead them to a desert where neither water nor any needful thing was to be found. When they had gone ten days march from Constantinople and their food was exhausted, they found no houses nor villages where they could buy, not even water, they wandered in a dry desert and knew not where to go. Their guides had deserted them in the night and warned the Turks of Cappadocia against them. The prince Mas'ud came with his army, found them in the desert exhausted with hunger and thirst, attacked and routed them.<sup>1</sup> Many died of hunger. The two kings with a few troops escaped to the sea, reached Attalia, and went by ship to Antioch having lost all. The Turks grew rich for they had taken gold and silver as pebbles with no end. Later in the year another prince Alphonso (Anfush) with his wife and family came by sea to Acre. A thousand horsemen followed him. He was near of kin to the count of Tripoli who, fearing that he would claim a share in his land, sent one of his household with deadly poison. He gave it to him and he died.

Baldwin was then king in Jerusalem. The king of the Germans and the other of the Franks met him in Jerusalem and agreed to besiege Damascus.<sup>1</sup> When they had invested the city they, and especially the Germans, made a resolute assault on it. In their distress the inhabitants wanted to surrender but the wicked jealousy of the Franks, who cannot

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1148.

bear another's success, was their undoing. The king of Jerusalem reasoned with himself that if the foreigners took Damascus they would grow strong and take his lands from him, so he sent secretly to the garrison asking what they would give him if he caused the foreign kings to go away, as he was the neighbour of Damascus and wished it well. This caused the garrison great joy so they promised the king of Jerusalem one hundred thousand dinars of gold. He advised the kings to shift the camp so they moved from a convenient site to one entirely unsuitable. When the kings saw that the king of Jerusalem was faithless, they were angry, left Damascus, and went to Acre. The king of Jerusalem got his hundred thousand dinars but shortly found that they were all brass. The kings sailed away to their own land.

Then Dawla son of Gházi son of Dánishmand, lord of Malaṭia, when he heard of the disaster to Joscelyn and Edessa and was certain that Baldwin of Kaisún was dead, he who had ruled over the land of Zabar and the hill country to the border of Malaṭia, gathered and attacked the monasteries of Zubār which were Armenian. They were the great convent of Zubār, Tágankár, Shamánug, and Shíbakár. He took them all with the villages and monasteries round them in three days. They were strong, rich, full of goods, with rich crops and no enemy had ever captured them since early times. He enslaved the inhabitants, seven thousand four hundred in number, and plundered them, so that the robbers were amazed at their wealth. They had never helped the poor and needy. After sacking them and enslaving the inhabitants he set fire to the buildings, destroying wine, raisins, figs, nuts, fodder, and meal—an incalculable quantity—and many books of all sorts.

At that time the Turks took the fort named Tell Adana or Agangatal above Sumaisát, killed the men, enslaved a great number of women and children, and destroyed the fort by fire; and also another called Shírág in the land of Tell Báshir,

killing the men and enslaving the women and children. The sons of the Ortqid Dáúd took Tell Arsenius on the river<sup>1</sup> of that name, a tributary of the Euphrates. After the father's death the sons quarrelled; those who were strong captured this place by assault, enslaved five thousand Syrian Christians, plundered everything and departed.

Joscelyn sacked the monastery of S. Barṣúma.<sup>2</sup>

In 1161 (rightly, end of 1148) Núr ud dín gathered his forces and besieged Yagra<sup>3</sup> in the land of Antioch whose lord was then at Jabala on the sea. When he heard the news, he took his army, smote the Turks suddenly, and defeated them. Núr ud dín fled with two hundred horse to Aleppo and about ten thousand were slain. The Franks took the Turkish camp and Núr ud dín's tents, gold and silver, male and female slaves, drums and trumpets, singing girls and musicians. The Franks took all and went to Antioch with great joy, the townsmen coming out to meet them; there was great rejoicing among all the Christians. With the Franks was an Arab lord, 'alí son of Wafá, who had a grudge against Núr ud dín and served in Antioch.

Three months after this defeat Núr ud dín gathered his army and besieged Anab.<sup>4</sup> On learning of this Pítabin of Antioch took his army and came to fight him. When Núr ud dín heard of the coming of the Franks he left the castle and went up into the hills. The Franks camped in the plain about Tell Anab. Scouts reported that the Franks were few, so Núr ud dín marshalled his army, sounded trumpets, and descended on the Franks; God was angry with them so they broke and fled. Godfrey of Mar'ash, 'alí son of Wafá, and many others were killed. Núr ud dín took slaves and wasted the duke's land; he also captured Hárím, 'am, Artah,

<sup>1</sup> Murád-Su (Eastern Euphrates).

<sup>2</sup> Details omitted in translation.

<sup>3</sup> In the marshlands east of the junction of the Qara-Su with the lake of Antioch. The Arabic authors, except Ibn al-Qalánisi, make this battle a victory for Núr ud dín.

<sup>4</sup> A.D. 1149.

and all the villages round Hárim. The lord of Antioch was also slain; it was a dire defeat. The Turks took slaves, prisoners, horses, and goods without end. Joscelyn of Edessa was in 'ezáz when he learnt of the death of the lord of Antioch, so he took a few men from there and went to Antioch to rule there. When he came to Cyrrhus and prepared to cross to Shaikh, Turkmen sprang on him from the trees and seized him. He promised to give them all they asked if they would take him to 'ezáz. They took him to a village named Dair ul Shaikh.<sup>1</sup> They did not know him but the Christians knew him and wanted to buy him from the Turks. The price was fixed at sixty dinars when, by the will of God who acts as seems good to him, a Jew dyer passed by the village and recognized him. He told the Turkmen that it was Joscelyn so they took him to Aleppo. Núr ud dín ordered him to be blinded and thrown into prison in chains. He stayed nine years in prison and died there.

In 1463 (rightly 1153) Baldwin of Jerusalem made his preparations and besieged Ascalon. One of the prominent Franks named Raymon<sup>2</sup> did great things in this siege and asked the king to give him to wife the widow of the lord of Antioch who had been killed. He gave him authority to go, take the lady of Antioch, and become its ruler. He came back while Baldwin was still besieging Ascalon. They pressed the siege, built a strong tower of wood which, when brought near to the town, was higher than the wall. On the tower they put soldiers and an engine which threw stones and arrows right into the town. All who came into the streets or out of their houses were killed so the townsmen were in great distress from famine and fighting. The siege was long. When they saw that there was no saviour, for the Egyptians were fighting among themselves as we shall tell, and no other place could help, they asked that their lives

<sup>1</sup> The text has "Shaikh ud-Dair".

<sup>2</sup> Should be Raynald, i.e. Reginald of Chatillon, married in 1153 Constance, daughter of Bohemund II and widow of Raymond of Poitou.

might be spared ; their nobles went to the king who with the patriarch gave them a promise on oath, and surrendered the town. Those who wished to stay there under Frank rule, stayed ; those who wished to go to Egypt, took their families and goods and departed in peace.

In that year was a bad earthquake which ruined Shaizar<sup>1</sup> ; the lord with his sons and household and forty thousand men perished. Half the rock on which the citadel was built fell. Many were killed in Hamath, Salamiya, and most of the villages round about. Also Núr ud dín took Harrán from his brother the Mírmirán and Beth Hesne<sup>2</sup> after a siege.<sup>3</sup> The Turks enslaved the monastery of Barid and killed four monks. Núr ud dín also took 'ain Táb by assault, destroying it utterly ; he showed mercy to none and took the prisoners and plunder to Aleppo.

In 1470 (rightly 1157) a famous man of the family of the king of the Franks called the count of Flanders (Gundafland) with many soldiers came to Jerusalem and gathered the Franks of the coast, the king of Jerusalem, the count of Tripoli, and Thoros the Armenian, lord of Cilicia, a great host. They laid siege to Shaizar, enslaved the whole land, and took the castle.<sup>4</sup> They sacked it entirely, killed many, and took some five thousand women and children as slaves, also gold and silver without end. Then they marched to Hárim which capitulated as the Muslims in it had gone to Aleppo.<sup>5</sup> At the end of the year Manuel emperor of the Greeks came to Antioch and camped on the river 'ufrín as if he meant to besiege Aleppo so Núr ud dín gathered all the Muslim troops from Assyria, Mesopotamia, Ámid, Mardín, and Mayyafáriqín to make war on the emperor, for the Muslims were much afraid. Then the emperor heard that Andronicus one of his nobles had rebelled in the capital so he made peace with Núr ud dín, obtaining the release of the prisoners in Aleppo including the son of that Alphonso who was poisoned

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1157.

<sup>4</sup> A.D. 1157.

<sup>2</sup> Behesná.

<sup>5</sup> A.D. 1158.

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 1159.

by the count of Tripoli. The emperor went back to his capital having done nothing.<sup>1</sup> In that year was a bad earthquake which ruined Jabala on the coast, killing two thousand men. In that year<sup>2</sup> Raynald (Raimun) of Antioch and Joscelyn son of Joscelyn who was captured at Ḥaram ravaged the land of Aleppo ; when they had enslaved and plundered at will, they returned unmolested. Raynald went to Antioch. Joscelyn sat in a village eating and drinking when a Turk army overtook him, seized him, and took him to Aleppo. They put him in chains with his father. Later in that year Raynald ravaged the land of Aleppo but on his way back a Turk army overtook him at the Black river, defeated his troops, took him prisoner, and put him in chains. In that year a son<sup>3</sup> of the first Pitabín became ruler of Antioch ; he drove out his mother who went to Latakia.

In 1475 (1164) Núr ud dín collected his troops bringing his brother Quṭb ud dín lord of Assyria and Mosul, Zain ud dín lord of Arbīl, the lord of Sinjar, Fakhr ud dín lord of Ḥisn Kaifa and the land of Hanzit, Ḫusám ud dín lord of Mardín, Shiháb ud dín lord of Zeugma and al Bíra, his cousin Majd ud dín, Saif ud dín lord of Mabbúj and Edessa ; when they were assembled they besieged Hárim. They were seventy thousand horse and forty thousand foot. They set up engines and made a fierce assault on the castle which was commanded by Arnagd,<sup>4</sup> a mighty warrior. He resisted the Turks valiantly. The Franks gathered six hundred horse and five thousand foot under the count of Tripoli, the lord of Antioch, and Thoros the Armenian, and marched from Antioch on Hárim. When the Turks heard of the Frank advance they moved from the castle to 'am, a village near by. The Franks arrived and camped where the Turks had been camped. Thoros of Cilicia advised them that they had

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1159.

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 1160.

<sup>3</sup> Bohemund III, son of Raymond of Poitou.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps Raynald, from the Armenian form Renaghđ. (Michel le Syrien, iii, 288.)

done enough in raising the siege, so they should evacuate the weaklings from the castle, put in their place strong and brave soldiers, return to Antioch, and wait till the king of Jerusalem came back from Egypt. The count of Tripoli would not listen to this counsel, but insisted on fighting and defeating the Turks, for they were only dogs. They marched from Hárím to 'am. When they drew near, and the Turks on the hill saw they were only few, they blew the trumpets, descended on them, surrounded them like a ring, and smote them mightily. The count and Thoros fled, the duke of the Greeks was captured, all the infantry were killed, the lord of Antioch with many Frank horsemen was captured, and many perished with horses and stores without end in August of that year. After defeating the Franks the Turks besieged Hárím which capitulated ; they invaded the duke's land and took slaves, they went to the famous Greek convent of S. Sim'án and sacked it. They took gold, silver, valuables, books, patens, chalices, crosses, censers, images of gold and silver, and many precious vestments. They plundered the monks and took them all prisoners to Aleppo. More than ten thousand Franks were killed in the defeat at Hárím and even more Turks. The Turks then marched to Bányás which capitulated as its lord, the king of Jerusalem, was in Egypt.

#### THE CHRONICLE OF BAR HEBRÆUS

Bar Hebræus did not use the Anonymous. He tells of the bribe given to the king of Jerusalem by Damascus and adds, "I have not found this story in five separate Arab books but only in Michael." Even where he agrees with the Anonymous he has fresh details. Three examples are enough.

At the siege of Edessa the garrison countermined and killed a few of the enemy. The besiegers knew that the garrison had built a new wall behind the mined section so they undermined two towers. Zangi asked the garrison to send two men to inspect these mines, offering hostages for their safety (cf. p. 283).

The caliph sent to Ghází b. Dánishmand, lord of Malaṭia, a collar of gold for his neck, a sign of lordship, a sceptre of gold, four black flags, and drums to be beaten before him (cf. p. 99).

On the death of 'izz ud dín Mas'úd, his younger brother succeeded under the tutelage of Jáwali, a Turkish chief and a slave of Bursuq. Jáwali sent the kadi of Mosul, Abu'l Hasan 'ali b. al-Shahrazúri and Şaláh al Yághisiyáni to the sultan in Baghdad to have the appointment of Bursuq's son ratified. They, however, told the sultan that Mosul needed a soldier to oppose the Franks, who threatened all Islam, and suggested Zangi (cf. p. 101).

106.



## A Further Arabic-Latin Writing on Music

BY HENRY GEORGE FARMER

BESIDES *De scientiis*, there is another treatise attributed to Al-Fārābī known in Latin which contains references to music. This is *De ortu scientiarum*. At the same time it must be pointed out that, unlike *De scientiis*, we do not possess irrefutable proof of authorship, as we shall see. In its Latin dress, however, it appears to have been widely disseminated throughout the great culture centres of Medieval Europe, and for that reason it attracts more than passing interest.

### § I

#### DE ORTU SCIENTIARUM

The tractate *De ortu scientiarum* (Concerning the Rise of the Sciences), as we have seen, has been attributed to Al-Fārābī. Unlike *De scientiis*, however, we do not possess the Arabic original. For this, and other reasons, doubts have been expressed anent its authorship. Indeed, as Leclerc and Baeumker have pointed out, there is not, among the titles of Al-Fārābī's books, a designation that can be said to agree precisely with that of the above-mentioned Latin treatise.<sup>1</sup> Whilst this statement is substantially correct, we need not consider the argument of much weight, because quite half the titles of Latin translations from the Arabic do not comport with the originals.

That Al-Fārābī wrote *De ortu scientiarum* is by no means generally accepted, although I have attributed the work to

<sup>1</sup> Leclerc, *Hist. de la médecine*, ii, 420. Baeumker, *Alfarabi Über den Ursprung der Wissenschaften*, 7. There is, however, a work by al-Fārābī catalogued by Ibn al-Qiftī (d. 1248) entitled the *Marātib al-'ulūm* (Grades of the Sciences), a name suspiciously akin to *De ortu scientiarum*.

him elsewhere without question.<sup>1</sup> Hoefer,<sup>2</sup> Steinschneider,<sup>3</sup> Brockelmann,<sup>4</sup> Baeumker,<sup>5</sup> Lynn Thorndike,<sup>6</sup> and Sarton<sup>7</sup> all consider that he was the author. On the other hand, Jourdain,<sup>8</sup> Hauréau,<sup>9</sup> and Correns<sup>10</sup> credit Gundissalinus (twelfth century) with the authorship. In addition, there are claims for Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037), Thābit ibn Qurra (d. 903), and Aristotle.

The earliest knowledge that we have of *De ortu scientiarum* dates from the time of Gundissalinus, one of the translators in the service of Raymund, Archbishop (1125–1151) of Toledo,<sup>11</sup> who incorporated most of *De ortu scientiarum* in his *De divisione philosophiarum*, but without mentioning either the work or the author. This circumstance does not, however, militate against the claim for Al-Fārābī as the author, since Gundissalinus is rather unmindful of acknowledging his borrowings, almost verbally, from Latin translations of Al-Kindī, Al-Nairīzī, Ibn Sīnā, Al-Ghazālī and Ishāq al-Isrā'īlī, to name Arabic authors only.<sup>12</sup>

The claim of Jourdain, Hauréau, and Correns for Gundissalinus as the author is based primarily on a state-

<sup>1</sup> Farmer, *Arabian Influence on Musical Theory*, 14, 16; *History of Arabian Music*, 177; *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, 30, 160, 219; *Legacy of Islam*, 369.

<sup>2</sup> Hoefer, *Histoire de la chimie* (1842), i, 326.

<sup>3</sup> Steinschneider, *Al-Fārābī . . .* (1869), 89, 255; *Die europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem arabischen*, No. 68, g.

<sup>4</sup> Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.* (1898–1902), i, 212.

<sup>5</sup> Baeumker, *Alfarabi Über den Ursprung der Wissenschaften* (*Beit. z. Gesch. d. Philos. des M.-A.s.*, xix, 1916).

<sup>6</sup> Thorndike, *A Hist. of Magic and Experimental Science* (1923), ii, 80.

<sup>7</sup> Sarton, *Intro. to the History of Science* (1927–1931), ii, i, 171. His reference to Baeumker in ii, i, 340, is erroneous.

<sup>8</sup> Jourdain, *Recherches critiques sur l'âge et l'origine des traductions latines d'Aristote* (1819), 116–17.

<sup>9</sup> Hauréau, *Hist. de la phil. scolastique* (1880), ii, i, 56.

<sup>10</sup> Correns, *Die dem Boethius fälschlich zugeschriebene Abhandlungen des Dominicus Gundisalvi de unitate* (*Beit. z. Gesch. d. Philos. des M.-A.s.*, i, 1891), 34.

<sup>11</sup> See *ante JRAS.* 1932, 576–7.

<sup>12</sup> Al-Fārābī is mentioned twice by name, but not the work quoted from. It is, however, *De scientiis*.

ment of Antonio,<sup>1</sup> quoting the canonist Johannes Wallensis (*fl.* 1215), who refers to a "Gundisalvus<sup>2</sup> (= Gundissalinus) in libro *De ortu scientiarum*".<sup>3</sup> Whether this is the work under discussion or not we have no evidence. That *De ortu scientiarum* occurs with other writings of Gundissalinus in some manuscripts may account for the treatise being ascribed to the latter.

That Ibn Sīnā's name has been attached to *De ortu scientiarum*, as we find in one of the Paris manuscripts (No. 6443), may be due to the fact that the "Prince of Learning" had compiled a similar work, *Fī aqṣām al-‘ulūm*.<sup>4</sup> Thābit ibn Qurra's claim can be considered in view of the similarity of titles, one of his books being known as *Fī marātib qirā'at al-‘ulūm*. There is a tract in Hebrew, translated from the Arabic, entitled **אנרָת בְּסֶדֶר קִרְיאַת הַחֲכֹמִית**,<sup>5</sup> which agrees very considerably with the title of some of the manuscripts of *De ortu scientiarum*, which runs: *Epistola de assignanda causa ex qua ortae sunt scienciae philosophiae et ordo earum in disciplina*.<sup>6</sup> As for Aristotle, a work attributed to him, a *Liber de assignanda ratione unde ortae sint scientiae*, is mentioned by Daniel of Morlay (twelfth century) in *De philosophia*,<sup>7</sup> as first mooted by Valentine Rose in 1874.<sup>8</sup> The title is certainly not unlike the one previously mentioned. Further, we find *De ortu scientiarum* amongst Aristotelian or Pseudo-Aristotelian writings in two manuscripts at least.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> N. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetera* (1788), ii, 108.

<sup>2</sup> Not *Gondisalvus* as Jourdain writes.

<sup>3</sup> Joannes Wallensis, *Florilegium de vita et dictis illustrium philosophorum*, ed. Luke Wadding (1665), pars. i, cap. i. See Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. 16613.

<sup>4</sup> On fol. 186 we read "Auicenna", but the Explicit on fol. 186 v. reads "Abinsenus".

<sup>5</sup> Steinschneider, *Al-Fārābī*, 85.

<sup>6</sup> Oxford, Bodl. Lib., 3623; Paris, Bibl. Nat., 14700. Hauréau (op. cit., ii, i, 56) has *Copula* instead of *Epistola*.

<sup>7</sup> British Museum MS., Arundel, 377, fol. 96.

<sup>8</sup> *Hermes*, viii, 331. Cf. Baumecker, *Der Platonismus im Mittelalter* (1916), 33.

<sup>9</sup> Vienna, Bibl. Dom., 121, and Paris, Bibl. Nat., 6298.

As for the Al-Fārābī authorship, we have the testimony of Vincent of Beauvais (c. 1190–1264) that the work is by this great Arabic philosopher and writer.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Roger Bacon (c. 1214–80) merely mentions the title of the work without speaking of its author.<sup>2</sup> Yet two manuscripts at least of *De ortu scientiarum* of the fourteenth century definitely ascribe it to Al-Fārābī.<sup>3</sup> It would appear, therefore, that the weight of external testimony is on the side of Al-Fārābī. Yet when we come to examine the contents of this tractate closely, the more unlikely it seems that he could have been the author.

*De ortu scientiarum* is a much smaller work than *De scientiis*, although there is very little difference between them in the space devoted to the mathematical sciences. These, in the latter, comprise four divisions—arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music, but in the former seven divisions—arithmetic, geometry, optics, astrology, music, statics, and mechanics. The attitude of mind prompting these respective divisions differs so much that they could scarcely have been penned by the same author. Further, it would not be too much to say that *De ortu scientiarum* is unworthy of Al-Fārābī.

If *De ortu scientiarum* is not to be credited to Al-Fārābī, to whom then are we to ascribe the authorship? That the work is a translation from the Arabic will scarcely be disputed. Such landmarks as *epistola* (=رسالة), *dictio de* (=مقالة في), and *si deus voluerit* (=إِن شاءَ اللّٰهُ أَشْأَرْ) are unmistakable.<sup>4</sup> In naming the four mathematical sciences *domatrices*, the translator was evidently prompted by the Arabic رياضيات. Indeed, Gundissalinus says: “et ob hoc etiam scientiae disciplinales, i.e. *domatrices* apud Arabes

<sup>1</sup> *Speculum doctrinale*, i, xvii, xix. “Alpharabius in libro *De ortu scientiarum*.<sup>”</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Opus tertium*, cap. lix.

<sup>3</sup> Paris, Bibl. Nat., 6298; Munich, Staatsbibl., 317.

<sup>4</sup> Baumker, *Alfarabi, Über den Ursprung der Wissenschaften*, 17–24.

dicuntur."<sup>1</sup> Likewise, Michael the Scot (d. c. 1235), who says: "Ob hoc etiam apud Arabes nominatur scientia domatrix."

Could Thābit ibn Qurra (d. 903) of Harrān have been the author? The material used certainly suggests Thābit rather than Al-Fārābī, and the title of his work cited by Ibn al-Qiftī, *Fī marātib qirā'at al-'ulūm*, is even more suggestive. On the other hand, it may well have been an Aristotelian pseudograph, of which there were quite a number current in Arabic. The inclusion of *gestus* together with *metrum* and *melos*, in the three bases of the art, suggests a Greek origin.<sup>2</sup> In that case the treatise mentioned by Daniel of Morlay, *De assignanda ratione unde ortae sint scientiae*, bearing the name of Aristotle, may be identified with *De ortu scientiarum*. Further, it may have been the cause of the name of Aristotle being attached to the treatise on music ascribed to Pseudo-Aristotle.

## § II

### THE LATIN VERSION

Not one of the manuscripts of *De ortu scientiarum* carries the name of the translator. Steinschneider attributes it to John of Seville (= John of Spain).<sup>3</sup> The latter, as well as Gerard of Cremona, was responsible for a number of the Latin translations of the Arabic works of Thābit ibn Qurra and Aristotle (and Pseudo-Aristotle).<sup>4</sup> Yet Gundissalinus may have had a hand in its translation.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Baur, *Dominicus Gundissalinus*, 34–5. Seybold, *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (eleventh century), has *domat* = دروض. Schiaparelli, *Vocabulista in Arabico* (thirteenth century), has *domare, exercitare* = رباطة.

<sup>2</sup> See Plato's *Protogoras*.

<sup>3</sup> Steinschneider, *Die europ. Übers. aus dem Arab.*, as cited, cxlix, 44; eli, 95.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., eli, 90; 104–5.

<sup>5</sup> Baur, *Dominicus Gundissalinus*, 160.

The author of *De ortu scientiarum* deals with his scheme under the following heads:—

### I. THE SCIENCES

- i. Arithmetic (*ars numeri*).
- ii. Geometry (*ars mensurandi*).
- iii. Astronomy (*scientia de stellis*).
- iv. Music (*ars musicæ*).
- v. Physics (*ars naturalis*).
  - (a) Prognostics (*scien. de judiciis*).
  - (b) Medicine (*scien. de medicina*).
  - (c) Black art (*scien. de nigromantia*).
  - (d) Images (*scien. de imaginibus*).<sup>1</sup>
  - (e) Agriculture (*scien. de agricultura*).
  - (f) Navigation (*scien. de navigando*).
  - (g) Chemistry (*scien. de alkimia*).
  - (h) Optics (*scien. de speculis*).
- vi. Divinity (*scien. divina*).

### 2. LINGUISTICS

- i. Language (*scien. de lingua*).
- ii. Grammar (*scien. grammaticæ*).
- iii. Logic (*scien. logicæ*).
- iv. Poetics (*scien. poeticae*).

### 3. PHILOSOPHY

### 4. THE WORLD

## § III

### THE LATIN TEXT

In 1916 Dr. Clemens Baeumker, collating five MSS., published the complete text of *De ortu scientiarum*.<sup>2</sup> The present text is based on two manuscripts untouched by Baeumker. These are B and P<sup>3</sup>. The MSS. used by Baeumker and myself are as follows:—

P<sup>1</sup> = *Epistola de assignanda causa ex qua orte sunt sciencie philosophie et ordo earum in disciplina.* (Bibl. Nat.,

<sup>1</sup> This can scarcely be painting or sculpture (*Bildern*) as Baeumker supposes. It more likely refers to magic glasses (*miroirs merveilleux*) such as we read of in the list of Greek sciences mentioned in the tenth century (?)  *Abrégé des merveilles* (*Mukhtasar al-‘ajā’ib*), ed. Carra de Vaux, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Baeumker, *Alfarabi, Über den Ursprung der Wissenschaften.* (Beit. z. Gesch. d. Phil. des M.-A.s, xix.)

Paris, 14700, fols. 328 v. - 330 v. Fourteenth century.)

P<sup>2</sup> = *Liber Auicenne de ortu scientiarum.*<sup>1</sup> (Bibl. Nat., Paris, 6443, fols. 185 v.-186 v. Fourteenth century.)

P<sup>3</sup> = *Liber Alfarabii de ortu scientiarum.* (Bibl. Nat., Paris, 6298, fols. 160-1. Fourteenth century.)

V = *De ortu scientiarum.* (Bibl. des Dominikanerklosters, Vienna, 121, fol. 45. Thirteenth-fourteenth century.)

M<sup>1</sup> = *Incipit libellus de or[tu scientiarum].*<sup>2</sup> (Staatsbibl., Munich, 527, fols. 13-14 v. Thirteenth century.)

M<sup>2</sup> = *Incipit tractatus alphorabii de ortu scientiarum.* (Staatsbibl., Munich, 317, fols. 292v.-294. Fourteenth century.)

B = *De assignanda causa ex qua scite sunt sciencie philosophie et ordo earum . . . (?) disciplina.*<sup>3</sup> (Bodleian Library, Oxford, 3623 [MS., e Museo, 125], fols. 186 v.-187 v.<sup>4</sup> Fourteenth century.)

In addition to B and P<sup>3</sup> I have used two uncollated manuscripts of *De divisione philosophia* of Gundissalinus which contains, as already stated, a considerable portion of *De ortu scientiarum*. To these two manuscripts I have given the signatures F and G. The latter has several folios with the upper portion torn off, and this hiatus has been marked in my text with a line thus :— — — — —

F = *Compendium scientiarum [De divisione philosophia].* (Brit. Museum, Sloane, 2461, fols. 26-27v. Thirteenth century.)

G = [*De divisione philosophia.*] (British Museum, Sloane,

<sup>1</sup> This is in a later hand. "Explicit Abinsenus de ortu scientiarum."

<sup>2</sup> This is in a later hand.

<sup>3</sup> Baur, *Dom. Gundissalinus* (p. 159), says that this is in a later hand. This is true enough of the title at the foot of fol. 186 v., but the original title may be found in a rather faint hand at the head of the same folio.

<sup>4</sup> Steinschneider, following the old *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1697), gives the commencing folio as 173, which is wrong.

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In 1916 Dr. Clemens Baeumker, collating five MSS., published the complete text of *De ortu scientiarum*.<sup>2</sup> The present text is based on two manuscripts untouched by Baeumker. These are B and P<sup>3</sup>. The MSS. used by Baeumker and myself are as follows:—

P<sup>1</sup> = *Epistola de assignanda causa ex qua orte sunt sciencie philosophie et ordo earum in disciplina.* (Bibl. Nat.,

<sup>1</sup> This can scarcely be painting or sculpture (*Bildern*) as Baeumker supposes. It more likely refers to magic glasses (*miroirs merveilleux*) such as we read of in the list of Greek sciences mentioned in the tenth century (?) *Abrégié des merveilles* (*Mukhtaṣar al-‘ajā’ib*), ed. Carra de Vaux, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Baeumker, *Alfarabi, Über den Ursprung der Wissenschaften.* (Beit. z. Gesch. d. Phil. des M.-A.s, xix.)

Paris, 14700, fols. 328 v. - 330 v. Fourteenth century.)

P<sup>2</sup> = *Liber Aucienne de ortu scientiarum.*<sup>1</sup> (Bibl. Nat., Paris, 6443, fols. 185 v.-186 v. Fourteenth century.)

P<sup>3</sup> = *Liber Alfarabii de ortu scientiarum.* (Bibl. Nat., Paris, 6298, fols. 160-1. Fourteenth century.)

V = *De ortu scientiarum.* (Bibl. des Dominikanerklosters, Vienna, 121, fol. 45. Thirteenth-fourteenth century.)

M<sup>1</sup> = *Incipit libellus de or[tu scientiarum].*<sup>2</sup> (Staatsbibl., Munich, 527, fols. 13-14 v. Thirteenth century.)

M<sup>2</sup> = *Incipit tractatus alphorabii de ortu scientiarum.* (Staatsbibl., Munich, 317, fols. 292v.-294. Fourteenth century.)

B = *De assignanda causa ex qua scite sunt sciencie philosophie et ordo earum . . . (?) disciplina.*<sup>3</sup> (Bodleian Library, Oxford, 3623 [MS., e Museo, 125], fols. 186 v.-187 v.<sup>4</sup> Fourteenth century.)

In addition to B and P<sup>3</sup> I have used two uncollated manuscripts of *De divisione philosophiae* of Gundissalinus which contains, as already stated, a considerable portion of *De ortu scientiarum*. To these two manuscripts I have given the signatures F and G. The latter has several folios with the upper portion torn off, and this hiatus has been marked in my text with a line thus: — — — — —

F = *Compendium scientiarum [De divisione philosophiae].* (Brit. Museum, Sloane, 2461, fols. 26-27v. Thirteenth century.)

G = [*De divisione philosophiae.*] (British Museum, Sloane,

<sup>1</sup> This is in a later hand. "Explicit Abinsenus de ortu scientiarum."

<sup>2</sup> This is in a later hand.

<sup>3</sup> Baur, *Dom. Gundissalinus* (p. 159), says that this is in a later hand. This is true enough of the title at the foot of fol. 186 v., but the original title may be found in a rather faint hand at the head of the same folio.

<sup>4</sup> Steinschneider, following the old *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1697), gives the commencing folio as 173, which is wrong.

2946, fols. 214-214v. Thirteenth century.)  
Wrongly attributed to Isaac [Israeli].

Here is the section of the Latin text that deals with music:—

- (iv) DICTIO DE COGNOSCENDA CAUSA UNDE ORITA EST ARS MUSICE
- 
- B. Dico ..... quod postquam substancia mota fuit, accidit  
 P<sup>a</sup>. Dico autem<sup>1</sup> quod postquam substancia mota fuit, accidit  
 F. Partes uero ..... alias habet theorica, alias practica  
 G. — — — — —
- 
- B. ei sonus, qui divisus fuit in tres species presentes, scilicet  
 P<sup>a</sup>. ei sonus, qui divisus fuit in tres species ..... , scilicet  
 F. Partes practice sunt tres ..... , scilicet  
 G. — — — — —
- 
- B. ..... acutum, ..... et grauem et  
 P<sup>a</sup>. ..... acutum, ..... grauem et  
 F. sciencia de acuto sono et sciencia de graui et  
 G. — — — — —
- 
- B. ..... medium inter illos. Unde opus fuit arte per quam  
 P<sup>a</sup>. ..... medium inter illos. Unde opus fuit arte per quam  
 F. sciencia de medio .....  
 G. — — — — —
- 
- B. proueniremus ad scienciam sonorum acutorum, scilicet  
 P<sup>a</sup>. ueniremus ad ..... acutorum, scilicet  
 F.G. ....
- 
- B. eorum qui sunt in ultimo acuitatis, et ... scienciam  
 P<sup>a</sup>. eorum qui sunt in ultimo acuitatis, et ad<sup>2</sup> scienciam  
 F.G. ....
- 
- B. sonorum grauium, eorum scilicet qui sunt in ultimo  
 P<sup>a</sup>. sonorum grauium, scilicet eorum qui sunt in ultimo  
 F.G. ....

<sup>1</sup> "etiam" in Baeumker.

<sup>2</sup> Not in Baeumker.

- B. grauitatis, et scienciam [sonorum eorum scilicet qui sunt  
 P<sup>3</sup>. grauitatis, et scienciam .....  
 F.G. ....
- 
- B. in] <sup>1</sup> mediorum inter illos et comparacionem eorum  
 P<sup>3</sup>. ... mediorum et inter illos et comparacionem illorum  
 F.G. ....
- 
- B. inter se, ..... ut nihil lateat nos de hiis que  
 P<sup>3</sup>. inter se, ad hoc ut nihil lateat nobis de hiis que  
 F.G. ....
- 
- B. accidunt substancie. Ars igitur <sup>2</sup> illa fuit sciencia  
 P<sup>3</sup>. substancie accidunt. Ars igitur illa fuit sciencia  
 F.G. ....
- 
- B. de sonis. Cuius utilitas .....  
 P<sup>3</sup>. de sonis. Cuius utilitas .....  
 F.G. .... Utilitas huius artis magna
- 
- B. est ad temperandos mores animalium qui excedunt  
 P<sup>3</sup>. est ad temperandum mores animalium qui excedunt  
 F.G. est <sup>3</sup> ad temperandos mores animalium qui excedunt
- 
- B. equalitatem, et perficiendos (?) decores eorum  
 P<sup>3</sup>. qualitatem, et perficiendos decores illorum  
 F.G. equalitatem, et perficiendos decores eorum
- 
- B. qui nondum sunt perfecti ..... et conseruandum eos  
 P<sup>3</sup>. qui nondum perfecti sunt ..... et ad conseruandum eos  
 F. qui nondum sunt perfecti tum,<sup>4</sup> ... ad conseruandum eos  
 G. qui nondum sunt perfecta tum, ... ad conseruandum eos
- 
- B. qui uidentur equales, et nondum (?) peruerent ad aliquod  
 P<sup>3</sup>. qui uidentur equales, et nondum peruerent ad aliquod  
 F.G. qui uidentur equales et nondum peruerent ad aliquod

<sup>1</sup> Not in Baeumker.<sup>2</sup> "ergo" in Baeumker.<sup>3</sup> "est magna" in Baur.<sup>4</sup> "et" in Baur.

- B. extremorum. Et est ..... utilitas<sup>1</sup> (?) ad salutem  
 P<sup>2</sup>. extremorum. Et est etiam utilitas ... ad salutem  
 F. extremorum. \*Unde et utilis est ad salutem  
 G. extremorum. — — — — — — — —
- 

- B. corporis, eo quod quandoque corpus infirmatur languente  
 P<sup>2</sup>. corporis, eo quod quandoque corpus infirmatur languente  
 F. corporis eo quod quandoque corpus infirmatur languente  
 G. — — — — — — — corpus infirmatur — —
- 

- B. anima et impeditur ipsa ..... impedita,  
 P<sup>2</sup>. anima et impeditur ipsa existente impedita,  
 F. anima et impeditur ipsa existente impedita,  
 G. — — — — — existente impedita,
- 

- B. unde ... curacio corporis ... fit propter curacionem  
 P<sup>2</sup>. unde ... curacio corporis ... fit propter curacionem  
 F. unde et curacio corporis fit per curacionem  
 G. unde ex curacio corporis — — — — —
- 

- B. anime et .... adaptacionem suarum uirium et temperacionem  
 P<sup>2</sup>. anime et .... ad operacionem uirium suarum et temperacionem  
 F. anime et per adaptacionem suarum uirium et temperanciam  
 G. — — — adeptacionem suarum uirium et temperanciam
- 

- B. sue substancie ex sonis agentibus hoc ut conuenientibus  
 P<sup>2</sup>. sue substancie ex sonis agentibus hoc .....  
 F. sue substancie ex sonis agentibus hoc. .....  
 G. — — — — — — — — conuenientibus
- 

- B. ad hoc. Huius autem sciencie radices sunt tres,  
 P<sup>2</sup>. ..... Huius autem sciencie radices sunt tres,  
 F. ..... Vel secundum alios species eius sunt tres,  
 G. — — — — — — — — — — — tres,
- 

- B. ..... metrum, melos, et gestus. Metrum autem  
 P<sup>2</sup>. scilicet metrum, melos, et gestus. Metrum autem  
 F.G. scilicet melos, metrum, et gestus. Metrum .....
- 

<sup>1</sup> "utilis" in Baeumker.

- B. inuentum est ad proporcionandos intellectus racionales  
 P<sup>a</sup>. inuentum est ad proporcionandos intellectus racionales  
 F. inuentum est ad proporcionandos intellectus inciuiles<sup>1</sup>  
 G. in — — — — — — — lectus ciuiles
- 

- B. dictionibus. Melos autem<sup>2</sup> inuenta<sup>3</sup> est ad proporcionandas  
 P<sup>a</sup>. dictionibus. Melos autem inuenta est ad proporcionandas  
 F. dictionibus. Melos ..... inuentum est ad proporcionandas  
 G. dictionibus. Melos ..... inuentum est ad — — — an —
- 

- B. partes acuitatis, et grauitatis, et hee due radices  
 P<sup>a</sup>. partes acuitatis, et grauitatis, et huius radices due  
 F. partes acuitatis et grauitatis, et he ..... due  
 G. partes — uitatis, et grauitatis, et hee ..... due
- 

- B. subiecte sunt sensui auditus. Gestus autem sensui uisus  
 P<sup>a</sup>. subiecte sunt sensui auditus. Gestus autem sensui uisus  
 F. subiecte sunt sensui auditus. Gestus autem subiectus  
 G. subiecte sunt sensui auditus. Gestus vero subiectus
- 

- B. subiectus est ..... qui institutus est ad  
 P<sup>a</sup>. subiectus est ..... qui institutus est ad  
 F. est sensui uisus ..... qui institutus est ad  
 G. est sensui uisus principalibus<sup>4</sup> qui institutus est ad
- 

- B. conformandum ... metro et sono motibus consimilibus  
 P<sup>a</sup>. formandos se metro et sono ..... consimilibus  
 F.G. conformandum<sup>5</sup> se metro et sono motibus consimilibus
- 

- B. et comparacionibus competentibus. Hec igitur ars est  
 P<sup>a</sup>. et comparacionibus competentibus. Hec igitur ars ...  
 F.G. et comparacionibus competentibus. Hec igitur ars ...
- 

- B. subiecta duobus precipuis sensibus qui sunt auditus  
 P<sup>a</sup>. subiecta precipue duobus ..... qui sunt auditus  
 F.G. est duobus principalibus sensibus qui sunt uisus
- 

<sup>1</sup> "rationales" in Baur.

<sup>2</sup> Not in Baeumker.

<sup>3</sup> "inventum" in Baeumker.

<sup>4</sup> Not in Baur.

<sup>5</sup> "confirmandum" in Baur.

- B. et uisus. Et in hac complentur sciencie disciplinales  
 P<sup>3</sup>. et uisus. Et in hac complentur sciencie disciplinales  
 F.G. et auditus. ....
- 
- B. que dicuntur sciencie domatrices.<sup>1</sup> Ergo uiam<sup>2</sup> manifestum  
 P<sup>3</sup>. que dicuntur ..... domatrices. ....  
 F.G. ....
- 
- B. est unde emersit ars musice et unde fluxit et orta est.<sup>3</sup>  
 P<sup>3</sup>. ....  
 F.G. ....
- 
- B. Que quatuor sciencie dicuntur domatrices, eo quod  
 P<sup>3</sup>. ....  
 F.G. ....
- 
- B. domant speculatorum suum et subtiliorem eum reddunt,  
 P<sup>3</sup>. edomant speculatorum suum et subtiliorem eum reddunt,  
 F.G. ....
- 
- B. et ostendunt ei uiam rectam ad sciendum id quod est  
 P<sup>3</sup>. et ostendunt illi rectam uiam ad sciendum ... quod est  
 F.G. ....
- 
- B. post illas, rectissime.  
 P<sup>3</sup>. post illas, rectissime.  
 F.G. ....

## § IV

### TRANSLATION

#### “(iv) DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE INVESTIGATION OF THE CAUSE WHENCE THE ART OF MUSIC HAS ARISING”

“I hold that when substance (*substancia*) was given motion (*motus*), sound resulted. It [sound] was divided into three special kinds—high, low, and medium. Therefore there was need of an art through which we might proceed to the know-

<sup>1</sup> “domatrices quatuor” in Baeumker.

<sup>2</sup> All the other texts have “iam”.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Baeumker.

ledge of high sounds, i.e. those that are in the extreme of acuteness, of low sounds, i.e. those that are in the extreme of gravity, and sounds that are midway between these, and the relationship of those to each other [i.e. their ratios], so that nothing may be concealed from us with regard to these things that belong to substance. That art, therefore, was the science of sounds.

" Its utility [lies] in tempering the character of living beings that digress from the mean (*aequalitas*) and in perfecting the fitness of those that have not yet been perfected, and in maintaining those that appear [to possess the] mean (*aequales*) and have not yet gone to any of the extremes [in digressing from the mean]. It is also of utility to bodily health whenever the body is weakened by a languid soul and is impeded by the existence of its own impediment. Thus the cure of the body is affected by the cure of the soul through the adjustment of its own constitution, and combining this with its own substance by means of effective sounds, such as concordant [sounds].

" To this science are three roots—metre, melody, and gesture. Metre was devised to regulate a rational comprehension of diction. Melody was devised to regulate the parts of acuteness and gravity [in sound], and to it two roots have been included in the sense of hearing. Gesture has been included in the sense of seeing which, by coincident motions and corresponding proportions, has been arranged to agree with metre and sound. This art, therefore, is included in two particular senses—hearing and seeing.

" And in this the educational sciences which are called the dominating sciences are completed. Therefore, it is now manifest whence the art of music emerged, and whence it arose and flowed. And these four sciences are called the dominating [sciences] because they dominate their investigator, render him keener, and disclose to him the right way to become most accurately acquainted with that which comes after them."

## § V

## COMMENTARY

We can discern at the outset how the author of this treatise had been influenced by the Platonic school in that substance (*substancia* = جوهر) was, at first, devoid of quality (*accidens* = عرض) in having motion (*motus* = حركة).

The three specific divisions of sound (*sonus* = صوت) are not used by any of the old Arabic theorists of music from Al-Kindī (d. 874) to Ibn Zaila (d. 1048). I have not been able to identify the source of this.

As for the influence of music on mind and body, we read of this as early as the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitāb al-siyāsa*, said to have been translated from the Greek, via the Syriac, into Arabic by Yūhannā ibn al-Baṭrīq (d. 815) who says<sup>1</sup> :—

“Know that mental diseases are also amenable to treatment. But their treatment is carried out by means of musical instruments which convey to the soul, through the sense of hearing, the concordant sounds which are created by the motions and contacts of the heavenly spheres in their natural motion, which affect the right perceptions.”

With Al-Kindī and the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* an elaborate medico-musical system was built up which was actually used in hospitals.<sup>2</sup> Medieval Europe had already been influenced by these Arabian theories through the writings of Constantine the African (d. 1087).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the translation by Ismail Ali and A. S. Fulton, M.A., in Steele's edition of Roger Bacon's *Secretum secretorum*.

<sup>2</sup> See Farmer, *The Influence of Music; from Arabic Sources*.

<sup>3</sup> “Ante infirmum dulcis sonitus fiat de musicorum generibus, sicut campanula, uidula, rota, & similibus: his enim anima condelectatur, & ex delectatione excitatur natura.” *De omnium morborum*, cap. xvi, *De stupor mentis*. See also *De melancholia*, lib. ii. As for Haly (= ‘Ali ibn al-‘Abbās) and Avicenna (= Ibn Sīnā) see *ante JRAS*. 1932, p. 590.

The division of the science of music into three roots, viz. metre, melody, and gesture, certainly points to a Greek source. Arabic authors unanimously speak of two divisions only—melody (لحنٌ) and rhythm (يقاعٌ).

## § VI

### THE INFLUENCE IN EUROPE

From the very nature of the work the influence of *De ortu scientiarum* on the scholars of the Middle Ages was quite negligible. Unlike *De scientiis*, it brought little that was of practical value to the scholars of those days who were thirsting for fresh knowledge. Indeed, with the exception of mathematics and divinity, only the barest outline, sometimes a mere heading, is afforded the various arts and sciences. It was in fact no better than the contemporary compends of Hugo of St. Victor (d. 1141)<sup>1</sup> and Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173)<sup>2</sup> who themselves had slavishly followed the older Latin compends. Music is certainly treated at greater length than anything else in *De ortu scientiarum* but its value, *per se*, was trivial, except perhaps to the encyclopædist, like Gundissalinus, who found it useful in filling a hiatus in their scheme.

In spite of this, *De ortu scientiarum* found its votaries. As already mentioned, most of it was incorporated, without acknowledgment, by Gundissalinus in his *De divisione philosophiae*, which dates, in all probability, from the mid-twelfth century.<sup>3</sup>

Daniel of Morlay, who dedicated his *De philosophia* (= *De naturis inferiorum et superiorum*) to John of Oxford, Bishop of Norwich (1175–1200), was influenced by *De ortu*

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, clxxvi, 739.

<sup>2</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, clxxvii, 191.

<sup>3</sup> See ante *JRAS.* 1932, 577.

*scientiarum*, either directly or indirectly, as his philosophical treatise reveals.<sup>1</sup>

Michael the Scot (d. c. 1235) was the author of a treatise entitled *Divisio philosophica* of which we only know to-day through quotations made from it by Vincent of Beauvais.<sup>2</sup> From these we see that he also borrowed from *De ortu scientiarum*, although probably through the pages of Gundissalinus.

Vincent of Beauvais (c. 1190-1264) quoted considerably from *De ortu scientiarum* although, strange to say, he ignored it in his sections on music.<sup>3</sup>

Roger Bacon (c. 1214-80) adopted a classification from *De ortu scientiarum* in his *Opus tertium* where he dealt with music.<sup>4</sup>

Pseudo-Aristotle (c. 1270), the author of a tractate on mensural music, also placed *De ortu scientiarum* under contribution, although the medium of the borrowing was the work of Gundissalinus.<sup>5</sup>

Simon of Tunstede (d. 1369) was also influenced, as we know from his *Quatuor principalia musicæ*, Gundissalinus being his guide.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thorndike, op. cit. ii, 177.

<sup>2</sup> For these fragments see Baur, *Dom. Gundissalinus . . .*, 398.

<sup>3</sup> Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum doctrinale*, lib. xvii, cap. xv et seq.

<sup>4</sup> Bacon, *Opus tertium*, lix. See also *Opus maius*.

<sup>5</sup> Coussemaker, *Script.*, i (6).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., iv (2).

## On an Origin of the *Caraka* and *Suśruta* *Samhitās*

BY REINHOLD F. G. MÜLLER

IN *JRAS.*, 1932, pp. 789–814, the time of the comprehensive collection of Indian medical sciences is established approximately in the middle of the first millennium A.D. and later. In this connection a sketch of the local origin of the precepts chiefly current in the oldest *Samhitās*, which bear the names of *Caraka* and *Suśruta* (abbreviated : *CaS* and *SuS*), may be of interest. In the introduction (pp. 7–8) to his celebrated inquiry into Indian osteology, Hoernle answers this question : According to the tradition preserved in the Buddhist *Jātakas*, in the age of Buddha there were two great universities, Kāśī or Benares in the East, and the still more famous Takṣaśilā [the Taxila of the Greeks] on the Jhelam River in the West. Ātreya, whose doctrines are propagated in the *CaS*, lived at Takṣaśilā ; the king of Kāśī instructed Suśruta in surgery. This would place the origin of surgery, as a science, in the East of India. Furthermore, Nemi, the lord of Videha (or Tirhut in the eastern province of Bihar) is regarded as the author of ophthalmic surgery.

In *JRAS.*, 1932, *ibid.*, it is repeatedly mentioned that chronological exactitude cannot always be attained from personal names. It must be generally emphasized, that the Sanskrit name does not appear as a formal personal appellation, as in modern Europe ; for the Indian feels the literal meaning also vibrating with the name. This may be noticed when the familiar name of Agniveśa is changed at the end of the *CaS* into Vahniveśa. Greater conditional security, however, is afforded by topographical names, even those of legendary origin, the use of which was already indispensable for Hoernle in the lack of other more reliable authority. The position in the *Jātakas* is, however, peculiar : they relate that

people from the east, in the most part from Kāśī, went to Takṣaśilā, the old school in the north-west of India, for their studies, and when instructed returned home in order to apply their learning. This practice is mentioned not occasionally, but nearly a hundred times (cf. *Medicine of the Jātakas*, Janus, 1928, p. 276). Furthermore, these journeys to and from Takṣaśilā, so often undertaken for studies, are not related in the "tales of present times" (*paccuppannavatthu*), but regularly in the *Jātakas* proper, in the "tales of the past" (*atītavatthu*). Thus, Takṣaśilā had a reputation as an old and celebrated school at the time when these "tales of the present" arose or when the old legendary material was worked up for Buddhist purposes. On the other hand, Kāśī was here in a wholly secondary and dependent position. Chronological determination is not easy in this case. These events cannot be assigned to the age of the Buddha. Viewed in connection with pictorial representations of the *Jātakas*, their earliest limit of date must be placed after the third or second century B.C., and the latest, up to the south Indian revision of the tales, before A.D. 500. Indeed, the local and temporal points suggest comparison with the well-known expansion of the Hellenistic arts of Gandhāra.

As is well known, there was no genuine historical tradition in ancient India; as in the epics, it is not uncommon for myths and similar tales to run through even scientific treatises. In the absence of other sources, legendary matter is all that can be used here. It would seem that from the north-west, i.e. from the Gandhāra country, the sciences were transferred to the east, and among them medicine as well as surgery. At all events, this transfer is related in the Jivaka tales in several traditions. The art of skull opening learned by the famous physician Jivaka, however, need not be attributed to a scientific development, because these cranial operations were suggested by popular experience, in which skull-wounds were inflicted chiefly by slingstones. This art is not recorded further in scientific traditions; but on the other hand, it

reappears in the *Bhojaprabandha* of Ballāla, where the two Aśvins went from Kāśī and cured King Bhoja by this cranial operation. On the other, the professional side, the secret use of the knife in a superficial illness of the king Bimbisāra and of a woman of Videha indicates fear of this instrument, in contrast to the laparotomies of which the Jivaka legends tell. The same contrast appears in the scientific tradition. In the *SuS*, after the description of knives, etc., it is said : " Of cutting instruments and their substitutes caustics are the important ones." And the description of laparotomy is regarded here as being as wonderful as it is doubtful in practicability. While, however, in the legend surgical training is expressly proved to have originated from Takṣaśilā, this training is limited in the *SuS* to the king of Benares (Kāśīrāja).

Concerning the names it is necessary to refer to what has been said above. Over and above this there is a difference between the names of the old physicians given in the beginning of the *SuS* and of those given in the Bower Manuscript, where Ātreya is mentioned in the first place. Hoernle has already remarked (*Bibl. Ind.*, N.S., No. 911, p. 2) that the only name common to both lists is Suśruta. Moreover, in the Bower Manuscript, *Kāśīrāja* is the proper name of the *rishi*, while in *Suśruta* it is an epithet (" king of Kāśī ") of Divodāsa, and the latter is identified with the mythical Dhanvantari. Divodāsa is a common appellation, early related to Bharadvāja in the *Rgveda*, and current in the Ātreya tradition of the *CaS*. Dhanvantari (= *dhanvan + tari*) may be an old warrior's name ; the commentator Dallana derives it from *dhanu*, a synonym of *śalya-śāstra* or surgery (as Hoernle has already remarked), which we may conjecture to be a local turn of meaning due to the situation in Kāśī.

The lord of Videha (*Videhādhipa*), the teacher of eye-treatment at the beginning of the Uttaratantra in the *SuS*, whom Dallana identifies here as Nimi, is also mentioned in the *CaS* (*sūtra* 26), in the dispute about the Rasa-doctrine,

but without reference to ophthalmology (putting aside the question whether Janaka of Videha in *CaS*, *sārīra* 6, is the same as Nimi). Also authorities from Kāśī are mentioned in the *CaS*, such as the king Vāmaka (*sūtra* 25), also without reference to surgery, which is rarely mentioned later in the *CaS*. These short quotations imply already a common origin. In this regard it must be observed that the *SuS* is not an exclusive system of surgery, because even the *Uttaratantra*, sometimes criticized as a supplement of a later period (and not only editorially later), contains treatises with formal and real relations to the oldest medical system, the Āyurveda, without surgical insertions.

When we look through the above summary, legend as well as professional tradition makes it clear that at least one root of the acknowledged medical doctrines lies in the north-west of India. The Buddhist tales put the origin of surgery in Takṣaśilā and transport it to the East. Of the professional traditions some—for instance, the *CaS*—account for the first medical teacher Ātreya [from Takṣaśilā], but are without surgical importance in the older parts. On the other hand, the *SuS* localizes the origin of surgery in Kāśī, without connection with the north-west. This suggests the inference that the transfer of surgery possibly ensued in single cases owing to insufficient surgical practice. Later physicians' loss of interest in surgery emphasized the want of proper development. That surgery formerly existed and had some successes is difficult to contest; but we must conclude that it was due to sporadic activities, perhaps those of a single person, “a much famed” (*suśruta*) physician, whose historical existence seems impossible to fix. So it becomes explicable that the roots of the history of surgery cannot be traced back into the *SuS* beyond Kāśī.

The mention of the oldest medical system, the Āyurveda, has doubtless been later inserted into the *CaS*, *sūtra* 30, perhaps by Dṛḍhabala before his index. Of the eight branches of the Āyurveda, which is derived from the four Vedas, principally

from the *Atharvaveda*, all have references to these old traditions and their later professional continuations. Only the surgical parts are difficult to connect with the old priestly songs and rites. And even surgery in the Śalya and Śālākya is, remarkably enough, placed first of the eight branches in the *SuS*, *sūtra* 1. Now the north-west, the country of Gandhāra, is of importance not only as an origin of medicine, but also as a route by which Aryan tribes once invaded India, and which maintained a great importance as a half-way house for culture-migration also. Iranic tradition speaks of physicians who healed by the knife, by herbs, and by songs (*Vandīdād*, 7, 44; similarly, *Yašt*, 3, 6). The two last mentioned may reasonably be considered as natives, probably of the same race as the Aryan Indians. The first, who healed by the knife, may have been foreigners from the Mediterranean area. They need not always have been Greeks, whatever may have been the successes of the latter at the Persian court. The expansion of Gandhāra art would necessarily bring it into contact with Indian surgery represented in the *SuS*, for probably they were assimilated in India about the same time. But as Gandhāra art underwent local modifications, we must beware of drawing hasty conclusions, which cannot be readily verified from the descriptions given in the *SuS* of activities of ancient physicians now beyond our vision.

Thus the sources, which alone have been used here, do not prove that one of the roots of scientific Indian medicine had its origin in the Mediterranean region. It may be inferred that a considerable part of Indian medicine, including its surgery, developed about the beginning of the Christian era, as it is said to have originated in the north-west of India; the possibility of Hellenistic influence upon it, however, cannot be entirely denied.



## An Overlooked Pali Sutta

BY C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

IT will one day be considered curious—the prejudiced and partial way in which the Pali Suttas, up to the present time, have been exploited. Buddhists, for instance, both Hinayānists in their way and Mahāyānists in their way, had let it be known, that for them both the reality of the “man”, as an entity over and above body and mind, was illusory. He was but a name for a complex of fleeting *dhammā*. European writers on Buddhism, taking this assertion at its face-value, and not at its historical value, selected passages from the Suttas endorsing it. They made no search for passages which seemed to throw doubt, at least at some period, on the dogma. These passages remained overlooked by adherents and by external commentators alike. When are we going to develop a better historic *flair*?

For there certainly are passages of the latter kind. I call them “left-ins”. They could never have been suffered to come in later. Consider, for instance, the parable thrice ascribed to Sāriputta: that of the kumāra taking from his wardrobe a suit appropriate for morning, midday, or evening wear, to illustrate the procedure of a man who had “his” thoughts, “his” mind-ways at “his” disposal, but was not under the control of those mind-ways: how does not this utterance cut like a knife through that *an-attā* doctrine, which a Buddhist will say runs like a red thread through his religion! According to that doctrine, there is no wearer of the suits; the suits are the man. In the simile we find ourselves in the India of the Upaniṣads and the Gītā:—

*as a man having put off worn garments takes other, new ones, so having put off the worn bodies goes he to other, to new ones.*

In the simile we have receded from the later India of Buddhist influence, from Ceylon, from Burma.

In that earlier India, too, are we in the overlooked Sutta of the Anguttara "Threes" (No. 40) known as "Ādhipatey-yāni", or Mandates, or What belongs to the Mandater (*adhipati*), or Master. A later compilation than this would have called the three : "Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha," or *Sabbam aniccam, dukkham, anattā*, or *suññam, appanihitam, animittam*. This Sutta calls them the self (*attā*), the world and *dhamma*.

Under the first head, the speaker (of course he has to be the inevitable monk), contending that he had taken up the religious life from no worldly or material motives, confesses he as yet scarce saw his way to spiritual health. Worse would now be his plight were he to seek again the lower things he had forsaken. "And he ponders thus: 'Stirred up for me shall unsluggish effort become ; called up unmuddled mindfulness ; serene shall body be and onepointed the mind.' He having made just the self his mandate puts off the bad, makes the good become, puts off the blameworthy, makes become the blameless ; and cherishes the pure self. This is called the mandate of the self."

Under the second head, after the same anxious heart-searchings over want of progress, and fearing he may fall a prey to sensuous, malicious, and malign (*vihimsa-*) thoughts, he considers : "Great is this concourse of worlds. Therein live recluses and brahmans who can with deva-sight see me and read my thoughts, though they be far from me, though if near they be unseen. And they would thus know me : Look at this clansman, who left the world out of faith, mixed up with bad and evil things ! Devas, too, there are of like powers, who would say no less of me." And he proceeds to ponder as before, having thus made the worlds his mandataries.

Here, parenthetically, are two points of interest.

The compound *loka-sannivāso* : "together-dwellingplace of the world," is, I think, a way of using "world" as many. The plural (*lokā*) we hardly ever find in the Pitakas. As yet

(we have alas ! no Concordance) I have only found the plural in the Mahā-Gosinga-Sutta (M.I., p. 213) : *sahassam lokānam*. The more usual equivalent is *sahassadhā loko*, or *lokadhātu*. And we know how we meet with "world *cum* denizens", described with the prefix *sa-* : *sadevako*, etc. How again we find the memory of former worlds or lives ("life" was equally confined to the singular) called *pubbe-nives'-ānussati*. As I have said elsewhere, one result of this curious limitation was the use of *bhava* to mean, not only *bhavya*, becoming, but the many opportunities of becoming : "worlds" and "lives", with that merging of the great guarantee of salvation into its opportunities (*bhavya* into *bhavā*), which, alas ! monastic pessimism held up as so evil. In this old Sutta we have nothing of that ; we have the truly ancient Sakyan awareness of the man of earth as watched in his career by an unseen concourse, an awareness that finds so striking an echo in the epistle to the Hebrews : "Wherefore seeing we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight and the sin that doth so easily beset us and let us run with patience the race that is set before us"—the race in the Way of the worlds.

In the Abhidhamma-Piṭaka we find these two mandaters : the self, the worlds, recast as the terms *hiri-ottappam* : "shame" and "to feel hot" (with guilt). The Commentary hereon shows Buddhaghosa at his best. The comment is given in *Bud. Psych. Ethics*, p. 18, n. But in the text (Dhammasangani), the depersonalizing of the mandaters into two states of consciousness is characteristic of the fading out of the "man" into mind.

Under the last head, the speaker, again anxious over his backwardness, reflects thus : "Well proclaimed by the Bhagavan is *dhamma*, (as of) present interest, yet not to be reckoned in earth-time only,<sup>1</sup> inviting, leading towards, to be known by the wise *pratyātma* : *paccattam* : in the very

<sup>1</sup> *Akāliko*, not in *kāla* but ? in *kalpas*.

soul. Now there are for me fellow-religious-students : he who knows, he who sees, living (with me). If I who have left the world for a *dhamma*-rule so well proclaimed should live in sloth and carelessness, this would not be suitable for me." And the will to effort follows as before ; the will surely, though he had no word for it. He falls back on "stirred-up effort" ; better truly than nothing, but the will is *the stirring up*.

The man's argument here is curious, and for me suggests a much later editorial hand interfering. *Santi me sabrahmacārī jānam passam viharanti*: why are the participles in the singular with subject in singular (or plural) and predicate in the plural ?

Let us first forget the change in meaning that *dharma* underwent, in time, in Buddhism. We see the Founder at the start practically substituting *dharma* for *ātman* as the aspect under which he rendered homage to the Highest. We know that this is said to have been his gesture immediately before he had uttered a word as a teacher. *Dhamma* was for him no externalized doctrine ; it was That-according-to-Whom man should walk. It was the Inner Monitor, the *Antarayāmī* of the brahman teaching ; the sense of duty ; conscience—"ay, that Deity within my bosom."<sup>1</sup> Have we not here the Divine Fellow-student knowing, seeing, the Witness of whom the verses, combining *attā* and *dhamma*, go on to speak ? Here are we truly in India, where *Sādhana* sees Deity under many aspects : not only as Santo but also as *Sakhya*, the Friend, from whom the believer "shrinks no more" (*Bṛhad. U.*, 4, 4, 15). *Sabrahmacārī* is not only a plural form ; as singular, it fits the *jānam passam*. We have but to replace *santi* by *atti*, and add the singular predicate. If editing there has been here, methinks this is better editing.

And there is certainly nothing of monastic Buddhism in the verses till we come to the last two :

<sup>1</sup> Shakespeare, *The Tempest*.

Nought in the world is secret for doer of evil deed.  
 The self, O man, knows what of thee is true or false.  
 Ah sir, the lovely self, the witness, you despise,  
 Who hide in self the self that's being evil.

Devas and wayfarers see the fool unevenly walking in the world,  
 Hence let him mindful walk, having the self as master,  
 Delicately let him walk, a muser, having the worlds as master,  
 According to dharma let him walk, having dharma as master.  
 The man of worth ne'er falters advancing in the true.

Then a verse of monk-values :—

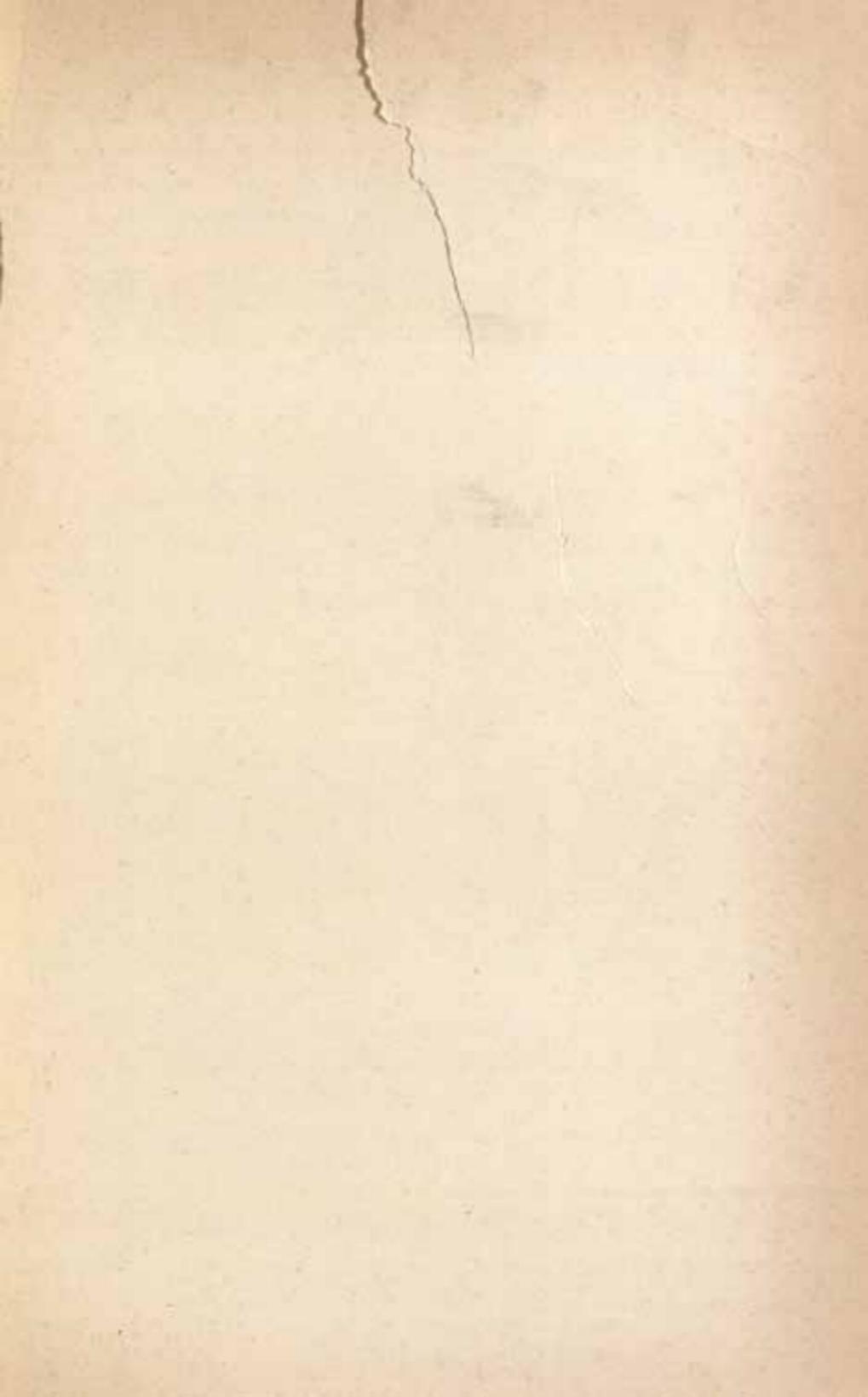
Māra routed, the Ender overcome, he the striver has touched  
 the waning out of birth.  
 Lo ! such an one is he, worldwise, sagacious, a man of worth  
 who grasps at naught.

It is not uncommon to find appended to verse or prose  
 this later outlook.

But in the rest of the Sutta, albeit the man of will is made, not Everyman, but a monk among monks, we have a worthy picture of what the early teaching will have been : man the wayfarer as the very real, very present, mandated by the ideal self in himself, the immanent Deity of the time and place ; man as mandated by the worthy of all the worlds, his witnesses ; man as mandated by the inner controller, whose monitions are as God not leaving Himself without a witness. So for me will the first men of the Sakyans have taught.

I cannot find it possible to place in the same decade, the same generation, nay, the same century, (a) the utterer of this Sutta and the utterers of the view (Majjhima, No. 22), that the self as eternally real (the passage is obviously corrupt) is entirely an opinion of fools, or of the flagrantly unfitting Samyutta analogy of the chariot. Or (b) the utterer of this Sutta with the later meaning of "the world" as having not "mondial", but only "worldly" qualities, or as

"impermanent, ill, not-self". Or (*c*) the utterer of this Sutta with the later meaning of Dhamma as a fixed corpus of teaching "to be learnt by heart", to be remembered, to be known "in the meaning and in the letter", in a "beginning, middle, and end". Such utterances are quoted to support the views still held by and about Buddhism. This Sutta is overlooked.





STAND PHOTOGRAPHED IN SIMLA, INDIA.

## A Sumerian Representation of an Indian Stand

BY ERNEST MACKAY

(PLATE IV.)

IN the JOURNAL of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1930 Professor Langdon illustrates (Pl. IX, Fig. 4) a curious pottery stand found at Hursagkalamma, Kish. This, he states, is only found below the flood stratum down to water-level, i.e. prior to 3,200 B.C., according to his dating; and it may possibly be the *niṣnakku* of Babylonian ritual which was in common use, according to the texts, right down to the Persian Period. During my work at Kish I found a similar stand—now in the Field Museum, Chicago—in the same area of the site. These stands which average 2½ feet in height are shaped rather like an hour-glass, and are open throughout at the top and base. Moreover, they are ornamented with triangular incisions which sometimes pierce the side entirely, sometimes only partially so.

Stands of the very same shape, but made of cane or reed, are to be seen on any railway station in India at the present day, where they are used to support the trays of the food- and sweetmeat-vendors who supply the wants of the poorer passengers. One of these cane stands is illustrated in Pl. IV.<sup>1</sup>

The perforations in the Sumerian clay stands are evidently a rough attempt to represent the interstices in the prototype of the modern *mōḍhā* (stand); it was probably quite incidental that they also served to ornament and to lighten the stand which when made in pottery is decidedly heavy.

The horizontal bands round the pottery stand from Kish, some if not all of which are notched to resemble a cord or

<sup>1</sup> This is unfortunately not a very good example as it is bound in comparatively few places.

rope, evidently represent the cords of the Indian *mōdhā*. The simple thickened edges of the Kish example, at top and bottom, obviously represent the cloth-bound edges of some of the Indian stands. It is interesting to find that when the latter occupy a more or less permanent position, the top and bottom are frequently heavily plastered with clay to prevent their folding up, as there is a tendency for them to do.

Since Professor Langdon compares the pottery stands from Kish with the *niknakku* of Babylonian ritual (*JRAS.*, 1930, p. 604), it would be interesting to learn whether this word implies that the article was originally made of reeds. There is every probability that the reed stands which are so common in India to-day were also in use in ancient Babylonia, though none of them could have survived the test of time in the way that the more substantial copies of them in pottery have done.

There can be no doubt, I think, that the squat form also of offering- or food-stand, as it is sometimes called, is a copy of a reed stand. Indeed, squat stands made of reeds (also of hour-glass shape) are used as low stools and tables in Northern India at the present day. We have some confirmation of this in the squatter pottery stands from Egypt, Elam, and Sumer,<sup>1</sup> in which also there are triangular perforations.

It would be idle to speculate on the country in which these reed stands originated. I have seen them used by deck passengers on the coasting steamers and dhows that trade between India and Iraq, and no doubt they were just as much used in ancient times as now. For shipboard purposes they are especially useful as they are unbreakable, a valuable desideratum on a vessel where replacements cannot easily be obtained.

<sup>1</sup> Morgan, *La Préhistoire Orientale*, t. ii, p. 284, fig. 328; p. 285, figs. 329, 330.

## NOTE

Mr. Mackay's comparison of the reed stands of modern India with the pierced pottery stands found so prolifically at Kish, but only before 3000 B.C., is interesting and the similarity not to be denied. As to the Sumerian *nig-na* = *niknakku*, which obviously means censer, it should be pointed out that this word *nig-na* occurs not earlier than the Cassite period, *PBS.* x, 339, 10; Scheil, *Dél. Per.* x, 96, 31; 97, 18; Melishipak, end of thirteenth century. *nig-na* is not documented in any Sumerian text which can be safely assigned to a period before the Cassites. It does occur in bilingual incantations, rendered by *niknakku*, which is obviously a loan-word, hence *nig-na* must have existed in Sumerian. These bilingual incantations are known to have originated in the late Sumerian period.

The shape of the *niknakku*, which was certainly not made of reeds in the late periods, has been definitely fixed by Scheil, *ibid.*, 90, n. 3, by comparing the text, p. 91, 18-19, "This *nig-na* which has been placed before the goddess Nana," with the monument itself, pl. 13, No. 1, where the *nig-na* stands before the goddess, a cone-shaped object on a pillar, with band near the top. A good example of this *niknakku* in the Cassite period, is Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, 535 (British Museum), text edited in *RA.* 16, 73, No. 10. The Assyrian representations are much the same, Gressmann, *Texte und Bilder*, figs. 523-5; Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, i, fig. 48. Now it is obvious that the shapes of these later *niknakku* are lineal descendants of the ancient forms found at Kish, conical base tapering upward to a narrow point where there is a projecting band, and then spreading outward to a pronouncedly carinate rim.

In *PSBA.* 1909, 75-7, I studied the philological and archaeological evidence. There can be little doubt but that the Kish stands are the ancient precursors of the Cassite, Assyrian, and late Babylonian *niknakku*.

The classical Sumerian word for censer was *ma-sá-ab*. See Streck, *Assurb.* ii, 282, 27, where the variant has *nig-na*. Hence *masabbu*, the loan-word, has the same meaning as *niknakku*. These *masab* were frequently made of reeds, Reissner, *SBH.* 77, 30; *ZA.* 19, 385; *B.* ii, 9. A list of reed *masabs* occurs in *Hommel Festschrift*, pl. v, obv. 1-3, period *circa* 2300 B.C. The reed *masab* is mentioned in a text of the period of Dungi, where it is said to contain 20 sila of grain, about 3½ quarts.

A Kish syllabary mentions *masabs* made of rumex wood and of tamarisk. Poebel, *PBS.* v, 100; iii, 28, a reed *masab*, clearly means a wicker cradle for an infant. See Ungnad, *Hamurabi Gesetze*, No. 1760, p. 145. The word *masab* = *masabbu* existed side by side with *niknakku* in the late period. A *ma-sá-ab kári* of silver, used for sacrifices (*sá makkiti*), *YOS.* vi, 62, 10; cf. 189, 14, Neo-Babylonian period. Cf. Zimmern, *Rt.*, p. 120, 6, the reed *masab karú* of <sup>a</sup>Bau, i.e. of the storehouse of the goddess Bau.

Mr. Mackay's question as to whether the *niknakku* could be made of reeds is, therefore, to be answered in the affirmative. *masab* and *nigna* may well mean stand for supporting a censer pan, or a support for a cradle. But by *pars pro toto* these words clearly mean censer. Whether the comparison with the modern Indian reed stands is justifiable I cannot say.

The shapes of pottery objects so often imitated those of earlier reed wicker products that Mackay's contention is certainly timely and illuminating.

# The Origin of Banking in Mediaeval Islam : A contribution to the economic history of the Jews of Baghdad in the tenth century

BY WALTER FISCHEL

## I

THE last few decades have seen the publication of several hitherto unedited Arab sources relative to the history of the 'Abbāsid empire in the tenth century—such as *Kitāb ta'rīkh al-wuzarā'* by Hilāl aş-Şābi,<sup>1</sup> the volumes of Miskawaihi's *Kitāb tajārib al-umam*,<sup>2</sup> and at-Tanūkhī's *Nishwār al-muḥādara*<sup>3</sup>—that are a veritable storehouse of information on the social, economic, and political situation of that period. These works<sup>4</sup> have revealed a completely new world to us : they show us, so to speak, the back stage of tenth century

<sup>1</sup> Ed. with notes and glossary by H. F. Amedroz, Leyden, 1904; abbreviated *Wuz.*

<sup>2</sup> Ed. and translated by H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth in the collection *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate, Original Chronicles of the Fourth Islamic Century*, Oxford, 1920, i-vii; abbreviated *Misk.* A facsimile edition of Miskawaihi had already been published by L. Caetani in the Gibb Memorial Series, 1913.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. by D. S. Margoliouth, London, 1922, Oriental Translation Fund, vol. xxvii; translated under the title *The Table-talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, London, 1923, Oriental Translation Fund, vol. xxviii; abbreviated *Tan. I.* A second volume of this work has been found recently by F. Krenkow in the British Museum, and has been published by D. S. Margoliouth in *La revue de l'Académie Arabe à Damas*, 1930; abbreviated, *Tan. II.* Here I wish to thank Professor D. S. Margoliouth for kindly having called my attention, at the 18th Orientalists' Congress of Leyden, to his edition of at-Tanūkhī's second part, of the existence of which I had been unaware up to then. *Vide* also the translation of the said second volume in *Islamic Culture*, 1931, which, however, has not been accessible to me here.

<sup>4</sup> I would also refer here to 'Ari'b b. Sa'd, *Tabari continuatus*, ed. de Goeje, Leyden, 1897, further to *Kitāb al-wuzarā'* by Ibn 'Abdūs al-Jahshiyārī, ed. v. Mzik in facsimile, Leipzig, 1926; to at-Tanūkhī *Kitāb al-Faraj ba'd al-Shiddah*, Cairo, 1903-4; to Yāqūt: *Irshād al-ari'b*, ed. Margoliouth, and to the works of the Arab geographers (*Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje) and historians (*b. al-Atīr*, *al-Mas'ūdi*, *at-Tabari*, *b. Taghrībardi*, etc.).

'Abbāsid administration and we see the governmental machinery with all its ramifications in action.

This is chiefly due to the historiographical approach of the authors<sup>1</sup>; being themselves high government officials, they dwell particularly on economic and administrative details, and are most keenly interested in financial affairs, in the system of farming revenue, the management of estates, the bureaucratic apparatus, the viziers and their actions. These sources for the administration of the 'Abbāsid empire contain a vast number of names and titles of different institutions, departments, and offices, which all represent parts of the administrative network which we see functioning. But we do not immediately perceive how all those institutions work and, by mutual efforts, bring about the resulting effect; neither do we see what function corresponds to each link of this governmental machine.

In order to orientate oneself in this administrative maze, only one method is possible: to start from the *terminology*, investigating each term or title separately. In a primeval forest the uprooting of a single tree, with all its entanglements and intricacies, may open a way to a clearing; so here, the analysis of a particular expression and its thorough elucidation may help to disentangle the whole skein of concepts.

I have already applied this method to the expressions *bait māl al-khāṣṣa* and *bait māl al-`āmma*, among others, that occur so frequently in these sources and in this way investigated the relations between the Caliph's privy purse (بَيْت مَال الْعَامَة) and the public exchequer (بَيْت مَال الْخَاصَّة).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the place occupied by these writers in Arab historiography, cf. the various editors' prefaces; further, D. S. Margoliouth, *Arabic Historians*, Calcutta, 1930, pp. 128-137; the corresponding articles in the Encyclopedia of Islam, Amedroz in *Der Islam*, ii (1911), pp. 105-114; ibid., v (1914), pp. 335-357; M. Hartmann, "Aus der Gesellschaft des verfallenen Abbasidenreiches," *Le Monde Oriental*, iii, 1909, pp. 247-266.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide my Beiträge zur Geschichte der islamischen Finanzverwaltung im 10. Jahrhundert*, to be published presently.

In the following pages a further advance into the hitherto much neglected field of Moslem financial administration will be attempted, and at the same time, in connection with the term *jahbadh*, the importance of these sources for Jewish history will be illustrated. That they should possess such an importance may seem surprising at first sight. But our authors, just because of their fondness for economic and administrative details, and thanks to their high degree of objectivity and impartiality, make frequent mention in their works of Jews, who held important titles and offices, and whose functions in the service of the state must have been closely connected with the financial administration of their times; so closely that a Muslim historian must needs mention them.

## II. THE FUNCTION OF A JAHBADH

We may conveniently choose as a starting-point for our inquiry the concept of *jahbadh* (جَهْبَد).<sup>1</sup> An Arab lexicographer<sup>2</sup> paraphrases this term in a general way as "a money expert, experienced in most intricate affairs, very well versed in matters of cash". Dozy<sup>3</sup> renders the expression with "vérificateur, changeur", Karabacek<sup>4</sup> with "Saeckelwart", v. Kremer<sup>5</sup> with "Regierungskassierer", Wahrmund<sup>6</sup> with "ein guter Geldkenner, ein geschickter Wechsler", Amedroz<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Tāj-al-'Arūs*, ii, p. 555. Dozy, *Supplément*, i, p. 225, s.v., reads also *jihbadh* (جهبَد), pl. *jihabādah*. Cf. Vullers, *Lexicon Persicum*, i, p. 544, s.v. *نَجِبَادَه*, exactor vectigalium. The word *jahbadh* is supposed to be of Persian origin.

<sup>2</sup> *Tāj-al-'Arūs*, p. 558.

<sup>3</sup> Dozy, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, Vienna, 1887, vol. ii, p. 169.

<sup>5</sup> *Ueber das Einnahmebudget des Abbasidenreiches*, Vienna, 1887, p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Handwörterbuch der arabischen und deutschen Sprache*, Giessen, 1887, i, p. 464.

<sup>7</sup> Glossary to his edition of *Kitāb al-wuzarā'*, p. 59. Cf., however, *JRAS.*, 1908, p. 432, "receiving-clerk."

with "treasury receiver", D. S. Margoliouth<sup>1</sup> with "collector", A. Mez<sup>2</sup> with "Bankier", and L. Massignon<sup>3</sup> likewise with "banquier".

A bearer of this title *jahbadh* is already mentioned in Arab sources of the time of al-Mansūr (754–775).<sup>4</sup> But persons so designated become more evident only in the tenth century. This fact is probably connected with the flourishing state of commerce at this period and the changed basis of its general economic structure. Towards the end of the ninth century a change in the financial administration of the 'Abbāsid empire took place, and this, as von Kremer has already pointed out,<sup>5</sup> was due to the replacement of the silver (*dirham*) standard, hitherto used in Islamic state economy, by the gold (*dīnār*) standard. It is noteworthy that in the tax-rolls of the eighth and ninth centuries<sup>6</sup> the revenues of the western provinces are expressed in gold, while those of the eastern ones are expressed in silver. On the other hand, in a tenth century budget all the items are already expressed in gold. These new currency conditions, as well as the diversity of coins in circulation,<sup>7</sup> and their fluctuating relative values,

<sup>1</sup> *Misk. and Tax.*, passim.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Renaissance des Islam*, Heidelberg, 1922, p. 48, 450.

<sup>3</sup> *La Passion d'Al-Hallāj*, Paris, 1922, i, p. 266. See now L. Massignon, "L'influence de l'Islam au moyen âge sur la fondation et l'essor des banques juives" (*Bulletin d'Études Orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas*), 1932, which I received when the present study was already concluded.

<sup>4</sup> b. 'Abdūs al-Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-wuzarā'*, Leipzig, 1926, p. 53a, l. 9, 11; p. 63a, l. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 6 ff.

<sup>6</sup> These tax-rolls, upon which A. v. Kremer based his study of the financial administration in his still valuable *Kulturgeschichte des Orients*, Wien, 1875, i, pp. 256–379, and in *Verhandlungen des VII. Internat. Oriental. Kongresses*, Wien, 1886, pp. 1–18, are to be found (in chronological order): (a) b. Khaldūn, "Muqaddima," ed. Quatremère, *Notices et extraits* Paris, 1859, vol. xvi, pp. 321–4. (b) b. 'Abdūs al-Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-wuzarā'*, ed. v. Mzik, pp. 179b–182b. (c) Qudāma b. Ja'far, ed. de Goeje, vi, pp. 236–252. (d) b. *Khordādhbeh*, ed. de Goeje, vi, p. 8 ff.

<sup>7</sup> The Arab geographers and other Arab sources contain many references to the variety of coins and their respective values. Cf. e.g. *Istakhri* 203, 12; 208, 7; 213, 8. b. *Hawqal*, 267, 1; 270, 6. *Mugaddasi*, 298, 3. Cf. especially *Wuz.*, 208 and 314.

necessitated the conversion of coins received by the public exchequer, and it was just this conversion that was performed by the *jahbadh*. The *jahbadh's* function accordingly became an indispensable one, and his heightened importance is most clearly manifested by three facts : (a) the frequent mention of the *māl al-jahbadha* (مال الجبنة), (b) the establishing of a special *Dīwān al-jahbadha* (ديوان الجبنة), and (c) the frequent mention of bearers of the title of *jahbadh* by name.

The *māl al-jahbadha* is a sort of tax, a premium or exchange rate that played a considerable part in the financial life of those times. As a special item, it appears in the income budget for 918-19.<sup>1</sup> In *Wuz.* 255, we come again across the *māl al-jahbadha* as an integral part of the public income, and the discussion wherein it is mentioned gives us for the first time valuable information as to the real nature of this concept.<sup>2</sup>

We learn therefrom that 'Ali b. 'Isa, later so famous as a Vizier, had to draw up a budget of the revenues of the Mōṣul and Zāb district when he was the head of the *Dīwān ad-dār*. His principal—it was Abū 'Abbās b. al-Furāt, the brother of the Vizier Hasan b. al-Furāt—found on examining this budget scheme that مال الجبنة had not been included as an item. 'Ali b. 'Isa, however, replied that he wanted to be fair in his treatment of the taxpayers and not impose the money-changer's profit upon the subjects of this newly conquered province. Nevertheless, Abū 'Abbās b. al-Furāt insisted upon the registration of this exchange rate<sup>3</sup> as a special item of the revenue.<sup>4</sup> We hear later of a certain Hasan

<sup>1</sup> Kremer, *Einnahmebudget*, pp. 28, 32, 34, 38.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also H. F. Amedroz, "Abbasid Administration in its Decay," *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 835.

<sup>3</sup> Further evidence for *māl al-jahbadha* v. *Wuz.*, 291 (*māl-addiyā, waljahbadha*), Ecl. iii, 71. Quatremère *Maml.*, i, 199, cit. by Dozy, *ibid.* Cf. also Harkavy, *Studien und Mitteilungen*, Berlin, 1887, pp. 274, 340, 364.

<sup>4</sup> *Wuz.*, 255. This item brought the state in no less than 10,000 dinars.

b. Abi 'Isa an-naqqād,<sup>1</sup> who was placed in charge of the *māl al-jahbadha*.

The establishment of a special ديوان الجباده is first reported in the year 928,<sup>2</sup> and as its head is mentioned a Christian Ibrāhīm b. Ayyūb. In kudāma b. Ja'far's Kitāb al Qharāj the institution of *Dīwān al-jahbadha* is discussed in detail, and full particulars are given about the affairs conducted by it.<sup>3</sup>

But the part played by the *jahbadh* is revealed not only by the coming into use of *māl al-jahbadh* as a fixed term of tenth century Islamic financial administration and by the institution of a *Dīwān*. Our sources also mention bearers of the title of *jahbadh* by their name and even give us fairly precise information as to their activities. We thus hear, e.g., of a *jahbadh* named Ibrāhīm b. Ahmēd b. Idrīs,<sup>4</sup> of one Ibrāhīm b. Yuhanna,<sup>5</sup> of a Zakariyyā b. Yuhanna,<sup>6</sup> of Sahl b. Naṣīr,<sup>7</sup> of Isrā'il b. Ṣalih,<sup>8</sup> of Nicolas b. Andūna,<sup>9</sup> of Merkūr b. Shanuda,<sup>10</sup> etc.<sup>11</sup>

### III. THE POSITION OF THE AHL ADH-DHIMMA IN THE TENTH CENTURY

Of all the bearers of the *jahbadh* title, however, none seem to have played at the Caliph al-Muqtadir's court a part equal to that of two bankers who are expressly designated as

<sup>1</sup> *Wuz.*, 291, 4; v. also *Wuz.*, 224.

<sup>2</sup> *Arib.*, 135, 8.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Paris, No. 5907, fol. 23b. An edition of a part of this manuscript is in preparation by me. Mez, *ibid.*, p. 72, calls this *Dīwān* "Reichsbank", which, however, is much too modern.

<sup>4</sup> *Wuz.*, 224.

<sup>5</sup> *Wuz.*, 226; *Misk.*, 95, 99.

<sup>6</sup> *Wuz.*, 158.

<sup>7</sup> *Misk.*, 349, 379.

<sup>8</sup> *Misk.*, 349, ii, 52.

<sup>9</sup> In a papyrus of the tenth century, ed. by D. S. Margoliouth, in "Select Arabic Papyri of the Rylands Collection" in *Florilegium M. de Vogué*, Paris, 1909, pp. 416-17. Here the *jahbadh* receives the *Kharāj*.

<sup>10</sup> In an eleventh century papyrus, ed. by Karabacek, i.e.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. b. *Roste*, ed. de Goeje, p. 207. Vide also Gottheil-Worrell, *Geniza Fragments*, New York, 1927, pp. 70-1 and pp. 164-5.

*al-jahbadhān al-yahūdiyyān*, namely, Joseph b. Phineas<sup>1</sup> and Aaron b. Amram.<sup>2</sup> This surprising fact leads us to the problem of Jewish court officials in 'Abbāsid times. There is no need to take up here the entire problem of the position of Jews and the *ahl adh-dhimma* generally in Islamic state service.<sup>3</sup> The very casual remarks to be found in Arab literature certainly show clearly that though the Islamic aliens laws strictly forbade the admission of non-Mohammedans to administrative posts, this prohibition was never strictly observed. There is direct historical evidence for the activity of Jews, Christians, and other members of "protected religions" in various departments of Islamic state service at all times. The edicts disqualifying Christians and Jews for offices in the government, repeated as often as a new Caliph succeeded to the throne, are only symptomatic of the imperfect application of the theory, and show that practical life followed other rules than those to which jurists and theologians aspired.<sup>4</sup>

The Caliphs were, in fact, quite unable to dispense with the particular abilities of the *ahl adh-dhimma* for certain professions, and were thus obliged to admit them into the ranks of their civil service. The Caliph al-Muqtadir, too, whose reign, described by our sources, is the only one with which

<sup>1</sup> *Wuz.*, 79, 80, 158, 178; *Arib*, 74; *Tan.*, ii, 81 ff. يوسف بن فتحاس الجيد اليهودي sometimes فتحاس.

<sup>2</sup> *Wuz.*, 33, 79–80, 124, 158, 306–7; *Misk.*, 79–80, 112, 128; *Arib*, 74, 91; *Tan.*, ii, 81 ff. Cf. also *Misk.*, 44, 66. هارون بن عمران الجيد اليهودي.

<sup>3</sup> The newest publication on this subject, A. S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and their non-Moslim Subjects*, London, 1930; and a further article by the same author in *JRAS.*, April, 1931, pp. 311–338. Reference may also be made to R. Gottheil, "An Answer to the Dhimmis," in *JAOS.*, vol. 41, 1921, pp. 383–457, esp. p. 387; and to M. Belin, "Fetoua relatif à la condition des Dhimmis . . . en pays musulmans," *Journ. Asiatique*, 1851, pp. 455–6. A. Mez, i.e., pp. 28–55, is instructive.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. I. Goldziher, "Usages Juifs d'après la littérature religieuse des Musulmans," *REJ.*, vol. xxviii (1894), pp. 75–94; the "Appendice", pp. 91 ff., is especially instructive, though concerned with later times.

we are here concerned, could not help admitting Jews and Christians to certain governmental functions. Even before his reign<sup>1</sup> there must have been non-Muslim civil servants, for he had to regulate anew the question of the *ahl adh-dhimma* as administrative officials at the very beginning of his reign. In 908<sup>2</sup> he promulgated an edict admitting Jews and Christians to only two state functions, namely, that of physician and that of banker (جَهْبَدَة).<sup>3</sup> It is extremely significant that he did not want to exclude Jews and Christians from all administrative posts, but only to define the offices to which they were to be restricted. In so doing he was probably only legalizing the *status quo*, whilst taking into consideration the needs of the State.

The extent of the Jews' participation in these two official

<sup>1</sup> During the reign of the Caliph al-Mu'tadid, numerous Jews and Christians again became government officials. The Vizier 'Ubaiddallah b. Sulaimān in a reply to the Caliph, justifies this measure as follows: "Not because of any sympathy on my part for Judaism or Christianity did I take the Unbelievers into civil service, but because I found them to be more faithfully attached to thy dynasty than Muslims." Cited by Graetz, vol. v, p. 277, and Dubnow, vol. ii, p. 438, from a passage in J. J. Assemani's *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, Rome, 1719-1728, vol. iii, pars 2.

<sup>2</sup> Strangely enough, neither Tabari nor b. Atīr mentions this edict, the only evidence is Abu'l Mabāsīn b. Taghrībādī's work, *An-Nujūm az-Zāhirā*, ed. T. G. Juynboll, Leyden, 1852-1861, vol. ii, p. 174. The text reads as follows:—

امِرُ الْقَنْدَرِ اَنْ لَا يَتَّخِذُ اَحَدُ الْيَهُودِ وَالنَّصَارَى اَلَا فِي الْعُطُوبِ وَالْجَهْبَدَةِ فَقَطَّا  
According to this edict, Jews and Christians were also again subjected to limitations of attire; but it is improbable that the latter were strictly enforced. 'Arib, 30, mentions a particular prohibition directed against Christians in the civil service.

<sup>3</sup> For the translation of this expression by "banker" v. p. 3; cf. also de Sacy, *Chrestomathie Arabe*, Paris, 1806, ii, p. 330, apud Fleischer, i.e. It is justified by the actual functions of the *jahbadh* which we really know only now from the new sources. The banking function of the *jahbadh* only evolved in the tenth century from sorting and trading in coins. The evolution from money-changer to money-lender and banker is a phenomenon that has also been observed in other civilizations. *Vide* M. Weber, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, München, 1923, p. 226. Handw. d. Staatsw. s.v. Banken; Kulischer, *Warenhändler und Geldausleihen im Mittelalter*, *Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft Sozialpolitik und Verwaltung*, vol. 17 (1908), p. 218.

functions left open to them by the State could hitherto only be inferred from a single reference in the work of the Arab geographer al-Muqaddasi.<sup>1</sup> In describing the situation in Egypt and Syria he says: "Most bankers<sup>2</sup> (*jahābidha* جهابذة), dyers, money-changers (*sayārifat*), and tanners here are Jews<sup>3</sup>; most medical men<sup>4</sup> and clerks<sup>5</sup> (أكثرون الاطباء والكتبة) are Christians."

<sup>1</sup> Ed. de Goeje, vii, Leyden, 1906, p. 183 l. 6.

<sup>2</sup> The new sources show us that this distribution of occupations existed not only in Syria and Egypt, but also in Babylonia at the same time. For the earlier period cf. Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-kharāj*, ed. Būlāq, pp. 70-1.

<sup>3</sup> This statement, however, applies only to the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century. We learn from the recently published treatise of the famous Arab writer al-Jāhīz (d. 868), Cairo, 1926, ed. F. Finkel, that at the time of the Caliph Mutawakkil (847-861) the Babylonian Jews were dyers, tanners, barbers, butchers, etc., while the Christians held the socially higher positions, being money-changers, secretaries, court attendants, medical men, druggists, etc. Cf. D. S. Margoliouth, "Ali b. Rabban al-Tabari's Book of Religion" (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, xvi, 1930, p. 173). *Vide*, however, al-Jāhīz, *Kitāb al-hayawān*, Cairo, 1906, vol. v, p. 52, where Jews are praised because of their sincerity—perhaps as bankers, as Professor Margoliouth suggests. In the course of the tenth century a considerable change must have taken place in the professional structure of the Jewish population. Probably the appearance of Jewish bankers or government treasury officials in Baghdad must have been connected with the financial crisis of that time and the extraordinary financial needs of the State, which had to make use of the Jews in order to meet them.

As to the treatise of al-Jāhīz v. now also E. Fritsch, "Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter" (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der moslemischen Polemik gegen das Christentum in arabischer Sprache*), Breslau, 1930; he assigns the treatise of al-Jāhīz to the reign of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn (813-833). *Vide* H. Hirschfeld, "Mohammedan Criticism of the Bible," *JQR.*, xiii (1901), pp. 230-2, 239-40. Finkel characterizes this treatise as "unique in the whole range of Mohammedan polemical literature" (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xlvi (1927), pp. 312-328).

<sup>4</sup> Among the medical men named in our sources there are, judging by names and designations, apparently no Jews. *Vide b. al-Qifti*, p. 104, 409; *Wuz.*, 244. Cf. J. Obermeyer, *Die Landschaft Babyloniens*, Frankfurt a.M., 1929, pp. 270-2; H. Bowen, *Ali b. Isa, the Good Vizier*, Cambridge, 1928, pp. 184, 191, 327, 331-2; R. Levy, *A Baghdad Chronicle*, Cambridge, 1929, pp. 140-2.

<sup>5</sup> The influence of Christian secretaries and clerks must, in spite of the restrictive edict of al-Muqtadir, have been very powerful in 'Abbāsid administration. The sources note this fact with regret more than once. Christians

The evidence of the geographer Muqaddasi, together with the edict of the Caliph al-Muqtadir,<sup>1</sup> have hitherto been the only direct statements<sup>2</sup> we had concerning the occupations of the Jews in the tenth century 'Abbāsid empire. Now our new sources not only confirm these statements, but also supplement them considerably. The data now in our possession actually show us two Jews, Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram, in the performance of their *jahbadh* functions, and the part they were able to play in virtue thereof at the court of the Caliph al-Muqtadir. To these Jewish bankers we will now direct our attention.

#### IV. TITLES, INTERNAL ORGANIZATION, AND PERIOD

Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram are repeatedly mentioned in the sources as *al-jahbadhān al-yahūdiyyān*, the two Jewish bankers,<sup>3</sup> or *at-tujjār*, the merchants<sup>4</sup>; and each of them is also referred as *jahbadh al-Ahwāz*, the banker of the province of Ahwāz,<sup>5</sup> in which capacity they probably had to execute certain financial operations in connection with the revenue from this province.

Those titles alone, to say nothing of the relative frequency of references to these Jews in the sources, indicate the important position occupied by them in the financial administration of the 'Abbāsid empire. It is confirmed by another title which

were members of the most important Dīwāns. Cf. *Misk.*, 23, 143, 218; *'Arib*, 30, 5; 184, 13 (*Faraj*, ii, 149). There was even a Christian war minister, and chairman of the Dīwān al-jaish.

<sup>1</sup> The passage from Qutb ed-Din Hanafi's *el-i'lām bi-a'lām bait allāh*, ed. Būlāq, 1303, p. 74, quoted by E. Fagnan in the above-mentioned work (p. 306), was not accessible to me. Al-Muqtadir is praised there for having prohibited the admission of Jews and Christians to fiscal offices and the administration of crown land.

<sup>2</sup> Therefore these notices are the only ones quoted by Jewish historians like Graetz, Dubnow, Dinaburg, etc. Noteworthy is, in spite of all, the book of the Arab writer Yūsuf R. Ghanima, *Ta'rīkh yahūd al-'Irāq*, Baghdad, 1924, pp. 98–140.

<sup>3</sup> *Arib.*, 74<sub>16</sub>; *Wuz.*, 79–81; *Tan.*, ii, 81–5.

<sup>4</sup> *Wuz.*, 81<sub>18</sub>; *Misk.*, 44, 66, 129; *Tan.*, ii, 85, 4–8.

<sup>5</sup> *Wuz.*, 81; *Tan.*, ii, 84; *Wuz.*, 178.

accurately describes the part they played. In the extremely enlightening list of forms of address to the state and court officials of al-Muqtadir<sup>1</sup> the names of Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram are also included and they are honoured with the title "Court Bankers", *jahābidhat al-hadrat* (جهابذة الحضرۃ), to whom a particular form of address was due. Undoubtedly these Court Bankers were privileged "*Hofjuden*", whose relations with the Caliph and his Viziers were of the closest.

Nearly in all the passages that tell us anything about dealings with Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram, they are represented as acting conjointly. They are designated by the stereotyped formula of "the two Jewish bankers", or "the merchants". The title "Court Banker" was bestowed upon *both* of them simultaneously. The state authorities, as we shall presently see, treat them as a unity, and when the Vizier is in need of money *both* are requested to appear at Court. The loan that the Vizier gets from them is granted by contract for a period of sixteen years, with both of them, with Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram, and even with their successors *قام مقامهما*. The punishment the Vizier threatens them with would have been borne by both of them, by Joseph b. Phineas as well as by Aaron b. Amram, and even by their heirs *وعلى ورثته*.<sup>2</sup>

These indications suffice for us to infer that the two had formed themselves into a company and to regard them as a single firm.<sup>3</sup> This firm may have comprised others besides

<sup>1</sup> *Wuz.*, 158-9. Besides these two Jews there was also a certain Zakariyyā b. Yuhanna upon whom the honour of this title was conferred, but we do not hear anything about him or his activity elsewhere. L. Massignon (*La Passion d'al-Hallāj*, Paris, 1922, i, p. 266) thought that this Zakariyyā was also a Jew, but this is impossible. *Vide* now his *L'influence de l'Islam au moyen âge . . .* p. 5, n. 5, where he admits "peut-être un chrétien".

<sup>2</sup> See *Wuz.*, 80<sub>51</sub>-81<sub>5</sub>; *Tan.*, ii, 84<sub>16</sub>-85<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> The Gaonic Responsa furnish abundant evidence of commercial partnership and associated enterprises etc., of this period. *Vide* J. Mann, *JQR.*, x, 324. During the Middle Ages formation of companies was frequent among European Jews also. *Vide* M. Hoffmann, *Der Geldhandel der deutschen Juden im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 90.

Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram. Such "others" are clearly alluded to in the above-mentioned expressions, meaning "heirs" and "successors". Presumably they were sons and other relatives of the two principals. Of a son of Aaron b. Amram, who acted as *jahbadh* at court, together with his father, there is express mention.<sup>1</sup>

The Vizier and the court generally must certainly have had a more or less concrete idea of those further partners of the banking firm, or they would presumably not have referred to them as they did.

The sources do not tell us for what reasons those court bankers had organized themselves so as to form a firm, but perhaps it was because of the considerable financial requirements they had to meet as *Hofjuden*, the carrying out of which seems to have been above the capacity of a single individual, especially as, in that time, the risk of considerable financial operations was particularly great.<sup>2</sup> In any case, we have here before us a single banking house, and in modern terminology it would probably be appropriate to designate it as Joseph, Aaron and Co., Joseph, Aaron and heirs, or *Joseph, Aaron and successors, Head Office, Baghdad*.<sup>3</sup>

We are not only enabled to make statements as to the inner organization of that banking firm, but are also in a position to define in a more precise way the period of time in which these Jewish bankers were demonstrably connected with the Court.

First of all we possess a direct testimony to the *terminus*

<sup>1</sup> *Misk.*, 128.

<sup>2</sup> There will be much to say about the internal management of this banking house later on, when its functions will be dealt with.

<sup>3</sup> In Baghdad there was a particular quarter where the money-changers and bankers were to be found. This "Wall Street" of Baghdad was called "Aun-Street" درب المنون. Cf. *Tan.*, i. p. 204; *Misk.*, 247-8; *Ishād*, i. 399; cf. *Islamic Culture*, 1931, p. 571. May not our Court Jews have had their offices in this street? This street is not mentioned either in Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford, 1900, or in M. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylon*, Leyden, 1900.

*a quo* of their activity as court bankers,<sup>1</sup> namely, according to at-Tanūkhi, who says : "The two (i.e. Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram) were appointed in the time of 'Ubaidallāh b. Yahyā al-Khāqānī." But this statement, useful as it is, can only concord with the other facts and dates given in the Arab sources if we regard the name 'Ubaidallāh b. Yahyā as a textual error and read instead Muḥammed b. 'Ubaidallāh b. Yahyā.

'Ubaidallāh b. Yahyā<sup>2</sup> was Vizier under the Caliph al-Mutawakkil from 852 to 858 and under the Caliph al-Mu'tamid from 867 to 875. But the negative attitude taken by those two sovereigns towards the admission of *ahl adh-dhimma* into civil service is too well known to admit of the assumption that Jews could have occupied high offices during their reigns, still less that Jews would have been appointed to high offices just by them. And apart from its inherent improbability there is no evidence whatever in the sources to support such a supposition. On the other hand, Muḥammed b. Yahyā, the son of 'Ubaidallāh b. Yahyā, was one of al-Muqtadir's Viziers (911–12) and lived just during the period when we hear for the first time concrete data about these Jews and their activities. It is almost impossible to assume that their activities took place more than thirty years before any sources mention them ; rather must their appointment as court-Jews have taken place when Muḥammed b. 'Ubaidallāh was already Vizier, i.e. somewhere between 911 and 912 A.C. The facts do agree with that, for the first financial transaction of these Jews to be mentioned in our sources took place in the year 908, and was carried out with the Vizier b. al-Furāt,<sup>3</sup> probably

<sup>1</sup> This statement is only to be found in a single place, namely, in part viii of at-Tanūkhi's *Nishwār al-Mubādara*, published only two years ago by D. S. Margoliouth (*Revue de l'Académie Arabe à Damas*, 1930, p. 84).

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Zambaur, *ibid.*, pp. 6, 7, 12; *Encyclopædia of Islam*, ii, s.v.

<sup>3</sup> *Wuz.*, 80; *Tan.*, ii, 80. Regarding him, *vide* *Encyclopædia of Islam*, ii, s.v., and E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, Hannover, 1927. A monograph on this Vizier would be a valuable counterpart to the meritorious work of H. Bowen, *The Life*

some years before the title of court-bankers—no doubt in recognition, not in anticipation of services rendered—was conferred upon them. During the following years we hear about them again and again, especially in 913,<sup>1</sup> 918,<sup>2</sup> 921,<sup>3</sup> 923,<sup>4</sup> 924,<sup>5</sup> and this is a further confirmation of our hypothesis.

After their appointment they seem to have been in continuous contact with the court till 923. Perhaps the dismissal of the Vizier b. al-Furāt in 924–5, after his third term of office, accounts for the silence of the sources after 923 on the subject of this firm, whose patron and most important "client" he was. Although on the other hand we are explicitly informed that "they were not dismissed until their death",<sup>6</sup> the latter may have taken place about this time. From this we can infer the *terminus ad quem* of their activities.<sup>7</sup> In any case, al-Muqtadir's reign must be considered as the period in which these activities took place.

We may now attempt to determine what these operations consisted in.

*and Times of 'Ali b. 'Isa, the Good Vizier*, Cambridge, 1928, and to that of H. Gottschalk, *Die Māgarā'iyyūn*, Hamburg, 1931. *Vide* also the short but excellent characterization of this Vizier by A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islam*, pp. 87–9.

<sup>1</sup> *Tan.*, ii, 85; *Wuz.*, 81.

<sup>2</sup> *'Arib*, 74.

<sup>3</sup> *Misk.*, 79. The privileged position at court of Aaron b. Amram can also be seen from the fact that he appears in the inner palace, as related in *Misk.*, 79 (reproduced in *'Arib*, 91), in connection with the trial of al-Hallāj as one of the usual visitors, as a matter of course. Cf. the story of b. Zanji, apud L. Massignon, *Quatre textes inédits relatifs à la biographie d'al-Hallāj*, Paris, 1914, p. 9 (Arab text); L. Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hallāj*, Paris, 1922, p. 266. It follows, indeed, from this passage that Aaron b. Amram was in charge of the state-prisoner al-Hallāj. Cf. L. Massignon, *L'influence*, etc., p. 3. Cf. *Misk.*, 128, where Aaron b. Amram and his son (ابنان) are to be found in the residence of the Vizier al-Khaqāni.

<sup>4</sup> *Misk.*, 112.

<sup>5</sup> *Misk.*, 128, where Aaron b. Amram appears together with his son.

<sup>6</sup> *Vide Tan.*, ii, 85.

<sup>7</sup> We will see further on that after the death of the two principals their sons and grandsons took over the affairs. They are called in the sources "successors" and "heirs" (*Wuz.*, 80 f.; *Tan.*, ii, 84 ff.).

## The Travels of Ippolito Desideri.

BY GIUSEPPE TUCCI

SIR CHARLES BELL has given in this JOURNAL (July, p. 710) a detailed account of this important book<sup>1</sup> on Tibet, which, though already edited in Italian by Puini, has remained for many years insufficiently known. It is not, therefore, my purpose to write a new review of the book.

I only want to point out some mistakes which are to be found in the notes of the editor, and this I do not with the intention to criticize the diligent work of Dr. De Filippi, but to correct some wrong statements which could easily be accepted without further investigation by readers imperfectly acquainted with things Tibetan.

p. 379, n. 20. It would have been better to state that the information of Strachey is wrong. Ngari (*mīa' ris*) is usually called in Tibetan writings Ngari khorsum (-*bskor gsum*). It comprehends Purang (*spu rañs*), Guge, also called Žāñ žūñ (including Gartok, Toling, etc.), and Maryul. In the old inscriptions of Ladākh, Mar yul is the general name for the westernmost portion of Ngari. See for instance the inscription of bDe legs rnam rgyal at Skyurbuchan (*c'os rgyal po mar yul dbus gžuñ rnams qadir rgyal sras bDe legs rnam rgyal stod*). The question will be fully discussed in my *Collection of Tibetan Inscriptions*. In more recent times the usual form is Mañyul, though Mañyul was originally the name of a district near Kirong (*skyid gron*) on the Nepalese frontier.

p. 379, n. 24. Gartok is but a summer camp, while Gar gunsa is the winter residence. After the big fair of October, Gartok is practically deserted.

p. 381, n. 31. This note is very defective and ought to

<sup>1</sup> *An Account of Tibet. The travels of Ippolito Desideri of Pistoia, S.J., 1712-1727*, edited by Filippo de Filippi (The Broadway Travellers).

be rewritten. Tibetan studies have so progressed during the last years that we may expect a more accurate exposition of Tibetan literature than that contained in this note. The bKa' agyur is not translated from the Chinese (except a few treatises), but from Sanscrit. The Bum is not an edition of the same "reduced to twelve volumes". Bum is the usual name for the Prajñā-pāramitā in 100,000 verses just as Gya-stonpa (*brgyad ston pa*) designates the other redaction of the same book in 8,000 verses. These treatises are not condensed editions of the bKa' agyur, but separate works included in it. But, since they are supposed to contain the very essence of Buddhism, they are very often separately printed and deposited in small temples or in private chapels (*lha k'an, c'os k'an*) instead of the complete set of the bKa' agyur, which is generally so expensive that only big monasteries or rich people can afford to have it printed. Nartand is, of course, for Narthang (*sNar t'an*). It is impossible to state that "the total result (of the Tangyur) is very inferior to the reconstruction of the Buddhist Lamaist religion made by Desideri." The Tangyur (*bsTan agyur*) contains, in fact, the only key for understanding the mystic doctrines upon which Tibetan religious experiences are based and it throws a great sidelight upon Indian culture.

p. 386, n. 5. That Thi-song De-tsen went, with his conquests, as far as the Bay of Bengal is quite unknown to me.

p. 392, n. 22. The sect of the Sakya pa (*sa skyā pa*, called after the monastery of *Sa skyā*) has nothing to do with the Dukpa (*aBrug pa*), nor is this an offshoot of the Nying-mapa (*rNīn ma pa*). The Sakya sect was, as known, founded by the great Sakyapa Pan-c'en, while the aBrug pa is a subsect of the bKa' rgyud pa, the founder of which, in Tibet, was Marpa, the master of Milaraspa. Even Waddell—whose information must always be used with caution—has settled the relation of the various sects fairly exactly. Why Teshu lama and not Tashi lama?

p. 394, n. 25. Sron-tsan Gam-po is, of course, the same

as Song tsen Gam-po of n. 7 at p. 387; his name is really spelt Sron̄ btsan sgam po.

p. 395, n. 28. "Kings of Ladak" is evidently a misprint for Kings of Tibet.

p. 397, n. 36. De c'og is for bDe mc'og that is Samvara. The bsTan agyur contains a large literature concerning the mystic experiences connected with his cult.

p. 402, n. 54. The question of the origin of the Tibetan alphabet is more complex than the author supposes. The researches of Francke (not Franke as it is written in the note) and those of Hoernle did not exactly clear up many of the obscure points, as he says. The prototype of the Tibetan alphabet is to be found in India and not in Khotan as Francke stated. The article by Laufer printed in the *Journal of American Oriental Society*, 1918, pp. 34-46, dealing with this subject should be consulted. Devanagiri and Devanagri are, of course, for Devanagari.

p. 403, n. 55. It is not true that "most of the medical notions of the Tibetans seem originally to have come from China".

The founder of the Tibetan medicine, and at the same time the writer of many treatises on medicine which still enjoy a great authority in Tibet, I mean *gYu t'og yon tan mgon po*, studied medicine at Nalandā. This statement, contained in his biography, is supported by the very many treatises translated from Sanscrit and preserved in the bsTan agyur, and by the perusal of the most famous manual of medicine, the *Vaidūrya sñon po*, by the sDe srid Sañs rgyas rgya mts'o.

p. 404, n. 63. Whatever might be the original connection between the two words, *rus pa* "bones" is quite different from *rus pa = rgyud pa* "lineage, family".

p. 408, n. 65. The ceremony alluded to is the *p'o ba*, which consists in the projection of the consciousness of the dead into a new form of existence, as a rule a paradise. A good description of this rite may be found in Madame David Neel's *Mystiques et Magiciens du Tibet*, p. 14.

p. 414, n. 12. The Kadampa has nothing to do with the red sect. Kadampa (*bKa' gdams pa* or *snags gsar ma*) is called the school started by Atiśa aBrom ston and Rin c'en bzañ po. The sect was, after Tsöñ k'a pa, absorbed into the Gelugpas.

p. 415, n. 14. Atiśa, or better Dipamkara Atiśa, though for some time the abbot of Nalandā, was not a monk of Magadha, but of Bengal. He was born in fact in the village of Vajrayoginī in the Vikrampūr district, which still exists. The place was visited by me in December, 1926. There are still heaps of ruins; Buddhist images, now worshipped by the villagers as Hindu gods, can still be seen in the place. Of course, as stated above, the Kadampa has nothing to do with the Sakya pa; they are two quite distinct and independent sects.

Tsong Khapa did not codify the Tantras in his Lam rim. This book is nothing else but an exposition of the mystical realization of the supreme truth according to the method of the school of Maitreya and Asāṅga, and it is chiefly based upon the *Abhisamayālankāra* of Maitreya.

p. 417, n. 16. The "doctrine of Metempsychosis and Karma" cannot be called Vedāntic, but it is pan-Indian.

p. 417, n. 17. As stated by Sir Charles Bell, Dorjedan (*rdo rje gdan*) is Bodhgayā, the place which, even now, Tibetan pilgrims do not fail to visit in their travels to India.

p. 418, n. 25. Padmasambhava has not been neglected by writers on Tibetan subjects; it will suffice to mention the names of Laufer and Grünwedel. He did not accept the cult of Avalokiteśvara, but on the contrary the school of the Gelugpas, when firmly established in Tibet, revised the literature dealing with Padmasambhava and introduced into it the mention of Avalokiteśvara. The Padma Thān-yig, which the author mentions, shows clear traces of such a revision and of many an interpolation. The chief god of the school of Padmasambhava is Kun tu bzan po, that is Samantabhadra. Urgyen is not derived from Udyāna, but

from Uttiyāna. Laufer did not translate the Padma Thānyig, but a chapter of the Pad ma bka' tān.

The index of Tibetan words must also be revised. First of all there is some inconsistency in the transcription of the Tibetan terms; we find, for instance, '*Bras spuṅg*' and '*Bras lјongs*' for '*Bras spung*' and '*Bras lјongs*' or *spun* and *lјon*. '*Bras ma lјongs*' is for '*Bras mo lјon*'.

p. 458 s.v. *Calongscia*; in Tibetan there is no plural termination like *gzhags*. *bKa' blon šag* indicates the council-house of the four *bKa' blon*; it is therefore equivalent to *bKa' šag*.

p. 458 s.v. Ce-Thang is not *rTser-thang* but *rTse T'aṇ*.

p. 460 s.v. Dorje cannot be said to be the thunderbolt of Śiva. The weapon or the symbol of Śiva is the trident *triśula* and the Dorje is the symbol of Vajrapāṇi.

p. 461 s.v. *Gnàkpà*; according to the system of transcription, adopted in the book, the Tibetan spelling would be *ngags pa* and not *Gnags pa*.

p. 461 s.v. *Gnèn drò*; it must be *ñan agro* instead of *ñañ-'gro*, or according to the transcription adopted: *ngan 'gro*.

p. 463 s.v. *Ka-scioa*; instead of *bKa shō ba* should be *bKa' shog pa*.

Ibid. s.v. *Kien*; instead of *rKyan* it must be *rKyen*.

Ibid. s.v. *Kiepū-cciung-Ki rimba*; *cciung* is not '*byung*' "to be born", but *c'uñ* small, inferior, as opposed to *c'en po* "superior" and to *bring* (viz. *qbrin*) "middle" to be found in the same page.

p. 465 s.v. *lee n-bree*; for *Las-bras* read *las 'bras*.

p. 466 s.v. *Longh-kù*; for *loñ-sku* it should be *Long (Loñ) sku*. This expression cannot be translated "the Lha of riches". It is a well-known technical term corresponding to *Sambhogakāya*, viz. to the second of the three bodies of Buddha. It is the aspect of Buddha which appears during the meditation.

Ibid. s.v. *lungh-tèn*; it must be *lung bstan* not *luñ bstan pa*.

Ibid. s.v. *Mani Kambum*; it cannot be translated "the

hundred thousand precepts of Mani" but of the "manī", viz. concerning the meaning and the value of the famous *mantra* in six syllables: "*om mani-padme hūm.*"

p. 467 s.v. *Ngnāa*; not *sñags* but *ngags*, the *mantra*-section of the Tantras.

p. 468 s.v. *Pruù-kù*; it cannot be translated "a Lha assuming various shapes", but it denotes the third body of the Buddhas, viz. the *nirmāna-kāya*, that is the apparitional body.

p. 470 s.v. *so-soi Kieu rimbà*; it is not *soi skye gnas rim pa*, but *soi skye bu rim pa*, and cannot be translated as "the grade or condition of every kind of birth", but it corresponds to Sanscrit *prthagjana, prophanus*.

p. 471 s.v. *Tēn-cing-brēvāre-n-gyunvà*; it is not "unconnected" but just the contrary, and corresponds to "*pratīyasamutpāda*", the law of causal connection which represents the very essence of Buddhist doctrine.

p. 471 s.v. *Thamce-Khiengbà*; it is neither *mThā-med* nor *Thans chod*, but the very common *thams cad* "all".

The book is so important and contains so much valuable information about Tibet and Tibetan religion and customs that it is likely to have a wide circulation among geographers, ethnologists, and scholars interested in the history of religion. It is therefore necessary that in a second edition these mistakes should be corrected.

## Some Unknown Ismā'ili Authors and their Works<sup>1</sup>

BY HUSAIN F. AL-HAMDĀNī

### I

WHEN Griffini published an account of the latest acquisition of a "collection of South-Arabian MSS." by the Ambrosian Library, Milan,<sup>2</sup> the distinguished orientalist, Ignaz Goldziher, to whom oriental scholarship is indebted for his able researches on the doctrines and history of the Ismā'īlīs, welcomed the news, for most of the information on the subject of the Ismā'īlīs he and his forerunners were able to communicate to us was derived either from inadequate sources or from the anti-Ismā'īlī polemical literature. Similarly, Professor Louis Massignon expressed the hope that modern scholars would throw further light on the history of the Ismā'īlīs and their doctrine by study of this literature.<sup>3</sup>

I intend to describe here a part of this literature, which being the property of my family is accessible to me. The Ambrosian Library of Milan has, according to what one gathers from Griffini, acquired only a few MSS., but the collections of the Ismā'īlī Da'wat both in the Yemen and India have preserved a considerable amount of literature, which the Ambrosian collection does not contain.

Now the question arises as to how these works, written in different countries, at different times, under different circumstances, came to be preserved in a remote corner of Arabia,

<sup>1</sup> This is the full text of a lecture delivered at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Palestine, on Sunday, the 29th November, 1931.

<sup>2</sup> ZDMG. Ixix, p. 80: "Die jüngste südarabische Sammlung hat uns noch eine angenehme Überraschung bereitet. Dieselbe enthält nämlich einige Handschriften von Werken, welche der vielseitigen zaiditischen Literatur Südarabiens ganz fremd sind."

<sup>3</sup> *Esquisse d'une bibliographie Qarmate, A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne, 1922*, p. 332.

after these had fallen into oblivion in their birth-places. The answer to this question is given in the history of the Ismā'īlī Da'wat as related by its own historian<sup>1</sup>: I will confine myself, therefore, to mentioning just that phase of its history which is connected with the origin of this literature.

The political life of the Fātimid kingdom under al-Mustansīr billāh in the eleventh century was in disorder. Anarchy, revolts, wars, famine, economic mismanagement had shaken the foundations of the State. In the time of al-Musta'li, the solidarity of the Ismā'īlī Da'wat was shattered on account of the controversy on the dispute concerning the succession to the Khilāfat and Imāmat between the partisans of Musta'li and Nizār. A serious split was caused in the united Ismā'īlī Da'wat, with the result that Nizār and his followers seceded from the main stock and formed a rival organization. They tried to overthrow the government of Musta'li and remodel the official Ismā'īlī system, which had become conventionalized, by introducing into it the revolutionary methods of the Qarmatians. A great impetus was given to this movement by vigorous men like the Dā'i al-Hasan b. aş-Şabbāh, the formidable leader of the Assassins of Alamūt. The activities of the Nizārids after the disruption of the Fātimid Empire in Egypt were mostly transferred to Persia, whereas those of the old school were confined to the Yemen. The development of the literature of the Nizārid Ismā'īlis is known to us to some extent through the researches of De Goeje, Guyard, Goldziher, Browne, Ivanow, and others; but here I am concerned with the story of the transference of the literature of the official Ismā'īlī Da'wat from Egypt to the Yemen. Al-Āmir bī'llāh, who succeeded al-Musta'li in the Khilāfat, was assassinated by a band of Nizārid conspirators. Before his death he entrusted the affairs of State to the

<sup>1</sup> The Dā'i Idris 'Imādu'd-din al-Anf (died in A.H. 872 = A.D. 1468), the head of the Yemenite Da'wat, wrote the history of the Da'wat entitled '*Uyūnu'l-akhbār*' in seven volumes, *Nuzhatu'l-afkār* and *Raudatu'l-akhbār*. The former two works have been preserved in my collection and the last-named in the Leiden University Library No. 1972.

Wazir 'Abdu'l-Majid and made him regent for his young son, at-Taiyib, but appointed the Dā'i Ibn Madian, the *Bābu'l-Abwāb*,<sup>1</sup> as the trustee and guardian (المستودع) of the young Imām. 'Abdu'l-Majid, however, assumed the office of Khilāfat for himself. Ibn Madian, realizing the danger, concealed the person of the young Imām at-Taiyib and retired from the theatre of public life. There is no authoritative record of the whereabouts of at-Taiyib or his descendants, but it is believed by the Ismā'ilis of the Yemenite school that an Imām descended from at-Taiyib will appear some time.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the old school of the Ismā'ilis disappeared once and for all from Egypt, but found in the Yemen a new arena for its activities. The fact that Egypt and the Yemen were united by bonds of political and religious friendships is well attested by constant communications between the countries. Long before 'Alī the Şulaihid made himself independent on the summits of al-Masār and proclaimed himself to be the emissary of the Fātimid al-Mustansır in the Yemen, there existed relations, though secret, between the Ismā'ilis of the Yemen and the headquarters of the Fātimid Da'wat at Cairo. The Yemenite Dā'i Idris 'Imādu'd-din in his history of the Ismā'ili Da'wat produced a correspondence of historical interest which passed between the Şulaihids and the Fātimids.<sup>3</sup> The Şulaihids were ardent upholders of the Fātimid doctrine, and there had been a constant exchange of emissaries, ambassadors, agents, generals, missionaries, royal presents, etc., between Egypt and the Yemen.

The Dā'i Idris relates on the authority of the Dā'i Hātim b. Ibrāhim al-Hāmidī (died in A.H. 596 = A.D. 1199) that 'Alī the Şulaihid sent a deputation under the leadership of Lamak b. Mālik, the grand Qādī of the

<sup>1</sup> The highest dignitary next to the Imām in the Da'wat.

<sup>2</sup> See my note on p. 128 of *JRAS.*, January, 1932.

<sup>3</sup> This correspondence is also preserved by the Da'wat of the Yemen in a book entitled *as-Sijillatū'l-Mustansiriya*, a copy of which is now in the possession of the School of Oriental Studies.

Yemen, to al-Mustansir for permission to proceed to Egypt. Lamak was stationed in the house of al-Mu'aiyad fi'd-din ash-Shirazi,<sup>1</sup> the Bāb of the Imām. Every time Lamak desired the fulfilment of the mission with which he was entrusted, the Imām gave the characteristic reply that winter was approaching near.<sup>2</sup> Five winters passed, one after another, and every time the Imām's reply was the same. During the period of his stay, the Qādī Lamak, however, received from al-Mu'aiyad instructions<sup>3</sup> which determined the future policy and activities of the Ismā'ili Da'wat in the Yemen. Al-Mu'aiyad was one of the last great representatives of the Da'wat, whose influence stretched beyond Egypt. We have thus reason to assert that it was through al-Mu'aiyad and Lamak that the Da'wat literature written in Egypt, Persia, and elsewhere, during Fātimid times, was transferred from Egypt to the Yemen. The Yemen was the only country which was safe, on account of the political power the Ṣulaihids then wielded, for the preservation of this literature.

The natural desire for self-preservation caused the Ismā'ilis of the Musta'lian school to transmit their literature to the Yemen, where ruled their co-religionists — the powerful Ṣulaihids. This is further supported by the fact that all vestiges of this school disappeared from North Africa, Egypt, Syria, 'Irāq, Persia, from wherever the Fātimid propaganda was spread or the Fātimid influence was exerted. After al-Āmir's death, the political power passed into the hands of 'Abdu'l-Majīd and his supporters, the arch-enemies of the old Da'wat. The Ayyūbids, who succeeded the Fātimids in the sovereignty of Egypt, tried to annihilate completely these heretics *par excellence*.

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 375-6.

<sup>2</sup> Idris explains that al-Mustansir prophesied the assassination of Lamak's master as-Ṣulaihī.

"وفي مدة لقامت القاضي الأجل لا يفارق الداعي المؤتمن في الدين بل بين يديه"<sup>3</sup> (Idris) يسأل ويأخذ عنه ويكتب ما استفاد منه إلى أن استوعب ما عنده آخر "Imādu'd-din, *Uyānu'l-akhbār*, vii, p. 103).

The power of the Ṣulaihids in the Yemen, however, did not last long; for after the glorious reign of the great Queen Saiyida Arwā,<sup>1</sup> the Yemen became divided into various small independent principalities. The queen had, however, wisely separated in her own lifetime the functions of the State from those of the Da'wat. Lamak and, after his death, his son Yahyā, assisted her in the administration of the affairs of the Da'wat. After the concealment of at-Taiyib, she appointed Dhu'aib b. Mūsā as the first Absolute Dā'i (ad-Dā'i'l-Muṭlaq) in the ensuing period of *satar*<sup>2</sup>; thus the Da'wat has been carried on ever since that time in the name of at-Taiyib.

The Dā'is have on various occasions made attempts to seize political authority, but their plans for a hierarchy similar to or even less powerful than that of the Ṣulaihids were never realized. Throughout the history of the Da'wat, it appears that there was no love lost between the Zaidis and the Ismā'ilis. Idrīs 'Imādu'd-dīn, in his historical works, gives a long and gruesome description of the conflicts of the Da'wat with the formidable power of the Zaidis. Until recently, during the Great War, they made common cause with those forces which were opposed to the Zaidis. The Da'wat feared persecution by its enemies and the constant state of war in which it engaged itself or was engaged by force of circumstances, made it an exclusive society.<sup>3</sup>

By the very nature of its secret esoteric doctrines the Da'wat, from the early times of the Qarmaṭians through all

<sup>1</sup> See my paper "The Life and Times of Queen Saiyidah Arwā the Ṣulaihid of the Yemen": *JRCAS*, 1931, pp. 505 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See note on p. 128 of *JRAS*, January, 1932.

<sup>3</sup> After I delivered this lecture in Jerusalem, I visited the Yemen, to study the historical monuments and present conditions of the country—particularly of Ḥarāz, which was the theatre of the activities of the Ṣulaihids and of the Da'wat. The high peaks of the eastern side of the Mountain of Ḥarāz have been the stronghold of the Dā'ūdī Ismā'ilis. Even to-day when the Yemen has the benefit of the strong rule of Imām Yahyā, Ismā'ilis form themselves by force of habit and circumstance into a very exclusive unit, inaccessible to all who do not belong to their group.

these centuries, constituted a quasi-masonic organization. In the Yemen, the practice of secrecy, however, became more rigorous on account of the political vicissitudes of the Da'wat. Fearing the destruction of the literature of the Da'wat, its misuse, and misinterpretation, it became in course of time traditional practice to keep its records in strict secrecy. In all books on esoterics (*ta'wil* and *haqīqat*), stress is laid upon the rule that any person initiated into the cult must not reveal its secrets to anyone who is not deserving (*mustahiqq* or *ahl*). The Da'wat is, thus, a thoroughly organized body, in which every member and dignitary (*hadd*), from the neophyte (*mustajib*) up to the Absolute Dā'i, is responsible to his superior dignitary (*mufid*) who acquaints him with the mysteries of the Da'wat (called اسرار اولئه الله) only when the disciple in the superior's opinion is fit for gradual initiation. This explains the statement of Griffini's informant about the Ismā'ilis' desire to have the Da'wat-books at all costs, if by chance they happened to fall into the hands of non-members.<sup>1</sup> It is this secrecy which confined this literature for centuries to oblivion and withheld it from the learned world.

Fortunately, however, the members of the Da'wat never discontinued its study, for the assimilation of its wisdom was regarded as the performance of intellectual prayers (العبادة العلمية), as opposed to the Islamic obligatory ritual (التكاليف الشرعية or العبادة العملية), it being the fundamental rule that the two should go hand in hand. The office of the Absolute Dā'i since the concealment (*satar*) of at-Taiyib has continued to represent the Imām of the time. During this period, the Absolute Dā'i is the custodian of the accumulated knowledge of the Da'wat, which he spreads among its members. Since the Imām was in concealment, no original work in esoterics could be undertaken without his sanction (*idhn*); the only way to keep "the light of knowledge" burning was, therefore, to study

<sup>1</sup> ZDMG. lxix, pp. 80 seq.

the existing literature. This is, perhaps, the reason why a considerable literature produced in the Yemen during the ensuing period of *satar* is based on the works of the authors who flourished during Fātimid times.

An historical survey of this literature as based on MSS. preserved in the collections of the Da'wat in the Yemen and India is necessary as a preliminary towards our study of this important branch of Islamic science. In this outline, I restrict myself, however, to showing the outstanding characteristics of the authors, without trying to give a full biographical account of them or to define their position in Islamic literature as a whole. Separate treatment of each author will be necessary for the better understanding of the history of this literature, and at the same time of the development of the Ismā'īlī doctrine. It will be then possible to appreciate not only the development of Ismā'īlī thought, from the first revolutionary movement of the Qarmatians up to our own times, but also the relations of the Da'wat to other currents of Ismā'īlī thought and to the intellectual life of the whole of Islam. This is just a preliminary attempt towards making a future, more detailed bibliography.<sup>1</sup> I shall, however, be satisfied, if my stray observations give an insight into some important writings of hitherto unknown authors, which have been preserved.

## II

Among the earliest authors whose works have been preserved is Abū Hātim Ahmad b. Ḥamdān ar-Rāzī<sup>2</sup> (died in A.H. 322 = A.D. 933). At this particular period of Islamic history, the revolutionary activities of the Ismā'īlis were undergoing

<sup>1</sup> There also exists a bibliography (called *al-Fihrist*) of most of the Da'wat books by Ismā'īl b. 'Abdu'r-Rasūl, an Ismā'īlī author of the eleventh century A.H. My information is, however, derived from the collection of the MSS. of the late Sayyidi Muhammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī al-Ya'buri, which is entitled *الخزانة المحمدية الصدانية*.

<sup>2</sup> According to Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Lisānū'l-Mizān*, p. 164 (letter 'alif, No. 523), the full name of Abū Hātim is Ahmad b. Ḥammād b. Ahmad al-Wassāmī al-Laithī.

a gradual but remarkable transformation. With the establishment of the Fātimid State by al-Mahdī in North Africa, the Ismā'īlī movement, which aimed at a politico-intellectual upheaval in Islam, assumed a graver and more conservative attitude towards the then existing institutions of Islam. The Da'wat, which once aimed at the destruction of the 'Abbāsid Khilāfat, now defended the claims of the Fātimids. With the assumption of power, we notice in the works of the Dā'is of this period a tendency towards drifting from their revolutionary and eclectic principles to a liberal yet conventional conservatism. It would be a mistake to believe that the Da'wat aimed only at iconoclasm; on the contrary, it wanted to institute a hierarchy over which the people of the House of Muhammad (*ahlu'l-bait*) had a control. The goal was reached in the establishment of the Fātimid Kingdom in North Africa by al-Mahdī billāh in A.H. 297. It became then the duty of the Da'wat to assume the task of defending the faith as well as to help the State. The Dā'i Abū Ḥātim belongs to the group of those early missionaries and authors who were the spokesmen of the official Da'wat. Against the attacks of the arch-heretic, the physician and philosopher Muḥammad b. Zakariya'r-Rāzī (Rhazes), the Dā'i Abū Ḥātim, in his book, *A'lāmu'n-nubuwat*,<sup>1</sup> defended the cause of religion and maintained the principle of prophethood. Abū Ḥātim had also a personal discussion with his contemporary and townsman, Rhazes, on this subject. His *Kitāb al-Islāh* is meant to be an improvement (*islāh*) upon an-Nasafī's (also called an-Nakhshabī) work *al-Maḥṣūl*.<sup>2</sup> He criticizes Nasafī in respect of some of his metaphysical conclusions, such as the precedence of *Qadā* (Fate or Fulfilment) over *Qadar*.

<sup>1</sup> As based on this work, Dr. Paul Kraus in his Antrittsvorlesung *Rhazes und die islamische Aufklärung*, delivered at the University of Berlin on 25th April, 1932, explained for the first time Rhazes' attitude towards Islam and religions.

<sup>2</sup> This work is mentioned by Baghdādī in *Fāraq*, pp. 267, 277, as also by Nāṣir-i-Khusraw in *Zādu'l-Musāfirin*, Berlin, p. 276, but unfortunately does not exist in the collections of the Da'wat so far as I have been able to ascertain.

(Predestination), the incomplete nature of the emanation of the Second (the Soul) from the First (Intelligence), the dissociation of law (*shari'at*) from the first *Nātiq* (i.e. Adam), and the like. The Dā'i Sijistānī, however, came to the help of his teacher, Nasafi, and defended him in a work called *an-Nusrat*.<sup>1</sup> No mention of an-Nasafi or his work is made in *al-Islāh*, but it was al-Kirmānī who later furnished us with this information in his *ar-Riyād*,<sup>2</sup> which is an attempt to reconcile as far as possible the opposite viewpoints of ar-Rāzī and as-Sijistānī. In this controversy we have a clear indication as to how in the beginning of the development of the Ismā'ili doctrine free thought and philosophical speculations were encouraged and religious and intellectual discussions undertaken without any great restraint or convention.

One of his works, *az-Zīnat*,<sup>3</sup> whose name is also communicated to us by Ibnu'n-Nadīm, is a dictionary of technical Islamic terms and expressions. It appears that the book was meant for the general public as a guide on Islamic nomenclature, because the author has taken much care to conceal his identity with the Ismā'ili school of thought.

### III

We have seen that the question of the necessity or otherwise of prophethood was engaging the attention of learned circles in the Islamic world at this particular period of its history on account of the discussions set afoot by philosophers and free-thinkers. Abū Ya'qūb as-Sijistānī<sup>4</sup> is another pioneer exponent of the Da'wat and defender of Islam, who tried philosophy itself as a weapon against critics of religion. He

<sup>1</sup> This work is also said to have been lost.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 374.

<sup>3</sup> Ibnu'n-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 189; Idris 'Imādu'd-dīn, *'Uyān*, v, pp. 260-3; Griffini, *ZDMG*. lxix, p. 87; Massignon, *Esquisse*, p. 332. Ibnu'n-Nadīm (p. 189) also mentions the name of *kitāb al-Jāmi'*, by Abū Hātim, but it is not preserved.

<sup>4</sup> Al-Bīrūnī, *Hind*, ed. Sachau, p. 32; Baghdādī, *Farg*, p. 267; Massignon, *Esquisse*, p. 332.

was one of the early philosophers and thinkers of Islam, whose share in the development of philosophy in Ismā'īlism is considerable. He and his teacher, an-Nasafī, were executed in the great trial of Ismā'īlī Dā'is, in Turkestan in the year A.H. 331.<sup>1</sup> In his *Ithbātu'n-nubuwat* the principle of prophethood is upheld from various viewpoints.

Several works of Sijistānī dealing with philosophical and theological subjects have been preserved. Among these, I might just mention a typical work of Sijistānī, entitled *al-Yanābi'*. Some of the problems discussed are: the Essence (*hūwīyat*) of the Supreme God (*al-Mubdi'*); the world of Intelligence and Soul; the indestructibility and immobility of the Intelligence, the address of the Intelligence to the Soul; the Soul, the Spheres, and their functions; the creation of the Physical World and Man; the meanings of Paradise and the Fire; the significance of the Islāmic Formula of Shahādat, of the Cross, their identification (*ittifāq*); the Qā'im and Eschatology.

The arrangement of the subject of this work and some others shows that the systems developed by the later Dā'is have been consistent with the lines drawn by Sijistānī. When we compare the system of the last great compendium of the Da'wat, entitled, *Zahru'l-Ma'ānī*, with the arrangement of the subjects of *al-Yanābi'*, we find that the fundamentals of this remarkable system were determined in the works of Sijistānī.

#### IV

The long reign of al-Mu'izz lidīnī'llāh was the golden age in the history of the Fātimid Kingdom in many respects. There flourished at his court great statesmen, generals, poets, and men of letters. The Fātimid Da'wat of Mu'izz could, however, boast of having produced two great Arabs who played no mean part in the development of the Ismā'īlī doctrine. For the Da'wat literature it was a period of whole-hearted islamization. The Ismā'īlī system of jurisprudence

<sup>1</sup> *Baghdādī, Farg.* p. 267.

(*fiqh*) was for the first time standardized by Abū Ḥanīfa an-Nu'mān b. Muḥammad at-Tamīmī.<sup>1</sup> He was a contemporary of Al-Mahdī, al-Qā'im, al-Manṣūr, and al-Mu'izz, and became virtually the Grand Qādi of the Fāṭimid Empire when al-Mu'izz went from al-Manṣūriya to Cairo. Amongst his many works on theological jurisprudence,<sup>2</sup> the most important is his *kitāb Da'ā'imul-Islām* in two volumes written at the suggestion of al-Mu'izz. All the traditions and sayings are traced back to Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Bāqir and Ja'far b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣādiq, and are thus given a stamp of authority. This was a very convenient and practical way to do away with the existing differences on the authenticity or otherwise of traditions. This politic action, which was taken under the orders of al-Mu'izz, though it stopped academic discussions on *Hadīth* and allied subjects, had a remarkable unifying effect upon the Ismā'ili literature for all the following centuries. The *Da'ā'im* is regarded as the standard work of *Fiqh* by the Da'wat throughout its literature. He added

<sup>1</sup> For further details see Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayat*, ed. Bulaq, p. 219; al-Kindi, *Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Guest, p. 586; Gottheil, *JAOS*, xxvii, p. 217; Mr. A. A. Fyzee is preparing, as he informs me, a full study of the author, particularly the legal aspects of his writings.

<sup>2</sup> The Qādi was a prolific writer particularly on Islamic jurisprudence. He compiled an ambitious work called *Idāh* in 220 parts, as he mentions in the introductory lines of his *Qasīdat al-Muntakhaba* :—

ثابت القول مع التيان ما جاء فيها باختلاف القلة نصا وبالاستاد والانساب الا على المثبت في الاساس بمزيد عشرين على الحساب	وجلت بالشاهد والبرهان من بعد ذكرى عند كل مثلا بذكر قلها من الكتاب غير ما رأى ولا قياس فكلمت في مأني كتاب
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Unfortunately this work as some others of the Qādi's works on theological jurisprudence, esoteric interpretation, and history have been lost. Some extracts have been preserved in *mā wujida f'il-Idāh* (الاضاح). The following works on *fiqh* have also been preserved: *al-Ikhbār*, vol. i; *al-Yanbū'*, vol. ii; *al-Tahārat*; *Minhāju'l-farā'id*; *al-Muntakhaba* in metrical form; *al-Iqtisār*; *Da'ā'imul-Islām*, two volumes; and *Mukhtasarul-āthār*. Chronologically speaking the *Da'ā'im* and *Mukhtasar* were among the last works of the Qādi.

to the five Islamic fundamentals two more, viz.: Friendship of the People of the House of Muḥammad (called *Walāyat*), and ablutions (*Tahārat*).

The Qādī is also a pioneer historian of the Fāṭimids. His book, *Iftitāhu'd-Da'wat*,<sup>1</sup> deals with the origin of the Da'wat in the Yemen and in the Maghrib, and gives a detailed account of the conquest and rule of the Yemen by Abu'l-Qāsim Ibn Ḥaushab. His book, *Sharhu'l-Akhbār fi fadli'l-'a'immati'l-athār*, in sixteen volumes, deals with the history from Muḥammad to al-Mahdi. In his work *al-Manāqib wa'l-Mathālib*, he institutes a comparison between the Umayyad rulers from the time of Mu'āwiya and their contemporary, 'Alid Imams, and finally compares the Umayyad rulers of Andalus with the Fāṭimid ruler in Egypt. The Qādī, who passed most of his lifetime in the court of al-Mu'izz, collected in *al-Majālis wa'l-Musāyarāt* the sayings and remarks of his master.

The Qādī also held one of the highest positions in the Da'wat and al-Mu'izz entrusted him with the exposition of the doctrine of the esoteric interpretation of the Qur'ān and Islamic law. His work, *Asāsu't-ta'wīl*, is a commentary of the first chapter (on *Walāyat*) of his book, *Da'ā'imū'l-Islām*, which was later translated into Persian by al-Mu'aiyad.<sup>2</sup>

## V

Like the Qādī, his contemporary, the Dā'i Ja'far, son of the Dā'i Abu'l-Qāsim b. Ḥaushab Maṇṣūru'l-Yaman (the Conqueror of the Yemen) is another eminent representative of the Ismā'ili *ta'wīl*. The Dā'i Ja'far lived the greater part of his life at the headquarters of the Da'wat in Egypt in the time of al-Mu'izz as his *Bābu'l-abwāb*. After the death of his father, the Dā'i Ja'far migrated from the Yemen to Egypt, and lived under the patronage of al-Mu'izz. According

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ibid.; *Dastūru'l-Munajjimīn*, Paris, Bibl. Nat. Arabe 5968, f. 335a.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 376.

to the story related by Idrīs 'Imādū'd-dīn,<sup>1</sup> the Dā'i Ja'far occupied a position in the Da'wat even superior to that of the great Qādī an-Nū'mān. The Qādī fell ill and on his recovery, the Imām al-Mu'izz asked him who had visited him during his sickness. The Qādī mentioned the names of all those who had come to visit him, but hinted that Ja'far had not. After some conversation, the Imām gave him a treatise and asked him to read it and tell the Imām about the authorship of the work. The Qādī, of course, declared it to be the work of the Imām, whereupon he was told that it was written "by his lord Ja'far". The Qādī, leaving the Imām, at once made for the house of the Dā'i Ja'far to pay his respects to him. The anecdote is of interest inasmuch as it shows the high position of Ja'far in the Da'wat, and the authority that was attached to his books. One of this Ja'far's important works, *Ta'wīluz-Zakāt*, is preserved in the University Library of Leiden.<sup>2</sup> Ignaz Goldziher, describing this work, remarks<sup>3</sup>: "Wie unverhüllt die Aufhebung der Gesetzlichkeit in diesen Kreisen gelehrt wurde, zeigt uns am besten das كتاب تأويل الزكاة des Ga'far Mansūr al-Jemānī, das mehr als eine Allegorisierung des Zakätgesetzes im ismā'ilitischen Sinne enthält." In his works, *Sarā'iru'n-Nuṭaqā'* and *Asrāru'n-Nuṭaqā'* and *ash-Shawāhid wa'l-Bayān*,<sup>4</sup> and *al-Farā'id wa Hudūdi'd-Dīn*, he explains the history of the prophets according to the principles of his esoteric cult and develops the doctrine of the continuity of religions.

## VI

After the establishment of the Fātimid Empire, we notice an overwhelming effort towards reconciling philosophy and science with the Qur'ān and Islamic ideas. Sijistānī was

<sup>1</sup> *Uyūn*, vi, pp. 39–40.

<sup>2</sup> Leiden eod. 1971 (De Goeje).

<sup>3</sup> *Streitschrift des Ḥazālī gegen die Bātinijja-Sekte*, p. 23, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> This work has been preserved in the library of the late Ahmad Taimur Pāshā, Cairo (١٨٤٢).

an out and out philosopher, but those who came after him, though they expounded Ismā'īlī *ta'wīl* (esoterics), gave more consideration to theological subjects than to philosophy. Though no mention, strange to say, of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān as-ṣafā* is made in the literature written by these Dā'is during the period of the Fāṭimid Kingdom, the eclecticism of the Rasā'il and its philosophic appeal might have had their effect on the literary activities of the Da'wat. The tenth century A.D. was a fruitful period for the development of philosophy in Islam, for it was at this time such great luminaries as al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā appeared to brighten the life of Islam with philosophical speculation and scientific research. The Da'wat literature has unearthed for us another great figure in the philosophical and religious realm of Islam of this century, who had been consigned to oblivion by the fact of the secrecy attached to the literature of the Da'wat. In Egypt ruled al-Hākim, who reopened the Academy of Sciences (*Dāru'l-Hikmat*), which had been closed for a period. He called to Egypt Ahmad Ḥamīdu'd-dīn al-Kirmānī, the leader of the Fāṭimid Da'wat in the east and who bore the title of "*Hujjatu'l-'Irāqain*", to revive there the intellectual life, which had become stagnant for some time, and put him in the charge of this celebrated academy. Kirmānī holds a unique position in the development of the Ismā'īlī thought, inasmuch as he elaborated on the one hand the Ismā'īlī doctrine on the lines of the philosophers, and on the other hand he defended from a conservative standpoint the conception of Imāmat against extremism such as that of the Druses. There can be little doubt that there existed some sort of literary, if not direct or personal, contact with his contemporary philosophers. He laid stress on the strict observance of the doctrine of uniting *Zāhir* and *Bātin*—a doctrine that not only the acquisition of the esoteric knowledge ('ilm), but also the performance of Islamic law ('amal) is incumbent upon the Faithful. His works, *kitāb al-Wadiyya* and *Tanbīhu'l-Hādī wa'l-Mustahdī*, give a

clear exposition of these two sides of his system. He struggled vehemently against the extremists (*Ghulāt*), who ascribed divinity to al-Hākim. In his *Risālatu'l-Wā'iḍā*,<sup>1</sup> he urges Ḥusain al-Farghānī, the precursor of Darazī, who in the year A.H. 408 (= A.D. 1017) tried to lead people to extremism, to give up his teachings. These admonitions were, however, ineffectual, for a year later the Druses, led by Ḥamza Darazī, seceded from the original stock of the Ismā'īlīs. On account of this controversy with the Druses and Hākim's peculiar claims, the question of the necessity of prophethood (*Nubuwat* and *Imāmat*) again came to the forefront. The discussion on this subject was renewed by Kirmānī in his *al-Maṣābiḥ fi ithbāti'l-imāmat* and in his *Risālat Mabāsim il-Bishārat*, and he seeks to prove that the Imāmat of al-Hākim alone combined in itself the conditions of Imāmat prescribed by the Islamic laws, and that he fulfilled the prophecy in the Holy Scriptures.<sup>2</sup> His work,

<sup>1</sup> This Risālah is one of the collection of the thirteen Risālas called رسائل سيدنا حيدر الدين اعلى الله قدره وهي تلث عشرة رسائل هي the list of the Risālas in the collection:—

(١) الرسالة البرية في معنى التوحيد والموحد والموحد (٢) رسالة النظم في مقابلة العالم بعضها بعضاً (٣) رسالة الرضبة في جواب من يقول يقى الجواهر وحدث الصورة (٤) الرسالة المقنية في الامر والامر والامر (٥) الرسالة الالزمه في صوم شهر رمضان وجهه (٦) رسالة الروضة في الاذل والاذلي والاذلة (٧) الرسالة الزاهرة في جواب مسائل (٨) الرسالة الحاوية في الليل والنهر (٩) رسالة مباسم البشارات بالامام الحاكم بأمر الله امير المؤمنين (١٠) الرسالة الواقعنة موعظة واجوبة عن مسائل المفارق من الدين الغرغاني الاجدع (١١) الرسالة الكافية في الرد على الباروني الحسني في مسائل عده تجمع ايات الامامة للحاكم بأمر الله (١٢) فصل في الرد على من ينكر العالم الروحاني لشهريار بن الحسن نصر الله وجهه (١٣) كتاب خزانة الادلة من تأليف أبي يعقوب اسحق بن احمد

The last two Risālas belong to two different authors, but they are included in this collection.

<sup>2</sup> Paul Kraus, *Hebräische und syrische Zitate in ismā'ilitischen Schriften, Der Islam*, Bd. xix (1931), p. 243 seq.

*al-Aqwālu'dh-Dhahabiya*, discusses, among other subjects, the principle of prophethood. Al-Kirmānī takes up in this work the gauntlet to defend the Prophethood against the attacks of the heretic Muḥammad b. Zakariya ar-Rāzī,<sup>1</sup> and is supposed to be an improvement upon Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī, who, it is argued, did not come up to the mark in his refutation. Again, in the field of Ismā'īlī metaphysics, he tried to reconcile in his work *ar-Riyād* the controversy which was once waged between Abū Ya'qūb as-Sijistānī and Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī on the subject of an-Nasafi's *al-Maḥṣūl*.<sup>2</sup> But the principal work of Kirmānī, which alone would have assigned a place for him among the Islamic philosophers and thinkers is his last work, entitled *Rāhatu'l-'Aql*<sup>3</sup> (dated A.H. 412). In this work he expounds in detail the Ismā'īlī doctrine of the origin of the world in the light of his theories. He introduced many new elements which he took from the philosophers of the Ismā'īlī system. He combined for the first time the old Ismā'īlī doctrine of two succeeding principles—Intelligence ('aql) and Soul (*nafs*), with the system of the Ten Intelligences, already elaborated by al-Fārābī. With greater force than the authors before him, he emphasized the strict parallelism which exists between (1) the Intelligible World, (2) the Physical World, and (3) the World of Religion,

<sup>1</sup> Kirmānī does not mention the name of the Dā'i who wrote against Rhazes a polemical treatise on the subject of prophethood. Nor does Kirmānī mention the name of the work of Rhazes which was the subject-matter of the Dā'i's discussions. But in the first chapter of his book Kirmānī quotes a long passage from the Dā'i's work, which is identical with the refutation of Rhazes given in *A'lāmu'n-Nubuwāt* of Abū Ḥātim (see above, p. 366). The following chapters of *al-Aqwālu'dh-Dhahabijja* are devoted to the refutation of ar-Rāzī's *at-Tibbu'r-Rūbānī* (preserved in Brit. Mus. Add. 25758 and analysed by de Boer, *De Medicina Mentis van den arts Rāzī*, *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen Afdeeling Letterkunde*, Deel 53, Serie A, Nr. 1, Amsterdam, 1922), but the work attacked in the first chapter must be another, exceedingly heretical work of ar-Rāzī. Dr. Paul Kraus is of opinion that the book in question is *Makhāriju'l-Anbiā* of ar-Rāzī. For the whole question I refer the reader to the paper prepared by Dr. Kraus.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 367.

<sup>3</sup> ZDMG. lxix, p. 86.

which are all bound together by a law called *mīzān*. A large part of the work is devoted to this philosophy of nature and the origin of man through the co-operation of natural forces.

## VII

In the history of the development of the Ismā'ili doctrine and literature, the Persians have played the most important rôle. Nasafī, Sijistānī, Rāzī, Kirmānī were all Persians. In the reign of al-Mustansir billāh there appeared two intellectual giants from Persia, whose works give us a fair insight into the literary, religious, and political activities of the Da'wat in those days. One of them is Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, whose personality and works have been described in detail by such scholars as Fagnan,<sup>1</sup> Ethé,<sup>2</sup> Browne,<sup>3</sup> and M. Ghānī Zādah.<sup>4</sup> It is strange that the works of Nāṣir-i-Khusraw are neither preserved nor mentioned by the Da'wat of the Yemen. I conjecture that the reason for this may be the fact that Nāṣir-i-Khusraw's writings were all in Persian and were meant to be read by the Persian-speaking world, hence they might not have entered Egypt. Even if they did, the Yemenite Arabs, out of indifference towards Persian, might not have cared just to store these works which they did not understand. Fortunately the works of Nāṣir-i-Khusraw were preserved in Persia, and his remarkable personality has been brought to light by the researches of modern scholars. We will, therefore, pass over to the other great Persian, viz. Abū Naṣr Hibatullah b. Abī 'Imrān Mūsā b. Dā'ūd al-Mu'ayyad fi'd-dīn ash-Shīrāzī (died in A.H. 470 = A.D. 1078), the *Bābu'l-Abwāb* of the Imām al-Mustansir billāh, whose correspondence with the great poet, Abu'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī on the subject of

<sup>1</sup> *ZDMG.* xxxiv (1880), pp. 643-674, and *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. vii, vol. xiii (1879), pp. 164-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Orientalistes à Leiden* (1886), vol. ii, pp. 169-237.

<sup>3</sup> *Literary Hist. of Persia*, ii, pp. 218-246.

<sup>4</sup> Introduction to *Safar Nameh Ḥakīm Nāṣir-i-Khusraw*, ed. Berlin, A.H. 1341.

vegetarianism, was published for the first time in Europe from a MS. preserved in Oxford by Professor D. S. Margoliouth.<sup>1</sup> The versatility of his accomplishments and knowledge and the vastness of his activities entitle him to a place which has hitherto not been given to him on account of the secrecy and mystery with which the literature of the Da'wat is shrouded. Al-Mu'ayyad was at once a traveller, an organizer, a leader of men, a critic, an author of great literary power, and a poet of no mean ability. Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, who resembles al-Mu'ayyad in more than one way, is said to have mentioned the latter as his teacher and paid a high tribute to him.<sup>2</sup> But, unlike Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, his works were written in Arabic, as we find from his preserved works, with the single exception of *Buniād-i-ta'wīl*,<sup>3</sup> which is the Persian translation of the Qādī an-Nū'mān's *Asāsu't-Ta'wīl*.<sup>4</sup> I will not repeat here what I have already said about al-Mu'ayyad's autobiography (*Sīrat*), his eight-hundred "séances" in eight volumes (*al-Majālis*) and his *Dīwān* in the paper<sup>5</sup> which I read at the Eighteenth International Congress of Orientalists held at Leiden, Holland.<sup>6</sup> Suffice it to say that these works will enable us not only to ascertain the position which al-Mu'ayyad rightly deserves in Islamic literature, but also to get a glimpse into the history of the Fātimid Da'wat in Egypt, Persia, and Arabia. I have already observed that al-Mu'ayyad was in direct communication with the representatives of the Da'wat of the Yemen, particularly with the Qādī Lamak b. Mālik, the head of the Da'wat under the Ṣulaihids. I suppose

<sup>1</sup> *JRAS.* 1902, pp. 289-332.

<sup>2</sup> *Dīwān-i-Qaṣā'id wa Muqaffā'at-i-Hakim Nāṣir-i-Khusraw*, ed. Tehran 1304-7, pp. 176 and 313.

<sup>3</sup> This is the only Persian work in the collection. Al-Mu'ayyad might have brought it with him to Egypt and Lamak may have taken it to the Yemen.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 370.

<sup>5</sup> The full text of the paper is published in *JRAS.*, January, 1932, pp. 126 seq.

<sup>6</sup> *Actes du XVIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Leiden, 1932, p. 221.

it was al-Mu'aiyad and Lamak who were principally responsible for the transmission of the works of the Fātimid Da'wat to the Yemen.

### VIII

The process of transferring the books of the Da'wat to the Yemen had begun already in the time of al-Mustansir through al-Mu'aiyad and Lamak. On the death of al-Āmir, Queen Saiyidah the Ṣulaihid separated the functions of the Da'wat from those of the State, and appointed the Dā'i Dhu'aib b. Mūsā as the first Absolute Dā'i (الداعي المطلق) to carry on the Da'wat on behalf of the concealed Imām, and to have the custody of the literature of the Ismā'ili Fātimid Da'wat. This was what I call the Period of Transition for the Da'wat. One of the principal works of this period is *al-Majālisu'l-Mustansiriya* by the Armenian Badru'l-Jamāli, the Grand Wazīr, and the Bāb of the Imām. It is a collection of lectures given by Badr particularly on subjects dealing with Ismā'ili speculations on the numbers "seven" and "twelve". The work marks a definite stage in the tradition of recording *Majālis* or lectures; the first preserved works are the Qādī an-Nu'mān's *al-Majālis wa'l-Musāyarāt* and al-Mu'aiyad's *Majālis*. To this period also belong the sixty lectures of Abu'l-Barakāt b. Bishr, the Bāb of Al-Āmir, known as *Majālisu'l-Hikmat*. Sharif Haidarah, the poet, was deputed by al-Āmir to the Yemen as his ambassador at the court of Queen Saiyidah the Ṣulaihid. None of his works is preserved, except fragments of his poems by the Dā'i Idrīs 'Imādu'd-dīn in his history '*Uyūnu'l-Akhbār*.<sup>1</sup> Al-Khattāb b. al-Hasan al-Hamdāni is another great Yemeni poet<sup>2</sup> and author of this period, whose *Dīwān*, a treatise on the metaphysical speculations about the soul and a Risālah, entitled *Munīratu'l-Baṣā'ir*, is preserved.

<sup>1</sup> Fols. 99a-101a.

<sup>2</sup> Leiden Catalogus codicum Arabicorum, ii, 1, p. 233, Paris, Bibl. Nat. No. 3329 (ancien fonds 14, 4).

Al-Khattāb supported the cause of the Fātimids in the Yemen, and he was one of the great helpers of the Sulaihid hierarchy under Queen Arwā. I hope to deal with his life and works in my projected history of the Sulaihids, for which I am gathering the necessary materials. After this period of transition, a considerable amount of literature has been written and preserved in the Da'wat of the Yemen till to-day, which also I hope to treat elsewhere. In conclusion, however, I repeat the appeal made by Louis Massignon to the learned world to take an increasing scientific interest in the study of this hitherto unknown literature, which would advance our knowledge of Islamic sciences.

## Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan. VI : The Tibetan Army

A. General Description ; B. Documents (1, Services, departments and divisions ; 2, Provisions, rations, pay ; 3, Armature ; 4, Grades and commissions ; 5, Military instructions ; 6, Incidents ; 7, Personalia ; 8, List of Regiments)

BY F. W. THOMAS

### A. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

UNDER the rule of Buddhist ecclesiastics, fostered originally by foreign (Mongol) suzerains, Tibet has not been a military power. Probably no religion is more potent than Buddhism in damping the fighting spirit ; of which development Mongolia itself has in modern times afforded a signal example. The Tibetan people, though in some districts rough and turbulent, is not warlike : the brigand tribes of the north-east belong to a region which, since the overthrow (A.D. 1226) of the Tangut kingdom by Cingiz Khan, has been largely Mongolized, as even the geographical nomenclature proves, and which in native Tibetan times must have presented a quite different aspect. The Tibetan armies, when such are required, consist mainly of levies from the great monasteries ; the creation of a small standing army in the most recent period has encountered prejudice.

In the regnal age of the *Btsan-pos*, when Tibet carried on during a hundred years and more a war, on the whole successful, with the great Chinese empire, when it annexed Chinese Turkestan and dominated states in the Pamir regions, fought with the Turks and Uigurs of the Tien-shan and Altai regions and even with the Arabs in Transoxiana,<sup>1</sup> a different spirit must have existed in the country and far heavier demands must have been made upon the (then larger) population. That forgotten era of Dukes

<sup>1</sup> Barthold, *Turkestan*, ed. 2, pp. 200, 202.

and Barons and great commanders comes to light in the Lha-sa treaty edicts, published by Colonel Waddell<sup>1</sup>; and the Chinese notices extracted long before by Dr. Bushell<sup>2</sup> had represented the Tibetans as not merely rude, but also warlike; while a fragmentary chronicle affords evidence of an incessant military activity during a period of about seventy-six years (c. A.D. 672-747). But it is from a literary description that we have obtained the first substantial conception of the extent and organization of the armies.

On several occasions we have adverted to the fact that the Tibetan military system was territorial; for which reason the word for regiment (*sde*) has also the sense of administrative "district". But the passage in question has shown that the whole kingdom was demarcated into a definite number of military areas, superimposed upon old tribal divisions, and that the regiments were named after those areas. The huge statistical totals<sup>3</sup> show that practically the whole male population of military age was liable, as was natural in a rude civilization, to be called up for service. The country was partitioned into four "horns" (*ru*) or "brigades", each of which consisted of an Upper and Lower "brigade-division" (*ru-lag*) with an army-commander (*dmag-pon*) and a second-in-command (*sgab*). We do not in that passage hear of lower ranks; but there is mention of the divisional "records" or "secretariat" (*yig-tshains*, also in Chronicle, I. 77) and "record-keeper" (*yig-tshains-pa*) and of the selected colours of their ink; also of the divisional banner (*dar*, "silk") and ensign, and the characteristic fighting spirit of each division. Another passage affords a glimpse of a Tibetan army on the march; and a third describes a composite army, including auxiliaries, present on the occasion of a great battle with

<sup>1</sup> *JRAS.*, 1909-1911.

<sup>2</sup> *JRAS.*, 1880, pp. 435-541.

<sup>3</sup> 2,860,000 men: another passage speaks of an army of a "hundred myriads". The Chinese state that Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po threatened Szechuan with an army of 200,000 men (Bushell, p. 444).

the Chinese. The regimental commanders would seem to have been tribal chiefs or territorial barons.

Forts do not appear in these accounts; but, no doubt, they existed and were similar to the existing *rdzon's*, known (often as "jongs") from modern descriptions, or to the forts of feudal Europe. We have mention of frontier toll-stations (*so-kha* or *sva-kha*); and the Chinese speak of high towers in the interior at intervals of 20 miles. The "smoke-fires", which the Chinese state (Bushell, p. 441) to have been lighted when the country was invaded, seem to be mentioned in the Chronicle (ll. 8, 57) under the designation *zugs-loñ(n)*, "fire-tidings [corps]".

In Chinese Turkestan the Tibetan armies have left evidence of their occupation in the shape of ruined mud forts, built, no doubt, and occupied by them. From two of these, excavated by Sir Aurel Stein, come most of the documents, the great majority inscribed on wooden slips, with which we have been dealing. The information which they afford is therefore for the most part incidental to administrative business; and naturally it includes many particulars relating to actual military life. Though scrappy and allusive (the wooden documents being in many cases mere labels or passes or lists or bills or name-cards) and seldom consecutively decipherable in the faded, erased, broken, palimpsest, and misspelled records, the information may be pieced together in such a way as to convey a modicum of definite, and indeed of vivid, fact, appertaining to a very obscure period.

Concerning the structure and arrangement of the forts themselves it suffices to refer to the full and precise descriptions given by Sir Aurel Stein in connection with his excavations.<sup>1</sup> They dominated the areas under their observation, whether these were administered by the native rulers or were actually governed from the fort. But, beside these strongholds, we have much evidence of occupation of commanding positions, "heights" (*rtse*), on a smaller scale;

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 430-4; *Serindia*, pp. 456 sqq., 1284 sqq.

and no doubt there were numerous stations on the lines of communication with north-eastern Tibet (Mdo), the Tibetan capital, and so forth. Such positions would be under the control of the larger establishments and would depend upon these for supplies of men and provisions : which relation explains the very numerous wooden tablets from Mazār-Tāgh which record only the names of such places and amounts of wheat, barley, etc.

As the Tibetan armies lived upon the countries in their occupation, there was requisitioning of grain and other provisions and much correspondence in connection therewith. There were arrears and changes of assessment, assignments to individuals, arithmetical adjustments, threats of forcible pressure upon defaulters and so forth. A form of record especially common, as it seems, at Mirān points to another feature in the system. These contain particulars of lands, teams (*dor*) of yaks (?), and cultivators ; and they would record the supply of yaks from the military headquarters for the tillage with a view to a stipulated portion of the produce. In modern Tibet also yaks are customarily hired, not owned, by the peasants.

With a view to clarity, however, it should be pointed out that much of the business transacted in the forts, at least in Mirān, was not of a military character. It includes civil administration of various kinds, carried on by officials having civil titles, such as *nah-rje-po* " minister of internal affairs ", councillors (*blon*) of various ranks, heads of Thousand-districts (*stoñ-dpon*), and so forth. As we know from the Lha-sa treaty inscriptions (for instance), the Tibetan government was organized in departments, and these will have been fully aware of their mutual limitations. What were their interrelations in Chinese Turkestan is matter for inference. Upon a survey of the exiguous evidences we may conclude (always with restriction to the several periods represented by the documents) as follows :—(1) Where the countries were left under their native rulers, the contributions of grain,

etc., required for the Tibetan armies would be levied by those rulers and furnished to the Tibetan officials in bulk. A Ša-cu document has illustrated this operation ; the Tibetan officials are apparently civilians, while there is in the region a military commander who may, in an ultimate resort to force, be called in. In Khotan also we hear of the presence of a general, without, however, being able to ascertain whether he was ordinarily commandant of the fort of Šin-šan (Mazār-Tāgh) : it seems most likely that the commandant of the fort would be a different person, of lower rank. The supplies of Khotan were furnished to Šin-šan upon a census ; whether the control was in that instance purely military or with a civil admixture (as the mention of a *nañ-rje-po* suggests) is not clear. (2) In the case of the Nob region the circumstances would seem to have been different. Certainly there was a general commander who had the region under his survey ; this was the Tshal-byi general, to whom we have a number of references. But the several districts and towns in this area had their civilian administrators, who bore for the most part Tibetan names. And we have documents regulating in detail the cultivation of the lands. Accordingly it is to be concluded that in this region the whole administration had been taken over by the Tibetans (on the lines of "British India") ; and we may connect with this the statement in the Chronicle (l. 190) to the effect that in the year A.D. 727 the Tibetan king went to the Ha-ža country to take over the government (*chab-srid-la*). There would be garrisons in the fort or forts and also town-garrisons (*mkar-tsho*, p. 394), available, under what regulations we can hardly expect to know, for the support of the civil administrators.

In view of these conditions we may, so far as the Tibetan army is concerned, dispense with any consideration of levies and supplies and general administration. Turning to strictly military matters, we must recognize, first, that we have actually but little evidence of different departments in the Tibetan army. No classification analogous to the Indian

description of the "four-membered" army, consisting of elephants, chariots, cavalry, and infantry, or of feudatories, mercenaries, guild levies, and wild tribes, is here apparent. One passage refers to a "commandant of horse" (*rta-dpon*) and a "commandant of camels" (*dñi-dbon*), in the Ha-ža kingdom; and a "commandant of riding horses" ([*m*]chibs-[*d*]pon) is mentioned both in a document and also in the Chronicle (l. 152), which speaks further of "four regiments of horse" (*chibs-sde-bži*, l. 218) and of a "troop of horse" (*chibs-kyi-cha*, l. 164). But there is little to dispel the impression that, in general, riders and footmen belonged to the same regiment (*sde*): in view of the abundance of ponies in Tibet and the great distances which had to be traversed it is likely that the Tibetan armies consisted largely of mounted men. In one passage, however, we have a description of a marching army with horsemen in the van, archers and "dagger-armed soothsayers" (probably the *phur-myi* of M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0089; a. v, 0015; b. i, 0095; c. iii, 0043) in the middle, and mail-clad spearmen bringing up the rear.

The most abundant and important information contained in the documents consists in the names of regiments (*sde*). Their number is large, and with the aid of a literary statement it is possible to make a definite discrimination between those locally raised and those which belonged to Tibet proper. It is indeed highly interesting to read on the wooden or paper fragments from Chinese Turkestan the names of battalions which otherwise would be entirely unknown,<sup>1</sup> were they not also recorded in a literary text, itself previously unexamined by scholars outside Tibet. A historical deduction also is suggested. In the Mīrān documents the regiments named are almost exclusively such as were connected with the adjacent districts, those of Rgod, Nag-śod, Hdzom, and

<sup>1</sup> Several of the names are cited, but as names of "provinces" and without identifications, on p. 46 of Dr. A. H. Francke's "Notes on Sir Aurel Stein's Collection of Tibetan documents from Chinese Turkestan", *JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 37-59 = *Serindia*, pp. 1460-6.

Kha-dro, while at Mazār-Tāgh we have mention of many belonging to Tibet proper. This supports the conclusion that the Nob region, an earlier acquisition, was under peaceful local control, whereas in Khotan, a less accessible and more recently conquered kingdom, Tibetan armed forces were required. History is involved also in the mention of foreign-raised regiments, such as the Yarkand regiment and the "Good Hor (Turk)" regiment. In the appended list the units of the two classes are distinguished in detail.

Here also we should revert to the question of the *Sluṇs*. That *Sluṇs* was a tribal designation is, as we have seen, certain (1927, p. 820). In connection with soldiers the *Sluṇs* are not infrequently mentioned, but in such a way as to imply a distinction; and once or twice we read of persons or things being "handed over to the *Sluṇs*" (*Sluṇs-la-btaṇ, infra*, p. 544). It is to be inferred that the offices discharged were those of police, camp-servants, camp-followers, etc., and that the *Sluṇs* were a people who had established an aptitude for such work.

Some particularity is involved, no doubt, in the expressions *spun-dmag* (M.I. xxx, 8), "brother-army", and *mun-dmag* (M.I. iv, 66 and 132, Chronicle, ll. 6, 51-2), which have a probably accidental assonance. The designation *dgyes-sde* (*infra*, p. 554) can hardly, as we have already noted, contain the word *dgyes*, "rejoicing", more especially as it recurs in the place-name *Stag-sras-dgyes-kyi-rtse* "Tiger-son-dgyes-peak". It may have denoted some *corps d'élite*. An interesting feature is the existence of a separate ambulance corps, *Mñald-pahi-sde* (from *mñel* or *gnel*, "be sick") or *Mñal-hphan-gyi-sde* ("Fatigue-benefit corps").<sup>1</sup> That such was the purpose of the corps appears from the fact that it included a functionary designated "middle-rope" (*thag-bar*, M.T. a. ii, 0078; a. iv, 00122; b. i, 0075; c. iii, 0024): a frequently recurring (M.T. a. iii, 0016; v, 0015; b. i, 0059;

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, pp. 558, 562.

b. ii, 0017; c. i, 0053, etc.) expression is *ri-zug*, which can only be rendered "mountain-sick".

In connection with organization we may here refer also to a few other terms. The sense of augmenting or reinforcing is conveyed by the verb *snon-pa* (M.T. i, 23, 0523; a. iii, 0034; b. i, 0059), from which come *bsnan* "sent as reinforcement" (M.T. b. i, 0059), *brnans-tsho* "reinforcements" (M.T. a. iv, 0022), and the frequently (Khad., 032; M.T. 0522; i, 0015; c. iii, 005) occurring *rtiñ(gtiñ)-non* "rear-guard (reserve?) man". The general term for a body of soldiers seems to be *tsho*, whence *mkhar-tsho* (M.T. a. ii, 0076) "town-garrison" and *so-tsho* (M.T. a. iv, 0011; v, 007) "soldiery". A "troop" of cavalry is *cha* (M.I. iv, 66; M.T. 0485). A small body detached for a special purpose is *tshugs* (M.T. 0524; a. iv, 00121; c. ii, 0042); a *dpuñ* is a larger force, perhaps of indefinite size (since we have the expression *ce-dpuñ* (M.I. xvi, 0013) "large force"—but note *dpuñ-dpon* "commander of a *dpuñ*")—while an army is *dmag*.

The fort, *sku-mkhar* (or *skun-khar*), is properly "citadel": we have also (M.T. a. iv, 0022) *dgra-zun* "guard-house". The watch-tower, *mthon-khyab* (M.I., xlivi, 002; lviii, 001, etc.) might either belong to a fort or have a separate existence. In the field a Tibetan army was known for its black tents (1931, p. 828): a day-time encampment was a *ñin-ra* (*infra*, pp. 545, 549); at night it would perhaps be a *mtshan-ra*. A watch (eighth part of the 24-hour day) is *thun*, while *mel(myel)-tshe*, "watch" or "sentinel" (= *mel-tsue-pa*) is perhaps more technical (*infra*, p. 546). "Provisions" is *brgyags* (*Liber*  
*brgyags*, "Khotan goods or provisions", p. 399 and ref.).

In regard to services and ranks we note first the general term for service as a soldier, *so*: the individual soldier is *so* or *so-pa* and often (perhaps if an officer or if marked out as a "brave") also *stag* "tiger", a term which is also an element in many proper names. For levying a force from a population and also for appointing to any office the regular verb is *sko-ba* (M.T. a. iv, 00128; c. iv, 0039, etc.; Chronicle,

ll. 58-9, 62, etc.): the man "joins the soldiery or service" (*so-la-sdu-ba*, M.T. 0515; c. ii, 006).<sup>1</sup> When excused on ground of health or for other reason, he may have a substitute *skyin-pa* (or debtor, M.T. a. v, 0015); and bodies of men in forts or other employment may (like assessment lists, etc.) be changed (*spo-ba*) or relieved. He receives rations (*tshal-ma*, M.T. b. ii, 001, etc.), generally of wheat or barley, and no doubt drink (*skyems*), for which he has a cup (*skyems-rdzehu*); sometimes meat also, and wages (*gla*). When sent out on a journey, he is authorized perhaps to levy his rations *en route*. For the soldier, as for the civilian, default of travel clothes (*rad-gos*) is a hardship; and some letters, perhaps from higher ranks, refer to thick overcoats. Some means of punishment for misconduct is termed *ri-zu* (Khad., 052): cowardice in face of an enemy is, naturally, punishable by death (*infra*, p. 551); to desert or run away is *hbro-ba*.

Coming now to the matter of armament and weapons, we find mention of the *sgyogs* "catapult", perhaps a sort of war-engine such as the ancient Indians had in their *sataghnis* and so forth. Scales of leather armour have been recovered by Sir Aurel Stein (*Ancient Khotan*, i, p. 252, n. 9), and the documents speak of the *ya-lad* "helm-and-corslet" (in one piece?)<sup>2</sup> and of a *Rgya-khrab* "Chinese buckler or coat of mail" (*infra*, p. 540). We have also found the *zub-chen* (*zub-can*), "coat of mail," and the *rkañ-bkris* "foot (leg)-wrapping", i.e. puttee. Among weapons of offence we have, of course, the sword (*ral-gri*), spear (*mdun*), and dagger (*phur*); but no doubt the bow (*gzu*) and arrow (*mdah*, sometimes a "poisoned reed-shaft") were the most usual, for which reason a list reproduced *supra* consists almost exclusively of archers (*hphoñs*) and their supports (*dgon*, M.T. b. ii, 0044; M.I., vii,

<sup>1</sup> Note *phyi-mahi-so* (a. i, 0012) and *so-slad-ma* (a. iii, 0050) "later" or "subsequent" service; also *khor-dag* (p. 398 and M.T., 001) "leave".

<sup>2</sup> According to the Chinese (Bushell, *J.R.A.S.*, 1880, p. 442) "The [Tibetan] armour and helmet are very strong and cover the whole body, with holes for the eyes only".

88a). In one passage (*infra*, pp. 538-9) we have apparently an outfit for a *dgon*, consisting of breast-plate, two knives, scissors (?), bow, arrow, sling, pouch for arrow and knife.

The numerous terms denoting ranks or special functions are partly expressions of unmistakable meaning and partly prefixes which, not being recognizable as clan or other surnames, seem from their occurrence to have official application. Of the former kind are<sup>1</sup>—

*dmag-dpon*, "army commander" or "general" (M.I. i, 23; vii, 46; xxi, 5, 9; M.T., 0503, 0515, a. v, 0017, etc.);

*ru-dpon*, "horn (or wing) commander," probably either on a major or on a minor scale (M.I., xxviii, 0028; xli, 0013; xlivi, 002);

*dpuñ-dpon*, "commander of a corps, troop" (or perhaps of any considerable body of men: M.I., xxiii, 009; M.T., 0050; a. ii, 00101; b. i, 0093);

*tshugs-dpon*, "commander of a squad or small party of men (most often, four)" (M.I., xiv, 129, 135; xxviii, 0021; M.T. a. ii, 0043; 0096; a. iii, 0076; 0013, etc.);

*hog-dpon*, "subordinate commander," second to the *tshugs-dpon* (M.I., xiv, 002, 0070, 124, 127; M.T. a. ii, 0011; a. iii, 0013, etc.);

*mchibs-dpon*, "commander of riding horses (cavalry?)" (M.I., xlvi, 006; Chronicle, l. 152);

*byan-po*, "cook," who, with his *byan-g-yog*, "cook's mate," (or "servant"), is frequently mentioned in connection with a *tshugs* or a regiment;

*dar-(m)tshan*, "silk(banner)-man," or standard-bearer (Ch. 73, xv, 10);

*yig-tshañs-pa*, "record-keeper" (*supra*, p. 380).

To the second group belong—

*gyab* (M.I., ii, 32; vii, 16; xiv, 37);

or *gab* (M.I., xxi, 9);

<sup>1</sup> Several of these are noted (but *ru-dpon* as "master of a clan") by Dr. A. H. Francke, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

- bag-r̄nu* (M.I., xiv, 125; M.T. a. v, 008);  
*bag-(r)ñu-sñva* (M.I., xiv, 0012, 0062);  
*ce-r̄nu* (M.I., iv, 16a; xiv, 46; xxiii, 009; xxvii, 9);  
*ron-r̄nu* (M.T. c. iv, 0036);  
*bag-ra* (M.I., xxvii, 4; lviii, 001);  
*dbrad* (M.T., 0345, 0439; b. i, 0097);  
 or *sbrad* (M.T., 0050);  
*glan-sum* (M.T., 0503; *glan-myi* (M.T. a. ii, 0096);  
*gyer-lo* (M.T. a. ii, 0096) or *gyerd* (M.T. a. vi, 0020);  
*go-nan* (M.I., xiv, 007, 0029, 0057, 47, 58a);  
 or *ko-nan* (M.I., xiv, 0059; M.T. a. ii, 0031; iv, 0037);  
 or *kho-nam* (M.T., 0193; c. iv, 0027; M.I., ix, 10);  
*hjor* (M.T., 0262, *infra*, p. 567);  
*lo-nan* (M.T. a. iv, 0088; b. i, 0095);  
*ho-nal* (M.I., i, 6; ii, 25, 27; vi, 6; xiv, 58a; xxvii, 11;  
 M.T. a. iv, 0074);  
*ra-sañs* (M.T., 0515; a. i, 0031; ii, 003, 0096; iv, 00159);  
*°rje* (M. Tāgh 0515);  
*ru-ña* (M.I., vii, 9, 33; xiv, 0012), *°cuñ* (M.T. c. ii, 006);  
*se* or *šeuh* (M.T., 0332; a. iii, 004; c. i, 007; ii, 0016);  
*gšen* (M.T., 0151, 0266; a. iii, 0026; c. iv, 0041);  
*sña-śur* (M.T. a. ii, 0070; iv, 0012; b. i, 0095; b. ii, 0042;  
 c. i, 0013, 0061; c. ii, 006);  
*sñe-lo* (M.T. c. i, 0031);  
*sro* (M.I., xiv, 41; M.T., 0239; b. i, 0095; c. iii, 0048);  
*stom-k(g)yañ* (M.I., iv, 85; M.T. a. iv, 00128);  
*su-tu* (M.T., 0492).

The *gyab* or *gab* may perhaps be the *sgab* whom we have found mentioned as second to the army(or battalion)-commander. In the group *bag-r̄nu*, *bag-(r)ñu-sñva*, *ce-r̄nu*, *ron-r̄nu*, the syllables *bag* and *ce* may mean respectively "little" and "big", while *ron* might represent *rom-po*, "big," "massive," "deep" (of sound): hence it is possible that *r̄nu* is an old form of *rñha* "drum", so that the persons in question would be drummers, while the *bag-r̄nu-sñva*, who is once styled "left-hand" (*g-yon*), implying a "right-hand"

*confrère*, may be a drummer officer. *Bag-ra* might mean "small enclosure" or "precaution enclosure"; but *ra* can also mean "first". On the analogy of *chen-ched*, *sman-smad*, etc., *gṣen* (Bon-po Gṣen ?) might be = *gṣed* "executioner". Concerning the remaining expressions conjecture seems idle. It is possible that some of them are not military, e.g. *ra-saṅs* (which with *ra-saṅs-rje*, "ra-saṅs chief," occurs in the Chronicle, ll. 19, 22), and *gyer-lo*, which may be = *sger-pa*, "a private landholder" (*sger-lo* "private").

It seems that when a man was appointed to a special function he received a "hand-memorandum" (*sug-rjed*) or commission (M.I., iv, 40; vii, 33; M.T., 0193; b. ii, 001, *infra*, pp. 541-2, 564). In M.I., iv, 40; M.T. a. ii, 0048; a. iv, 0074 we have *so-rjed*.

Of peace-time operations the most important were the summer and winter assemblages (*hdun* or *hdun-tsa*, *supra*, 1930, p. 71) of ministers and generals, constantly recorded in the Tibetan Chronicle. They were often preceded by levying of troops from particular populations or followed by official measures or warlike action. Their military aspect is represented by the reviews, *rkañ-ton*, which may be *rkañ-ston* "exhibition of bundles" (but *rkañ* also = "foot"), and in part by the *rtsis-mgo* "census", which, however, would have mainly a civil bearing: see *ib.*, pp. 81-2. More staple duties were, of course, the garrisoning of the forts and towns (the citadel of Khotan, *ib.*, p. 65) and the building, maintaining and supplying of out-stations, as shown in numerous documents from Mazār-Tāgh. On one occasion we hear (at Mirān, M.I., xxiv, 0031) of soldiers being sent to protect the peasants engaged upon the harvest. A preoccupation which appears rather plentifully in the documents is that of communications. We do not, indeed, hear of the towers at distance of about 20 miles or the arrangements for smoke-signalling. But we have examples of missives dispatched by various authorities, sometimes with insistence upon prompt forwarding, "day-time or night-time," and denunciation of

penalties in the event of straying or delay. There are circular communications (sometimes from parties in distress), to be acted upon or passed forward; and, similarly, parcels are sent on from stage to stage. The wooden tablet, *byaṇ* or *byaṇ-bu*, when conveyed by the soldier, is *so-byaṇ* (M.I., xiv, 005, 0019, 126, 134; M.T. a. iv, 00131; c. 0028), while a "soldier pass" seems to be *so-hphar-ma* (M.T. b. ii, 0052; c. iii, 0034). When it is a matter of relays (*so-res*, M.T. a. ii, 0017, 0054, 0064; a. v, 0015; b. i, 0019, 0051, 0097; or *so-rims*, M.T. c. 0028), the *so-byaṇ* becomes *so-res-byaṇ*, sometimes *so-ris-byaṇ* (M.T. a. ii, 0017). For the longer and more important communications the folded paper letter (*hdrul-ba*) may have been preferred: or the soldier may have a verbal or secret message.<sup>1</sup> When dispatched on secret service the soldier is *so-ñul* (M.I., xiv, 0012; M.T. 0257, 0380; a. iii, 0039; v, 0015): in one instance (M.T. a. iv, 005), where the expression is *so-rdzu-ñul* (also in M. Tāgh 0439), "soldier-disguise-secret," a party has been absent for nearly a year and has covered a great distance. If the word *spa-sa* (M.T. a. iii, 0067; b. ii, 0028) means "spy", it is a borrowing from the Prakrit of an earlier period, since it occurs in the Kharoṣṭī documents (*spasa*, Index).

An art of war is naturally professed among all peoples. The Tibetans, during their long and intense struggle with China (not to mention other powers), must have developed conceptions of strategy and tactics. In the Lha-sa inscriptions the general Klu-khoṇ is versed in the "expedients of the war-god" (*dgra-lha-thabs*, *JRAS.*, 1910; p. 1277). The battles recorded year by year in the Tibetan Chronicle and the great victories (*g-yul-zlog-chen-po*) mentioned in a text

<sup>1</sup> As suggested by Sir Aurel Stein in a note on p. 53 of Dr. A. H. Francke's above-cited paper (*JRAS.*, 1914). It should be mentioned that Dr. Francke takes *hdrul-ba* as = *hgrul-ba*, "the runner," which, however, should be *hdrul-ba-po*. The sense of "post-runner" would indeed suit those passages where we seem to have the phrase *hdrul-ba-la-rmas-pa*, "inquired of the runner": possibly "the post" is sometimes an equivalent of "the postman".

concerning the wars with China, the Drug, and the Hsia, must have educated the Tibetan warriors and caused them to appreciate, as in a passage cited above, the various fighting qualities of different populations. In the Turkestan documents, however, there are no references to important military events (*dgra-thabs* "fighting" or "army", M.I., xxvii, 13; M.T., 0273; a. iv, 0011; c. ii, 0042): the incidents brought to light are nothing more than a man-capturing (*myi-hdzin*, M.I., iv, 66; xxiii, 009) expedition into the Dru-gu country, a hostile raid upon the town of Ka-dag, a Kirghiz attack upon an official party in Kan-su. But we have one or two fragments of tactical instructions, addressed to parties sent out on hostile errands or where an encounter with an enemy might be apprehended.

Naturally there are divers personalia mentioned in the documents, purchases, loans, legal agreements, punishments, complaints of failure of rations, appeals for interviews, friendly gossip, deaths. Along with most of the topics discussed above such matters have appeared incidentally in the previous articles. We may now prefix to the list of regiments some further *pièces justificatives* in relation to these as well as to the more general subjects. It is probable that to the populations of the cities and kingdoms in Chinese Turkestan, with their relatively old civilizations, the Tibetan invaders appeared rude even in comparison with their earlier conquerors, the Hiung-nu, Ephthalites, and Turks. It was not a century since the Tibetans had made the first advances out of their original barbarism, and the nobles had taken to Chinese silk in place of their native homespun. There was, no doubt, as has been suggested, some malice in the parable which made the Tibetan soldiers to be reincarnations of cattle. In the forts Sir Aurel Stein has exhumed a still active redolence (*Serindia*, pp. 459-60). The devastations of Buddhist shrines in the first Tibetan invasions of Khotan are lamented in the *Prophecy of Vimalaprabhā*. But Asiatic barbarians who

have lived in the vicinity of great civilized empires such as that of China are not obtuse or innocent or unreceptive of civilized arts. They take quickly to literary and other culture and develope the formalities and graces of society. The encampments of the Hiung-nu, the Ephthalites, and the Turks are described by Chinese visitors as exhibiting much splendour<sup>1</sup>; and the same was certainly the case with the Tibetan courts. At a somewhat later time (?) a passage which we have quoted is eloquent on the prosperity of the kingdom, the "rule of virtue and goodness", the "state-law of five divisions", "justice with its five procedures", safe frontiers, foreign conquests, "god's law, man's law both flourishing and prosperous". In Chinese Turkestan writing appears to have been in very general use among the military, as well as the civil, classes of Tibetans; and in both cases the epistolary correspondence is characterized by politenesses of expression and action<sup>2</sup>: these matters, however, being not specially military, may be exemplified in another connection.

## B. DOCUMENTS

### 1. Services, Departments, and Divisions

1. M. Tagh. c. iii, 0022 (wood, c. 15·5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ཡ || thag . bar . Mes . tshab<sup>3</sup> . gyi . so . la | byan .  
Slu[n]s. [A 2] sma<sup>4</sup> . pahi (for smra . bahi ?) . hbañs .  
Rya . sdug . skyes . bzag . [B] bah (bar ?) . gsol ||

"To the 'mid-rope' soldier Mes-tshab: petition for handing over (*bzag*) a subject (servant, slave ?) Rya-sdug-skyes, stated to be a northern Sluñs."

<sup>1</sup> In regard to the last two see Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, i, pp. xci-ii, *Life of Hiuan-Tsang*, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> See Francke, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-1.

<sup>3</sup> s here crossed out.

<sup>4</sup> d here crossed out.

<sup>5</sup> hpan here crossed out.

*Notes*

The doubt as to the readings (*smra-bahi* and *bzag-bar*) renders the translation uncertain: it is possible that Rya-sdug-skyes is the writer of the letter. On *Sluñs* see p. 385.

2. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0011 (wood, c. 23.5 × 2-2.5 cm., complete, somewhat curved; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] | : | mgyogs . bži . phrugs . geig . so . htshor . stsa[ld].pa.chab.srid.gyi.yan.lag.la.gces.te. [2] mchid. luñ.dgra.thabs.hog.du.stsald.pa.lags.kyis.d[e.b]zin. lcogs.par.htshol.la.gñer.khum.sig |

"Four couriers in one day sent to the company of soldiers. Written orders of importance to the members of the administration having been sent after the battle, show all possible zeal in accordance therewith and carry them out."

*Notes*

On *so-tshor* and *gñer-khum* see p. 386 and 1927, p. 810.

l. 1, *phrugs*: a period of 24 hours.

*chab-srid* = "government"; *yan-lag* = Sanskrit *aṅga*, "subordinate member."

l. 2, *dgra-thabs* seems here and elsewhere (*supra*, p. 392) to mean "battle". Or is it "down to the army"?

3. M. Tāgh. a. iii, 0034 (wood, c. 10-10.5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] | : | dpyid.sla.hbrin.po.hi.no.la | [A 2] mkhar.htsho.gsar.du.snan.pahi. | [B] bsdom |

"On the first of the middle spring month decided (or appointed?) to reinforce the town garrison afresh."

On *mkhar-htsho* (also in a. ii, 0076) see pp. 383, 386.

4. M. Tāgh., i, 0015 (wood, c. 10.5-11 × 2 cm., pointed at l., somewhat broken away at top and bottom; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] chu.hdus.kyi.rtsan.hgram. [A 2] na.Nam.ru.pag.gi.gtin | [B] non.kyi.so.pah

"Nam-ru-pag rearguard (reserve?) soldier in River-confluence-bank."

*Notes*

On *chu-hdus-kyi-rtsaṅ-hgram* and the Nam-ru-pag regiment see 1930, p. 275. On *gtiṅ-non* (= *rtiṅ-snon*) see p. 386.

5. M. Tāgh., 0522 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., pointed at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] | : | Nam . ru . pag . stsi<sup>1</sup> . rtiṅ . non . gi . Šo .  
[2] rtsaṅ . hg[r]am . gyi . so . pa |

"Nam-ru-pag rearguard soldier at Šo river-bank."

On Šo see 1930, p. 275 (where note error).

6. M.I., xiv, 005 (wood, c. 12·5 × 1·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 (a different hand) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] || Sbal . pa . ri . hi . so . bži . tsu[g]s . gchig  
[A 2] hbrugi . lohi . dbyar . zla . h [brin (?)] . pohi (?) . tshes :  
[B] dru[g ?] . la . brdzañs . pahi . so . byañ

"Soldier ticket of four soldiers of Sbal-pa-ri, one squad, sent on the sixth day of the middle summer month of the Dragon year."

On *tshugs* see *supra*, pp. 386, 388. M.I., viii, 75; xiv, 0019, 126 are similar.

7. M.I., xxvii, 13 (wood, c. 9·5 × 1·1·5 cm., cut away at top and bottom; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 (a different hand) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] | : | Sbal . pa . rihi . so<sup>2</sup> . snon . du . Na . rton .  
dgun . [z]la . [A 2] hbrin . po[hi] . tshes . bchu . g[sum ?] | la .  
[gth]añ . bahi

[B] dgra . thabs . d[añ ?]d[e ?] . . . —s su . bg[y]ih |

"Na-rton having been sent on the thirteenth day of the middle winter month to reinforce the soldiery of Sbal-pa-ri, he is [to take part in] the fighting."

<sup>1</sup> *stsi* crossed out.

<sup>2</sup> Below line.

*Notes*

The place Sbal-pa-ri (Sbal-pa mountain), which is common to the two documents, is not otherwise known: it would belong to the Mīrān region. On *dgra-thabs* see pp. 392, 394.

8. M. Tāgh. 0581 (wood, c. 10.5 × 1.5 cm., cut away to a point at l. and r.; l. 1 (+ lower part of another) *recto* + 1 (+ upper part of another) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . : -u.[t] | -u.-y- | [A 2] [s]a.l[ñ]a : la : so.  
bs[k]os . . .

[B] . . . [s]o.bs[k]os | paḥ | chu (?) [ga]m (?).

“ Soldier called up.”

*So-bskos*: See p. 386.

9. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0014 (wood, c. 21.5 × 1-1.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ♀ : | jo : co : Btsan : ba : la | Stag bžiho : h<sup>1</sup>tshugs : po : gi : mchid : gsol : ba : Li : ri [2] zug : pa : tshes : bcu : ci : gi : nub : mo | bros : de : so : kha : ral : du : lus : śiñ : mchis

“ To the great lord (*or* lord Btsan-ba): letter-petition of Stag-Bžiho, sergeant. A Khotanī mountain-sick man having on the evening of the tenth deserted, the station (*so-kha*) is left insufficiently manned (*or* the soldiers (*so*) are left deficient (*kha-ral-du*)).”

*Bros*, from *hbro-ba*, is the regular term for desertion or running away: on this and on *so-kha*, see *supra*, pp. 381, 387.

10. M.I. xiv, 118b (wood, c. 16 × 1.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

♀ | . | so.babs (?).rkya (rgya ?).ñi.śu.rtsa.bdun.mchis.

“ Soldiers come in one hundred (?) and twenty-seven.”

If *babs* is here correctly read, the term (“come in”), which recurs below (p. 541) and in M.T. a. ii, 0054, explains the (several) documents containing only, on the same or different sides, the words *bab* and *thar*, signifying “come in” and

<sup>1</sup> *h* crossed out.

"released"; but they might be records of imprisonment. Dr. A. H. Francke, who has referred (*op. cit.*, p. 49) to such documents, has suggested a different explanation.

11. M.I. iv, 66 (wood, c. 11 × 2.5 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint).

- [A 1] . . . spuñ.sde.myi.hdzin.cha.cig.gtañ.chad (bar?)
- [A 2] . . . [s].mñam.du.mchi.ba[r?].ža[n.l]on
- [B 1] . . . žes.dgos.che[s].pa.1 . . .
- [B 2] . . . [h?].[m]un.mag.smad.du.h[ž.s?] . . .

" . . . force regiment, one man-capturing troop ordered to be (?) sent . . . to go with . . . Uncle Councillor . . . highly necessary . . . the *mun-army* . . . below . . ."

On *myi-hdzin-cha* "man-capturing company" and *mun-dmag* see *supra*, p. 385, and 1931, p. 810.

12. M.I. xxvi, 1 (wood, c. 16 × 2 cm., broken away at l. and r. and somewhat rotten; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

- [A 1] . . . [my]i.gsol.su.la.gsol . . . [A 2] . . . chis. || dbus.pa.ru.yañ.lag.pah.khrom.[m] . . . [B 1] . . . Nob. [che]d.po.na.mchis.pah | Rgod.g-yu..[gyi?] . . pañ sna (?) . . . [B 2] . . . [pha]b.la.[stsol].cig.bar.bkah.[gy] . . .

Too fragmentary for continuous translation, the document speaks of a person belonging to a "brigade-division" (*ru-yan(n)-lag-pa*) of the "Central area" (*dbus*) as being come into Great Nob. On the phrase "if request . . ." see p. 400; on *ru-lag* p. 380 (*ru-yan-lag*, M.I. xxx, 8).

13. M. Tāgh. b. i, 0019 (wood, c. 12 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

- [A 1] ♀ | brgyah : la . [b]dag . khor : žag : du : [A 2] gnañ . [ste?] . stag : brtsan . Gyer . bu : chuñ : [B 1] gis : ston : sla : ra : bahi : bdagi : so : res : bgyis [B 2] te : bdag : gi[s] : Gyer : bu : chuñ : gi : so : res [B 3] [b]gyis : [na] : ruñ : ñam . m[y]i . ruñ : cha : sp[r]iñ :

"I having been granted leave (*khor-żag*) on account of a dispute, Stag-brtsan Gyer-bu-chuṇ discharged my soldier-relay duty for the first autumn month. Is it proper or not proper for me to discharge Gyer-bu-chuṇ's soldier-relay duty? Send word."

On *so-res* see p. 391; on *brgyah-la* see 1930, p. 70.

14. M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0017 (wood, c. 12 × 1·5–2 cm., broken away at l.; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] . . . s. || bdag.lta.ñan.pas.rño.thogs. [B] . . . kho.la.so.ris.byañ.myi.hba.na.tsheg.gchig [1].

"A humble person like me [*not being*] able, . . . if he has no soldier-relay ticket, it is a difficulty."

On *so-ris-byañ* see p. 391.

15. M. Tāgh. c. ii, 001 (wood, c. 16 × 2 cm., complete, stained; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] 𩫑 || žañ : Stag.bžer : | la | skyin : Tshi : kruṇ : gyi : gslo<sup>1</sup> [A 2] ba : žal : . . . kah : g[stsa]l : [ba] : [n]i : | sug : [B 1] rgyas : btab : ste : Li : la : bskur : žin : mchis |

"To Uncle Stag-bžer: Petition of substitute Tshi-kruṇ. Orders regarding dispute (?) have been sent, signature attached, to Khotan."

On *skyin* "substitute" see *supra*, p. 387. M.I. xiv, 0037, seems to speak of "four soldier substitutes" (*so-skyin-bzì*).

16. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0038 (wood, c. 13 × 2–2·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, somewhat faint and obscured by dirt).

[A 1] 𩫑 | : | dbyar.sla.hbriñ.pho | tshes.bco.brgyad [A 2] la | so.ñul | [Stag.rtsa]n.po.Khyehu.[c]juñ | slar [B] mchiste. | gñer.hgum.la.

"Middle summer month, day eighteen. Soldier-spy Stag-brtsan Khyehu-cuṇ returned, with task performed."

On *so-ñul* and *gñer-hgum* see p. 391 and 1927, p. 810.

17. M. Tāgh. b. ii, 0028 (wood, c. 18 × 2 × .75 cm.,

<sup>1</sup> Compendious for *gsol*.

cut away for a tally ; incised lines *recto* ; ll. 1 (on side) + 2 (*recto*) + 1 (on side) of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] | : | lo.sar.gi.bag.pye.dan.chān (*space*) [s]-s.de. |  
 [B 1] . cha[d]. te . s̄ha . slad . sdoms . te . chad . pa (*space*)  
 chān (*space*) bag . pye

[B 2] . khram.[stsa ?]. bur.bgos.te (*kram*). bu.yāñ.

[C] . yañ(r ?). spah.sa.de.la.stsald. |

" Barley-meal of the new year and beer. . . . It having been decided, earlier and later, to pay it, it has been paid. Beer : barley-meal, separated in the ticket ; a ticket has also (*or again and again*) been sent up to that *spah-sa*."

The translation is in part uncertain. On *spah-sa* (*spa-sa*) see *supra*, p. 391.

18. M.I. vii, 49 (wood, c. 11.5 × 2 cm., broken away at l. ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . m.myi.m[no]rl (?) . dpon.sna.la.myi.skyin.  
 [A 2] . . . [ms].mchi[s].h[b]rel.mo.skyes.la.geig. [B 1]  
 . . . ya[n ?].[med].na || bran.mo.[mañ].rtse.rjes [B 2] . . .  
 phral.du.gtad.[par].htshol.cig ||

" To . . . the chief in command : [*many*] men substitutes have come. There being for the males not a single female companion, the ruler-in-chief is begged to send at once many serving-women."

The defective text allows of some dubiety in regard to this military communication.

## 2. *Provisions, Rations, Pay*

19. M. Tagh. c. iii, 0030 (wood, c. 9.5 × 1-1.5 × 1 cm., burned away at r. ; " neck " for string at l. ; ll. 1 + 1 + 1 + 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] | : | jo : co : Btsan : bahi (bih ?) : rmañ : s[tsi ?] . . .  
 [B] Li : ri : zug : chahi : brgyags : . . .  
 [C] las : phah : tsa : blañs : s[t]e . . .  
 [D 1] so : la : byon : [s]na : kyab : . . .  
 [D 2] no : de : las : thugs . . .

"A camel (horse ?)-man (*rmañ-rdzi* ?) of the chief, Btsan-ba, having received a package from . . . Khotan mountain-sickness company provisions, is come to the soldiery . . ."

*Pha-tsa* (in various spellings) "a package" recurs several times (M. Tāgh. 0245, a. i, 0011, etc.). On *Li-ri-zug-chahi-brgyags* see 1930, pp. 73, 94. In M. Tāgh. 0440 occurs *so-pa-hi-brgyag[s]*, "soldier-provisions."

20. M. Tāgh. a. v, 001 (wood, c. 7 × 2·5–3 cm., broken away at l. and r.; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . [g]sol.na.su.la.gsol . . . [A 2] . . . ñand. manchis.te || rad.pa.dbyer.cha . . . [A 3] . . . Dbyild. cuñ.tse.khrom.du | su . . . [B 1] . . . | htshal.ba.las || bad (rad ?) . . . [B 2] . . . [n ?]. | so.glas.stsold.cig . . . [B 3] . . . po.chir mdzad ||

"If request not made [to] . . . to whom should request be made? [We] humble persons, travellers, a (*dbyer* ?) company . . . having desired (been sent ?) to Dbyild-cuñ-tse . . . be so good (as to order) the soldiers' wages (*so-gla*) to be sent."

On the phrase "if request . . . be made" and on Dbyild-cuñ-tse see *supra*, p. 397, and 1930, p. 253. *gla*, p. 387.

21. M. Tāgh. c. iii, 0036 (wood, c. 22·5 × 2·2·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ֎ || Khri.mñes(ol ?) gy[is ?]: glañ.śa.lhu.cig.zos. bahi.myi | rnams | myiñ.smrar.bris.pa | Stag [A 2] Btshan.ra | Khyi.hbrñ | Śa[g].Hphan hbrñ | Stag.bž[r]je | Skyes.legs [B] Myes.tsab | Ma[n].rtsan.myi.hdi.rnams.la | pul.bu.bži.bži | hjal.ba.lags.

"Written by Khri-mñes (?), name-record of the men who have eaten pieces of ox-flesh. (*The names follow.*) To these men have been paid four small handfuls each."

For references to *htshal-ma* "rations" see *supra*, p. 387, and 1930, p. 89.

## MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

### THE MEANING OF בָּנְךִי IN PSALM 22, v. 17

The word בָּנְךִי in Psalm 22, v. 17, is regarded as difficult. The ancient versions seem to have taken this word as a verb meaning "they dug", or "they bound"; see commentaries. The A.V. translates v. 17c: "they pierced my hands and my feet." Some modern commentators follow the Septuagint and the Vulgate and read בָּנְךִי and take the word as a verb meaning "they dug", i.e. "they dug in wounds"—in my hands and my feet—(Baethgen, Briggs, Kittel, König). Gunkel seems to favour the reading of בָּנְךִי (*Die Psalmen*, p. 96) and translates "'umschlossen' (?)" (p. 89). Barnes, *The Psalms* (in *Westminster Commentaries*, 1931), p. 114, says: "The Massoretic Hebrew Text has 'Like a lion my hands and my feet'. This reading contains no verb, makes no sense, and cannot be right". Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 110.

Rashi, Ibn-Ezra, and Kimhi follow the Massoretic Text and take בָּנְךִי to mean "like a lion". Symmachus agrees with the MT: ὡς λέων; see Barnes, *op. cit.*, p. 115, and Gesenius, H.W., ed. 1921, p. 331.

The following considerations may perhaps help us arrive at a definite conclusion as to the meaning of the word בָּנְךִי in Psalm 22, v. 17.

1. "Digging," "digging in," "wounding" is not mentioned in any other verse in Psalm 22.

2. Real wounding is not mentioned in the whole Book of Psalms. The enemies "compass about" the Psalmist (Psalm 17, v. 9). "They devised to take away my life" (Psalm 31, v. 14). They "seek after my soul", they "devise my hurt" (Psalm 35, v. 4). "The wicked have drawn out the sword, and have bent their bow, to cast

down the poor and needy, to slay such as be upright in the way" (Psalm 37, v. 14). "The wicked watcheth the righteous, and seeketh to slay him" (Psalm 37, v. 32). "They also that seek after my life lay snares for me, and they that seek my hurt speak mischievous things, and imagine deceits all the day long" (Psalm 38, v. 13). Cf. also Psalm 56, vv. 2, 3, 6, 7; Psalm 57, v. 5. שָׁאַף in Psalm 56, vv. 2, 3, and Psalm 57, v. 4, means "to pant after", not "to crush"; see Gunkel, op. cit., p. 243. "Would swallow me up" (A.V.) expresses the sense of שָׁאַפְנִי very well. The enemies long to destroy the Psalmist, but they do not do so. Cf. also Psalm 56, v. 6b ("all their *thoughts* are against me for evil").

Their "teeth are spears and arrows" (Psalm 57, v. 5c), but they do not actually bite; "their tongue a sharp sword" (Psalm 57, v. 5d), but they do not, in fact, wound. Psalm 140, vv. 2-6, expresses perhaps best what the Psalmist desires to convey with regard to his enemies. They "devise evil things in their heart". They "have purposed to make my steps slip". "They have hid a snare for me, and cords." But they have not actually made him fall. The enemies are ready to do him harm, but, in fact, do not do him any harm. They are prepared to strike the blow, but the blow never falls. And, indeed, is not God holding his protecting hand over the Psalmist? Cf. also Psalm 7, vv. 3, 4-6. In Psalm 10, vv. 8-10, "the poor" (עֲנָנוּ) is not the Psalmist.

3. In Psalm 22, v. 13, the enemies are called פָּרִים and אֲבִירִי בָשָׂן, and, in spite of this, they are also spoken of as אֲרִיה טֹרֶף וַיְשָׁאֵג (v. 14). Note also the singular, אֲרִיה (v. 14). Following the plural, פָּרִים פְּדָם. Cf. also Psalm 17, vv. 9-11 (plural) and v. 12 (singular: וּכְכָבֵד יִשְׁבֵן בְּמִסְתָּרִים). In the same way the enemies are called in Psalm 22, v. 17a, b, עֲדָה מְרֻעִים and כְּלָבִים, and in v. 17c they are spoken of as "like a lion". The singular follows the plural as in v. 14b and as in Psalm 17, v. 12.

The argument that "the figure of lion and bulls has been

left for that of ignoble dogs" (Briggs, *Psalms*, p. 204), therefore, falls away.

4. The form נָאֵר is supposed to offer a difficulty. Briggs, *Psalms*, p. 204, says: "but נָאֵר is not elsewhere in the Psalms, only אֲרַיְתָּה as v. 14." I suggest that נָאֵר is used here for the sake of the symmetry of the sounds. V. 17 is full of .. sounds: בַּי סִבְבוֹנִי כָּלְבִּים עֲדַת מְרֻעִים דְּקִיפּוֹנִי.

אֲרַיְתָּה would disturb the harmony of the sounds. אֲרַיְתָּה increases this harmony. And for this reason the form אֲרַיְתָּה was chosen. In Isaiah, ch. 38, v. 13, where בְּאֲרַיְתָּה occurs, there are also several .. sounds: שְׁוִיתִי — תְּשִׁלְמֶנִי.

These considerations seem to show conclusively that the Massoretic reading בְּאֲרַיְתָּה is correct and that the word means "like a lion", and nothing else.

בְּאֲרַיְתָּה is a short sentence. These three words receive their full meaning from the verbs דְּקִיפּוֹנִי and סִבְבוֹנִי in v. 17a, b. The enemies have encompassed the Psalmist and enclosed him like a lion—his hands and his feet. That is, they have encompassed and enclosed his hands and his feet, so that he cannot move. בַּי means here "yea", not "for". The translation of Psalm 22, v. 17, would then be: "Yea, dogs have encompassed me, an assembly of evil-doers have enclosed me, like a lion—my hands and my feet." Gesenius, H.W. (1921, p. 331), registers בְּאֲרַיְתָּה as a verb and adds "wenn wirklich existierend". I think we can safely say now that the verb בְּאֲרַיְתָּה does not exist.

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#### A SHORT NOTE ON THE SWAT RELIC VASE INSCRIPTION

This inscription comes from the N.W.F. Province.<sup>1</sup> The actual find-spot of this epigraph is not recorded.<sup>1</sup> It was first brought to notice in 1914 by Professor F. W. Thomas, who

<sup>1</sup> *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal.*, x.s., vol. xx, No. 1, p. 23.

published the text and translation.<sup>1</sup> Later on, in 1915, Dr. Vogel studied this inscription and only commented on the meanings of some letters.<sup>2</sup> In 1916 Dr. F. W. Thomas again studied this epigraph.<sup>3</sup> In *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, Dr. Sten Konow has given a reading which is the latest so far as this inscription is concerned.<sup>4</sup> The object of this short note is to propose a reading somewhat different from that suggested by Dr. Sten Konow for reasons given below.

The reading of Dr. F. W. Thomas is as follows :—

*Ime śarire śakamunisa bhagavato bahu-jati-shṭitiye Theüdorena meridarkhena pratiṣṭhavida.*<sup>1</sup>

The reading of Dr. Sten Konow runs as follows :—

*Theüdorena meridarkhena pratiṣṭhavid(r)a ime śarira śakamunisa bhag(r)avato bahujaṇastitiye.*<sup>4</sup>

I have very carefully examined the photographic representation of this inscription and wish to accept the reading of Dr. Sten Konow except the word "Theüdorena", which I read as "Theüdatena". In the first place I wish to discuss why I prefer the letter "da" to "do" in the word "Theüdorena" as read by Dr. Sten Konow. Referring to this letter, Dr. Sten Konow writes down, "In the third akshara an o-stroke has been added at the bottom."<sup>4</sup> But this alleged stroke, in my opinion, does not exist at all. Thus this letter is nothing but simply "da". If we compare this letter with the "da" of "meridarkhena", the only other "da" apparent in this epigraph, we shall conclude that the two letters are morphologically similar and consequently the letter in question is "da" and not "do". My second point, that is to say, my preference of the word "te" to "re", depends upon the following considerations. Regarding the morphological distinction between "ta"

<sup>1</sup> *Fest. E. Windisch.*, p. 362 ff., and plate.

<sup>2</sup> *Jour. Punjab His. Soc.*, vol. III, No. 2, pp. 151-2.

<sup>3</sup> *JRAS.* 1916, p. 280.

<sup>4</sup> *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, pp. 1-4, and pl. 1, No. 1.

and "ra" Bühler rightly observes, "Ta, 20, ist fast stets kleiner und breiter als ra, 31, und meist sind seine beiden Linien von gleicher Länge oder die abwärts gerichtete ist kürzer."<sup>1</sup> If anybody compares this alleged "re" with the forms of "ra" apparent in this epigraph on the line suggested by Bühler, he will come to the conclusion that this letter should be taken as "te" and not as "re". The Greek equivalent of this Prākṛta form, i.e. Theüdata, is most probably Theodotos and not Theodoros as maintained by Dr. Sten Konow; and in support of this assumption we have the constant phonetic change of Greek *T* into Prākṛta "ta" in the Prākṛta legends of the bilingual coins of the Indo-Bactrian kings Pantaleon, Eukratides, Antialkidas, Apollodotos, Strato, Artemidoros, Antimachus, Hippostratos, Amyntas and Telephos.<sup>2</sup>

CALCUTTA, INDIA.

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CHĀRU CHANDRA DĀSA GUPTA.

[NOTE.—*Do* and *re* still seem to me certain.—F. W. T.]

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### THE ZĀN-ZŪN LANGUAGE

On p. 505 of the *JRAS.* for 1926 is printed (with one or two misprints) an extract from a text in an "unknown" language, contained in a MS. roll brought by Sir Aurel Stein from the hidden library of Ch'ien-fo-tung, near Tun-huang in Chinese Kan-su. In publishing the extract I hazarded the suggestion that the language of the text, which clearly belonged to the Tibeto-Burman family, might be an old form of Lepcha; and I tendered an explanation of the manner in which a MS. from so remote a source might have found its way into Central Asia.

The character of the text, as a medical work, was in part

<sup>1</sup> *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Cat. Coins Punjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. I. By R. B. Whitehead, pl. II, 35; pl. III, 108, 170; pl. IV, 236; pl. V, 355; pl. VII, 551, 557; pl. VIII, 606, 636, 640.

inferred from its paragraphic arrangement in comparison with some fragments of medical writings in a known language, the Tibetan, which had been procured from the same source. But the inference, in itself far from conclusive, was reinforced by the conjectured meaning of some paragraph openings, such as *myig-dog-nveho* "eye-disease" (the last word occurring similarly in many openings) and by the mention of several expressions (such as *'e-ru-ra*, *śin-gun*, *star-ga*), which might be recognized as medicaments, Indian or Tibetan. A further examination confirms this impression. Thus there are paragraphs dealing with *rma*, with *rhim*, with *tshad*, and with *svi*, which are probably equivalents for the Tibetan *rma* "wound", *tshad-pa* "fever", *rims* "plague", and Sanskrit *śvitra* "leprosy". It seems likely that *rabs-this = prameha* (with *rabs* = Tibetan *rab*, used as equivalent of the Sanskrit *pra*) ; while *lig-bu-mig* is clearly nothing but the Tibetan expression for "malachite" ; also *lyam-tsha* may very likely be Tibetan *lan-tshva* "salt". The text (in Tibetan writing) is perhaps a translation from Tibetan.

Continuing the process of etymological identifications and making use of other Tibeto-Burman languages, we might hope ultimately to arrive at a fair comprehension of the whole text. But undoubtedly the road is beset with pitfalls due to the characteristics of monosyllabic languages, in which (i) the single monosyllables usually have each a variety of meanings, (ii) the differences of vocabulary are on a wholesale scale ; moreover, many of the innocent-looking syllables are in some of the languages inflected forms. Further, it is probable that the text contains some translated names of plants and drugs which may defy identification.

After taking note of these cautions we may, I think, record the following observations :—

(1) The sentences usually end with the assertive *-o*, as in Tibetan ; thus we have *lodo* ("is" or "says", "is said" ?) and *śido* ("dies" or "is" ? : Kanāwari, etc., *śid*).

(2) There is a syllable *tog*, which is perhaps participial

and derived from *to* + *ga* (or *ge*) ; cf. the forms of the verb *to—*, “be”, in Kanāwari.

(3) There is also a syllable *tad*, occurring in such phrases as *rims-tad-de*, *tsse-tade*, and in apparently negative phrases such as *se-tad-min* (“unknowable”?), *tsis-tad-min* (“uncountable” or Sk. *asādhya* “untreatable”? Cf. Tibetan *rtsi* “count” or “medicine”). The antithesis makes it probable that the *de* corresponds to the Tibetan participial *de*, *te*, *ste*; and the *tad* is perhaps *ta* + *de*. Cf. Lahuli *gi ilī tada* “I have to go”. In *nam-tog-dad-de* the *tad* joins with the *tog* to yield a complex verb-form.

(4) There is a syllable *ga* (found also in other Tibeto-Burman dialects), serving apparently, like Tibetan *gyi*, to form genitive or adjectival phrases; e.g. *rab-this-ga-nveho* (“the disease *pamehathiss* = “wet”); after vowels this *ga* is probably often reduced to *-g*, forming deceptive monosyllables such as *nveg*, *khvig*.

(5) There is an inflexion, probably instrumental, in *-e*, e.g. in *rme-ge-rmine* (= Tib. *rmahi-smin-pas*, Sk. *vraṇa-vipākena* “by the development of a wound”? , *nve-ge-rmine* Sk. *dosa(vyādhī)-vipākena*?). *Slye* is, accordingly, possibly instrumental of *sli*.

(6) There is an inflexion in *-s*, perhaps instrumental, e.g. in *rivas* and *lyam-tshas* from *rīva* and *lyam-tsha*. An *s* inflexion is also frequent in verb forms, e.g. *khrigso* (cf. Lahuli, Kanāwari, etc.): also *-d*, before particles.

(7) Possibly there is a present participle in *-a*, as in Lahuli; e.g. *bya-bya* “going” (?).

(8) A syllable *ca* is seen in *mar-kul-thum-ca-khyero* “gives (? draws, ? drinks) a spoonful (spoonfuls) of *ghi*” (translation conjectural: Kanāwari *thummu*, Tib. *thums* “spoon”).

(9) Possibly there is a genitive in *-o*, making with vowel endings such forms as *ryo*.

(10) The syllables *nis* and *sum* occur together in such a way as to recall Tibetan *gñis* and *sum* “2” and “3”.

Not to linger over these conjectures, which might be much

extended, we may now advert to the fact that a second, much corrected, text in the same language is contained in a MS. of the Stein collection, now in the British Museum. Some years ago it was made known to me by Mr. G. L. M. Clauson, who furnished me with some extracts, and who has now communicated to me his transcript of the whole. To Dr. L. D. Barnett I am indebted for co-operation in procuring a photograph of the original. Mr. Clauson's transcript is so arranged as to distinguish clearly many of the recurrent phrases and to suggest that some parts of the original may have been in verse. A passage—

*ta-khe-khe-no-gyun-ryuñ-ni*

is repeated at short intervals with *nis*, *mum*, and *pi* in place of *ta*. Since *nis* and *sum* (which we may read in place of *mum*) have already been equated to Tibetan *gñis* "two" and *sum* "three", it is apparent that *ta* = "one" and *pi* = "four"; and this serves at once to direct us to that group of languages which, by B. H. Hodgson and in vol. i of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, is entitled the "Western Pronominalized Group". It will be sufficient to quote—

Kanāwari : 1, *id* ; 2, *nish* ; 3, *shum* ; 4, *pu*

Rangkas : 1, *tākā* ; 2, *nisi* ; 3, *sum* ; 4, *pi*.

Since the series continues :—

Kanāwari : 5, *nga* ; 6, *tug* ; 7, *stish* ; 8, *rai* ; 9, *gui*, *gvi*.

Rangkas : 5, *nai* ; 6, *tuk* ; 7, *nhisi* ; 8, *jyad* ; 9, *gvi*.

It is likely that the *na* (e.g. in *na-yig* by the side of *pi-yig*), *trug* (cf. Tibetan *drug*, etc.), *stes* and *gvi* of the texts are, in some at least of their occurrences, equivalents of 5, 6, 7, and 9. Is *gyad* = 8 (Tib. *brgyad*) ?

The parallelisms in the same passage suggest also the following equivalents :—

*pu* ("fire," Burushaskī *pa*) : *na* ("vitality," Tib. *na*, Sk. *āyuṣ-*) ;

*ti* ("water," Kanāwari, etc.) : *nve* (Sk. Tib. *ñes* (?), Sk. *doṣa*) ;

*khve* ("air," cf. *higwa*, etc., in Nepal dialects) : *nu* ("force," Tib. *nus*, Sk. *bala*) ;  
*zu* ("earth" ?) : *ci* (Tib. *lei* "heavy" (?), Sk. *vīrya*).

The texts contain also many other terms for which etymological equivalents (conjectural) may be found in the Western Pronominalized dialects or in Tibetan : e.g. '*ag*' "mouth", *mar* "oil", *tshars* "dry", *skar* "thirst". Some of the commonest words are, by reason of multiple possibilities, the most puzzling, e.g. *tiñ* "back", "examine" (?), *lañ* "wind", "moist", "blind", etc. (?), *sa* "ten", "pulse", "earth", etc. (?). On the other hand, the numerous reduplications, such as *gluñ-gluñ*, *bya-bya*, *gligs-gligs* are recognizable as gerunds of a type recurring in the linguistic group.

It would be a mere chance if the first of the two texts should be discovered in a known language. It is an insignificant list of ailments with recipes for treatment, and the Tibetan MSS. from Tun-huang include others, which are independent—the class will have been numerous. The British Museum MS. is clearly more ambitious, possibly a text in verse with commentary : a search in the older medical literature (Bower MS., *Bhela-samhitā*, Caraka, Suśruta, Tibetan *Bstan-hgyur*, etc.) under the particular (inferred) topic has not, however, been rewarded by identification. Before editing the two texts (in conjunction with Mr. Clauson) I hope to make a further investigation. A dialect of the "Western Pronominalized" group about 1,000 years older than the others (as known to us) could not fail to be instructive.

Can we put a name to the language, which must have been known to the Tibetans? It appears to resemble Tibetan more than Lepcha; but it certainly must have belonged to the Himalayan region, Western Tibet, Nepal, etc. The only language of this region which is mentioned in Tibetan books is the language of Žañ-žuñ, which is certainly Guge or its vicinity. Hence the language of the two texts should be the Žañ-žuñ language. The positive proof, however, is difficult. All that the Tibetans furnish of the Žañ-žuñ language is some

four or five titles of works existing in Tibetan : as has been remarked by Dr. Laufer,<sup>1</sup> such titles, even where not fictitious, need not represent the same meanings, and in a number of cases they certainly do not. But one Tibetan title, *Gsañ-no-kha-tham* " Secret Mouth-seal ", which in Sanskrit would be something like *Guhya-mukha-mudrana*, has a " Red Žañ-žuñ " equivalent '*U-ya-ag-tham*', wherein we can certainly recognize (along with *tham* " seal ") the 'ag' " mouth " found in the MSS.

It may be remarked that Buddhist civilization most probably reached the Western Himalayan districts long before penetrating to the Lha-sa kingdom : hence translation from the Žañ-žuñ language into Tibetan may be, in general, no fiction, and some terms of Tibetan Buddhism, etc. (e.g. *g-yun-druñ* = *svastika*), may have originated therein. But it does not follow that the reverse translation may not have been historically more frequent.

#### ADDENDUM

As a specimen of *continuous* translation (conjectural) which may lead to identification of the text, the following (perhaps a quotation) may be cited :—

go.mu.ran.min.la.skams.na |  
ño.mu.ran.min.tiñ.gyuñs.nve |  
druñ.mu.ran.min.żas.sphañs.nu |  
rgvil.mu.rane.ci.toñ.tab

" If the head is not right, [in the] hand dried-up vitality ; if the face (or side) is not right, [in the] tail (or end) .. disease ; if the front (breast ?) is not right, the rear lacks strength ; if the stomach (?) is right, energy . . . "

Here we have taken *go*, *ran*, *la*, *skams*, *ño*, *tiñ*, *druñ* as = Tibetan *mgo*, *ran*, *lag*, *skams[-pa]*, *ños*, *rtiñ* (*gtiñ*), *druñ* respectively, with support as regards *go*, *la*, *skams*, *ño* from Kanāwari, etc., vocabularies. *Mu* has been taken as an article : it certainly has also other senses, including perhaps that of an infinitive imperative. *Ran* might be = Kanāwari *ran* " give ".

<sup>1</sup> " Die Bru-ža Sprache," in *T'oung-Pao*, ii, ix (1908), 7.

## FRANÇOIS BERNIER'S "MINUTE"

Anyone interested in the history of Moghul India will feel grateful to Sir Theodore Morison for his discovery and the subsequent publication of the "Minute by M. Bernier upon the Establishment of Trade in India" (*JRAS.*, 1933, pp. 1-21). The following suggestions will, I hope, be accepted as a token of my appreciation.

The Minute mentions a couple of times a Dutchman whose name is rendered as "Monsieur Adriean". This must certainly be Adrican, the name by which the same personage occurs in Bernier's *Voyages* (Amsterdam, 1699), vol. i, p. 170. Here the author gives a vivid account of the Embassy of the Dutch East India Company, which appeared at the Moghul Court to congratulate Aurangzeb on his accession. It was headed by "Monsieur Adrican", whom Bernier praises for his ability. His real name was Dirk van Adricham. He was chief of the Dutch factory at Suratte from 1662 till 1665. The *firman* which he obtained from Aurangzeb is dated the 29th October, 1662. The journal of his Embassy is extant at the Government Record Office at The Hague; as far as I know, it has never been published.

It is perhaps bold to make another suggestion with regard to a language which I do not profess to know. I suspect, however, that in the Portuguese saying *andare attento conas mogolie* ("Minute," p. 21) the last word, whatever its correct form may be, must mean "woman" (cf. Latin *mulieu* and Italian *moglie*). The meaning of the sentence would then be: "Beware of the snares of women," which well agrees with Bernier's subsequent remarks.



## NOTICES OF BOOKS

GLOSSARY OF THE SANSKRIT, TIBETAN, MONGOLIAN, AND CHINESE VERSIONS OF THE DAŚABHŪMIKA-SŪTRA. Compiled by J. RAHDER. (Buddhica, Documents et Travaux pour l'Étude du Bouddhisme publiés sous la direction de J. PRZYLUSKI ; Deuxième Série ; Documents—Tome I). 10½ × 7½, pp. viii + 202 [1], paper covers. Paris : Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1928. Frs. 200.

Dr. Rahder's edition of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* commenced with the "Seventh Stage", which, with introduction, notes, and a translation (from the Chinese) of Vasubandhu's commentary, was published in *Acta Orientalia*, vol. iv (1926), pp. 215–56). As a Doctor-dissertation (Utrecht), printed for J.-B. Istas, of Louvain, the whole text, excepting the *Gāthā* portion, appeared in the same year. Recently, with the collaboration of Shinryu Susa and the aid of the MSS. available in Japan, the *Gāthā* portion has been published in *The Eastern Buddhist* (vol. v, No. 4, July, 1931). The Glossary takes account of the remarkable words in this *Gāthā* portion.

It is now becoming commendably usual with students of Sanskrit Buddhism to be at home also in Tibetan and Chinese. Not content with fulfilling these considerable requirements or with the exertion demanded by the plurality of the Chinese versions of his text, Dr. Rahder was able to utilize also the Mongol and Japanese materials relating to the work. In the present glossary of the Sanskrit original each entry is furnished with references to the texts and citations of the equivalent, or equivalents, in Tibetan, Mongol, and Chinese ; and occasionally there are notes upon readings or other matters. The Sanskrit and Tibetan are in transliteration, the Mongol and Chinese in the original scripts. The labour of compiling such a glossary must have been exacting. It has been designed to facilitate reconstructions of Mahāyāna Sanskrit

texts from Tibetan, Mongol, and Chinese versions; with which object it is to be equipped, as is necessary, with Tibetan and Chinese indexes.

As regards the Tibetan the equivalents are for the most part quite familiar; but in such a combined index it would have been impracticable to arrange for omissions, since under any entry one or other of the three languages might offer some new particular; perhaps also the Mongol expressions deserved to be incorporated entire. Furthermore, the evidence of the Glossary in respect of alternatives is valuable.

Concerning the Mongol (in regard to which Dr. Rahder makes some apologies for insufficiencies in his type-fount) and the Chinese I am not competent to express any opinion. The Tibetan equivalents seem to be accurately given. *Mya-nan* = *aṭavī* (p. 1) is curious, but may be due to a confusion through the occurrence of *kāntāra* in the passages; on p. 43 *sprul (uraga)* is a misprint for *sboyl*.

Scholars should be grateful to Dr. Rahder for the skill and labour devoted to the work, and will congratulate him upon the outcome.

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F. W. THOMAS.

#### LA SCULPTURE INDIENNE ET TIBÉTAINE AU MUSÉE GUIMET.

By J. HACKIN, Conservateur du Musée Guimet. pp. [1] + 24 + 2 blank, pls. 51, paper wrappers. Paris : Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1931.

The fine plates exhibit choice specimens of the very varied collection of Indian works in stone, stucco, metal, and wood which the Musée Guimet owes largely to the exertions or benefactions of MM. Jouveau-Dubreuil, C. T. Loo, Clemenceau, Vignier, Meijer, Bacot, or to the excavations of MM. Foucher, Godard, and Barthoux at Hadda. Mr. Hackin points out that the advance of knowledge since the publication of the first Catalogue of the Museum (1883) and of M. Milloué's *Petit Guide Illustré* permits of more discriminating selection and

more precise identification and evaluation than could be manifested in those works. His own descriptions, with bibliography in each instance, furnish concisely all that is requisite for the archaeological and artistic appreciation of the pieces.

The field of Indian artistic activity represented by the specimens is justly claimed to be a wide one, since it includes Gandhāra, Mathurā, Bengal, Orissa, the Amarāvatī school (chiefly Nāgārjunī-konda), later southern India, Java, and Tibet. There are no serious surprises for those acquainted with the several styles—the art of Hadda is, of course, much more amply illustrated elsewhere. The metal work from Tibet is exceedingly fine; in connection with one reliquary (pl. xlvi) M. Hackin observes that the Tibetan metal-forgers have produced pieces which attest an astonishing mastery in ironwork; the credit may, however, be due to the Nepalese craftsmen, who seem to have from the beginning had this industry in their hands.

The Kharosthī epigraph on No. XI records the name of the donatress, with the usual formula of transference of merit (. . . ya *Aṃtariye dānamuhe. Imena kuśala-mūlena sarva-*  
*satva . . .*). By the use of a capital letter on p. 17 (col. 2), *bCon-Kha-pa*) the meaning of Tsoñ-kha-pa's name, "man of Tsoñ-kha," is disguised.

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F. W. THOMAS.

LES FOUILLES DE HADDA. Par J.-J. BARTHOUX. III, Figures et Figurines, Album Photographique. (Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan.) 15 × 11, pp. 26, pls. 112, paper covers. Paris : Les Éditions G. van Oest, 1930. Fr. 380.

The second volume of this publication, *Les Antiquités bouddhiques de Bāmiyān*, by A. and Y. Godard and J. Hackin, appeared in 1928. The first, which, being a full account of the excavations and their results, demands a much more sustained effort, is still awaited.

There is not much to be said concerning this volume, the extraordinary abundance of the *trouvailles* at Hadda having been realized through Professor Foucher's lecture at the Oxford Congress of Orientalists in 1928. But the publication of the fine photographs places the material at the disposal of students and amateurs. The first twenty-nine plates show heads of Buddha, in many instances both face and profile ; next come Bodhisattvas (30-5), also fifty-one Genii (36-9), scenes and Donors (40-4, 46), very numerous miscellaneous heads (or figures) of barbarians, demons, divinities, monks, Brahmans, young persons, children, and warriors, including many selected as illustrating modes of head-dress (45, 47-50, 52-112). The extraordinary variety of types and the technical skill, rapidity, and versatility of the sculptors in representing varieties of expression does not lose its impressiveness upon further acquaintance : on the contrary, the analogies which can be found to art procedures in other ages and parts of the world multiply under inspection ; and M. Barthoux arrives at the point of declaring (p. 12) that "Hadda may be considered a veritable *carrefour* where all aesthetic conceptions and all known techniques meet". Fundamentally, however, the character of the art remained Hellenistic, a very remarkable fact when we consider that Fa-hien at the commencement of the fifth century found it flourishing, though all relations between the Mediterranean and the East had long been suspended. As concerns dating in general, M. Barthoux does not find any evidence to go upon, except what is furnished by the statements of the Chinese pilgrims.

By reason of M. Barthoux' absence from Europe the descriptions of the plates are summary, and lack particulars of size. M. Barthoux explains the difficult circumstances in which the original photographs were taken.

**CLAVIS CUNEORUM SIVE LEXICON SIGNORUM ASSYRIORUM  
LINGUIS LATINA, BRITANNICA, GERMANICA.** By G.  
HOWARDY  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ , pp. 673 in 7 fascicules. Leipzig :  
Harrasowitz ; London : Humphrey Milford. 1904-1930.

The death of Dr. Howardy has put a sudden end to the completion of the useful work to which he had devoted a large portion of his life. At least one fascicule more was needed to finish it. It is divided into two parts, the first giving a list of the " Ideogrammata praecipua ", that is to say of the chief ideogrammatic values of the Assyrian characters, with their translations wherever known as well as references to their occurrence, while the second part was devoted to the rarer values and their significations. It is the latter part which remains unfinished, the list of signs not going further than the character PI.

The work demanded more time and space than the author had anticipated owing to the large additions which have been made, and are still being made, to our knowledge of the Assyro-Babylonian syllabary, more especially since the war. Part ii, however, has been brought up to the date of its publication, and what this means in the way of compilation can be realized only by the specialist. Terse as it is, he will nevertheless find it indispensable for his work ; the references alone would make it so.

640.

A. H. SAYCE.

**ROYAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE.** Translated into English with a transliteration of the text and a commentary by LEROY WATERMAN. University of Michigan Studies : Vols. XVII (1930), XVIII (1930), XIX (1931). Ann Arbor : University of Michigan Press.

Dr. Harper undertook and completed a most difficult and laborious task in the publication of the texts of the letters in the Quyunjiq collection, and thereby provided the material for numerous theses which are necessarily incomplete.

Professor Waterman, his faithful friend and colleague, has produced in these volumes, which are beautifully printed and carefully edited, the necessary complement to Harper's work. When the fourth volume containing the indices is published this great undertaking will constitute the final authority on the cuneiform text of these letters, for the editor has spent many years in collating the texts and in considering various emendations proposed. There remains room for a difference of opinion in a few readings ; that will always be true of cuneiform texts. But much ballast of conjectural emendation can be dispensed with for ever.

From whatever standpoint these documents are regarded, linguistic, historical, religious, or sociological, they present material of very great importance for Assyrian studies. The pity is that so much is fragmentary, obscure, or of doubtful interpretation that theories may flourish but positive results are few. Professor Waterman has been careful to point out that under present circumstances no translation can pretend to finality even in rendering the sense of very important passages. The same is true of the historical deductions that have been drawn from the letters. A few of the letters may be safely dated, from the names of persons mentioned in them known from historical or otherwise dated inscriptions ; but in a large number of cases the attribution to a particular reign is nothing more than a guess, and students may be warned against reliance on such evidence. As an instance the series of letters addressed to, or mentioning, "the Planter", (*amelu*)*irrišu*, will serve. Round one of these, No. 223, an ingenious theory has been woven, which identifies the "Planter" with a son of Sennacherib, who was a candidate for the throne of Assyria when his father was murdered, as a rival of Esarhaddon. The letter, in fact, relates to a consultation of the gods by omens through the medium of the "exchange-king", *šarru puhi*, who may be, as Ebeling has recently suggested, the mock king of the New Year Festival. This person put questions about certain high Assyrian officials

in Babylonia, presumably as to their trustworthiness, and then advised that certain rebels be proceeded against immediately with military force by the "Planter". There is no evidence to support the theory in this. Such instances might be accumulated.

Professor Waterman's notes are summary, and any specialist could draw up a series of omissions and points that might be treated differently; that would not impair the value of his intense study of these texts and of the references he has collected. We congratulate him and the University of Michigan on the appearance of this important work on which no labour or expense has been spared.

58.

SIDNEY SMITH.

#### GESELLSCHAFTSFORMEN IM ALTBABYLONISCHEN RECHT.

Leipziger rechtswissenschaftliche Studien, Heft 65. By

Dr. iur. WILHELM EILERS.  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$  cm., pp. xi + 72.

Leipzig: Theodor Weicher, 1931. RM. 5.

This is a study of the old Babylonian law and practice concerning partnership, *tappatu*. The material consists of article 98 (?) of the Hammurabi Code, from Poebel's publication, passages in the two school series *ana ittišu* and HAR-ra/hubullu and some fifty documents, which fall into two classes, the one dealing with "partnership money", *kasap tapputim*, the other with leases to a partnership. The author points out that the documents which commence with the Sumerian formula *ku.babbar ku.nam.tab.ba ki* (Creditor's name) (Debtor's name) *šu.ba.an.ti* deal with the formation of a partnership, and the formula is identical with that usual for loans save for the addition of *ku.nam.tab.ba*, "partnership money." He considers that the man or men to whom "partnership money" is advanced, thereafter were possessors of the money till dissolution of partnership, and thinks that where two receive the money they were jointly securities for repayment. In the Hammurabi Code creditor and debtor

share profit and loss, but there is no provision for loss in the documents, and this points to the creditor being immune from responsibility for loss. The date of repayment is occasionally mentioned, and then the period is generally short, but often repayment is to be made "on the day the *ummianu* requires it"; this is due to the purpose of these transactions, namely commercial transactions often involving caravan journeys. The completion of the transaction contemplated is the natural dissolution of the "partnership", which is not, therefore, a *societas* of the more permanent variety known in New Babylonian times. The procedure contemplated on dissolution is stated in the clauses *ummiansunu ippaluma nemelam ša ibbaššu mithariš izuzu*. The author believes that these clauses should be interpreted: "(The debtors) shall settle with the creditor, and (the creditor and the debtors) shall divide the profit which has accrued in equal parts", but is doubtful about the translation of *mithariš* by "in equal parts". He remarks on the absence of the clause relating to the division of profit where only one man receives the money, but cites *Cuneiform Texts*, ii, 22, by Professor Pinches, as an instance of the division of profit (there *himšatu*, in his opinion, has some such meaning) in such a case. In the documents dealing with dissolution of partnership the first procedure is the settlement of accounts, *tazkitum*, "Bereinigung," or, as we should say, "clearance." This is expressed, as in the conditions of the preliminary document of partnership, in two clauses, one dealing with the *apalum* of the *ummianu*, the other with *mithariš zazum* of the *nemelum*; but Dr. Eilers interprets the dissolution clauses differently from the same clauses in the preliminary conditions, for according to him the division clause in dissolution refers to debtors, and the first clause to the payment of capital and share of profit to the creditor. The act of liquidation was nearly always consummated before the sun-god, but the nature of the ceremony is not clear. The interpretation given of the documents shows that practice in the old Babylonian courts

differed from the terms of Hammurabi's enactment, which was more favourable to the debtor.

The leases on partnership, Dr. Eilers believes, follow the same general lines as the money-partnership documents, but followed a different line of development. The clause which distinguishes these leases from ordinary leases reads *awilum mala awilum manahtam ana eglim išakkanuma um eburiq eglam pi šulpišu išaddaduma bilat eglim u manahtašunu ippaluma še'am bašiam mithariš izuzzu*. *manahtam* is translated "Mühewaltung", and referred to actual work in the field, but since one or the other of the partners may not have performed his fair share for practical reasons, *manahtašunu ippalu* is thought to mean "sie werden je die Mehrleistung des anderen gegen die eigene aufrechnen und eine bleibende Differenz mit der Überlassung eines Teiles des Fruchtertrages (oder von Geld ?) an den anderen beseitigen". A special kind of partnership lease occurs where the owner of the field leases the field to himself and another, and accordingly undertakes the duty of a debtor. Eilers characterizes this peculiar proceeding as a "nachgeformtes Rechtsgeschäft".

The appendix contains the relevant passages in the Code and the two school series, and those documents as yet published which are not included in Schorr's *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*. There is a useful and praiseworthy index.

The chief value of this dissertation lies in the clear statement of difficulties of legal interpretation, granted that certain interpretations of words are correct; there is nothing new of linguistic interest. Sometimes, on philological points, there is room to differ; thus the discussion of *ummianu* neglects important passages, and it is by no means necessary to assume that *ummianum* is a loan-word from Sumerian, for the present evidence favours the opposite view, as the author admits in the case of *tamkarum*. The argument about *ina šalam harranim* seems altogether too "spitzfindig"; why the alternative *erebum*, or other expressions denoting return, show that this does not mean "safe return from a journey",

as the words must imply, escapes me. Anyone who so returns is safe, whether he has lost his baggage or not. But the point is of no importance for the argument ; the documents do not contemplate the loss of goods.

Assyriologists owe much to the school at Leipzig for the study of Babylonian law ; but studies of this kind require an understanding not only of language and law but of business and the actual procedure likely to be followed in such a country as Babylonia, such as Professor Koschaker shows. We think that Dr. Eilers must have created undue complication in the texts ; their understanding should not be so difficult. The interpretation might, for instance, be simpler if Dr. Eilers would admit an absolute parallel between the *ummanam apalu* clause in the money partnerships and the *manahtam apalu* clause in the leases, where too rigid an interpretation leads him to see only a partial parallel. To us it seems that both clauses entail the paying off of certain obligations before any division of the results of trading take place—a procedure obligatory even now in contracts to avoid all mistakes. Since Dr. Eilers wrote his dissertation, more of the material from Susa has been published by Father Scheil in the second part of his *Actes Juridiques Susiens*. The most significant document so far as partnership is concerned is No. 273. There a slave-woman shares rights in some ground with a man, perhaps her husband, and borrows some money on that land from the temple of Shamash and a man. The clause in this case reads *kaspam belšu ippal* ; it seems to the present writer impossible that *belšu* here can mean the one creditor, for the temple has an equal right to be repaid. *belšu* (the gender of the pronoun is of no importance in such a case) should mean “her master”, an explanation which would accord with our view that the *apalu* clauses deal with the settlement of obligations arising through or during caravan journeys. The slave-woman repays her master for absence. Traders pay the *ummanu* who kept the accounts.

## A DICTIONARY OF ENGLISH-PALAUNG AND PALAUNG-ENGLISH.

By Mrs. LESLIE MILNE.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ , 1 vol. Part I, pp. x + 383.  
Part II, v + 290. Rangoon: Superintendent, Government  
Printing and Stationery, Burma, 1931. Price, 15 rupees,  
or 22s. 6d.

This is the first dictionary of Palaung, a language spoken in Burma (particularly in some portions of the Shan States) and the adjoining Chinese borderland. At a rough estimate, each of the two parts of which it consists would appear to contain some 5,000 or 6,000 separate paragraphs or entries under catch-words; but as some of these paragraphs are long, and include phrases exemplifying the use of the words illustrated (which adds much to the value of the work), this estimate gives an inadequate idea of the contents of the volume. The dictionary represents in the main the speech of Namhsan, the capital of Tawngpeng, one of the Northern Shan States, where the author spent most of her time; but twenty-eight pages of the first part are devoted to other dialects of the language.

The work begins with a short introduction, and each part contains brief introductory notes, explaining the general scheme of the dictionary and the value and order of the alphabetical symbols used in it. There are also in the first part separate sections for words of relationship and measures of length, circumference, and quantity, which are somewhat highly differentiated and therefore numerous.

From the point of view of lexicography (as well as morphology and syntax) the language is rightly classed with Mon-Khmer. Many of its most commonly used words agree with Mon, and often with one or more of the allied languages (e.g. those for child, blood, hair, hand, foot, bird, hawk, fish, fly, leaf, sun, earth, far, and year). Others, such as the words for thigh, fruit, jungle, and sky, though not traced in Mon, are found in Khmer or one of the other cognate forms of speech. But the vocabulary of Palaung is very mixed. My colleagues, Mr. W. A. Hertz and Dr. H. G. Q. Wales, have

been good enough to examine a number of sections of the dictionary, from the point of view of Burmese and Tai respectively, in order to form some estimate of the proportion of Palaung words that are derived from these sources. From their investigations it would appear that about a quarter or a third of the whole Palaung vocabulary is divided about equally between these two, though a small deduction from this figure must be made for words of Sanskrit or Pali origin that have come in through one or other of them. Tai words are often used in Palaung songs, which fact illustrates the special influence of Shan culture on the Palaungs.

It is noticeable that the Palaung language has often preserved its foreign loan-words in more archaic forms than their modern Burmese and Tai equivalents, a phenomenon which can be found elsewhere (e.g. in many English words of Norman-French origin). Examples from Burmese are *cha-rāng* (*sayin*), "account," and *a-s'āk* (*athet* = *aθet*), "age," which illustrate the well-known Burmese phonetic changes *c* > *s*, *r* > *y*, final *ñ* > *n*, *s* > *θ*, final *k* > *t*, and the concomitant vowel modifications. In the case of Tai, it is particularly interesting to note that a series of Palaung words beginning with *h* followed by *l*, *m*, *n*, or *ng* have counterparts in Siamese similarly spelt, though in the latter language the *h* is now merely a tone indicator. It serves the purpose of giving the following letter a kind of brevet rank by promoting it into the higher (i.e. aspirated) class of consonants. Shan orthography does not make this distinction; but in Palaung it seems that there is a distinct *h* effect. (I suspect that we have here a case of unvoicing, as in Burmese.) Examples of such Palaung words are *hlāī*, "to flow," *hmūn*, "ten thousand," *hnā*, "to be much," *hngāū*, "sad," all of which have Siamese equivalents spelt with initial *h*. This supports a view I have seen expressed somewhere that the Siamese *h* in such cases was originally something more than a mere indication of tone.

In Sir George Scott's recent work, *Burma and Beyond*,

the suggestion is made that Palaung should be classed with Karen and Taunghu. As these are tone languages (which Palaung is not), the idea seems *a priori* improbable, but it might be worth examining from the lexicographical side. Morphologically, Palaung is undoubtedly linked up with the family of speech which includes Mon and Khmer. This is illustrated by its very frequently used prefixes *kar*, *pān-*, and *ra-*; and also by a few cases of the causative *p*, e.g. *yāt*, "to become extinguished," *pyāt*, "to extinguish," *yū*, "to rise up, to wake," *pyū*, "to rouse."

Mrs. Milne has done her work in her characteristically thorough way, and this dictionary is a fitting complement to her *Palaung Grammar* and *Home of an Eastern Clan*. It is pleasing to record that the University of Rangoon has recently conferred on her the honorary degree of Master of Arts, which she has so well earned by the production of these and other works.

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C. O. BLAGDEN.

## MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. NO. 43 :

AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL TOUR IN GEDROSIA. By Sir AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., with an Appendix by Lieut.-Col. R. B. S. SEWELL, I.M.S., and Dr. B. S. GUHA. 13 × 10, pp. 211, ills. 64, pls. 33, plans 13, map 1. Calcutta : Government of India Press, 1931. Price 32s. 6d.

In this memoir are recorded the results of the third of a series of notable archaeological tours made by Sir Aurel Stein during the years 1926–8 on the north-western frontiers of India, which will form landmarks in the history of Indian archaeological discovery, and are a fitting conclusion to his long and brilliant services on the staff of the Archaeological Department.

The discoveries in recent years at Mohenjo-daro and other sites in Sind, and at Harappā and Kotla Nihang in the Panjāb had disclosed the existence in chalcolithic times of a highly developed civilization extending at least over a wide

area in north-western India. The excavations carried out by Mr. H. Hargreaves at Näl (south-east Baluchistān) in 1925, and the exploration by Sir Aurel himself in Waziristān and the Zhōb and Loralai districts (north-east Baluchistān) in the beginning of 1927 had afforded evidence of the extension of a similar culture to the west of the Indian frontier; while Major E. Mockler's limited excavations in 1875-6 at certain sites around Gwādar had indicated the occurrence of remains of chalcolithic age in western Makrān. Affinities noticed between the relics of the "Indus civilization" and of the ancient culture of the Tigris-Euphrates basin, and more particularly his own discoveries in the cold season of 1915-16 of prehistoric and chalcolithic remains in the Helmand basin in Sīstān, incited Sir Aurel to undertake a survey of intermediate areas. We have here set forth the important results of his investigations in Khārān, Jhalāwān, and Makrān as far as the Persian frontier, beyond which political conditions precluded his passing at the time. Since his retirement from the Archaeological Department, Sir Aurel has been able to obtain sanction to pursue his researches farther west; we look forward to the publication in the near future of the results of his explorations in south-east Persia carried out in the cold seasons of 1931-2 and 1932-3.

In the course of his tours in Gedrosia, the results of which are described in this memoir with such admirable clarity and with such abundant and well-produced illustrations and plans, Sir Aurel contrived, by dint of his indefatigable energy and genius for explorative work, to cover in four and a half months a vast extent of difficult country, measuring approximately 300 miles from east to west and 250 from north to south, mostly hilly and desolate and largely waterless and uninhabited. He managed to inspect some 150 sites, to survey 65, and carry out trial excavations at 15 of the most important, when the necessary labour and a supply of drinking water could be obtained. The record shows how amply his exertions were rewarded. Numerous sites, stretching across

to the Persian border, have yielded remains showing affinity with those of the "Indus civilization", indicating one of the main lines of communication between the Indus delta and the west. Further light is likely to be shed upon this communication by Sir Aurel's later explorations in south-east Persia, and by more detailed examination of the chain of sites containing chalcolithic remains stretching from Pandi Wahi in the Larkana district southwards for about 200 miles to near Karachi, reported<sup>1</sup> to have been found in 1930-31. When all this material has been linked up with expert exploration in the Las Bela State, the origin of the wide sanctity attaching in India to the shrine of Hinglaj Mata on the bank of the Hingol River in that State may also be revealed.

The abundant archaeological material recovered pertains to a long succession of periods ranging from historical times back to a very early prehistoric age. Evidence was found of extensive prehistoric settlements, in some cases of prolonged duration, containing a profusion of ceramic remains of great variety, stone and copper implements, beads, terracotta figurines, and other objects, as well as of interesting burial remains. Among sites of special importance may be mentioned those of Suktagen-dor, Shahi-tump, Kulli-damb, Siyah-damb (near Jhau), and Meh-i-damb. The mass of ceramic remains, representing different stages of prehistoric civilization, calls not only for expert examination in respect of fabric, technique, and design, but also for careful comparison with corresponding finds from other sites in India and the East. It will be noticed that Sir Aurel has pointed out that the painted pottery found in the graves of the earliest zones at Susa seems to present an exact parallel to the peculiarities of the funerary pottery recovered from the prehistoric graves at Shahi-tump. It may also be noted perhaps that the more recent explorations along the Khirthar Range on the western frontier of Sind have yielded a type of pale pottery, often

<sup>1</sup> *India in 1930-31*, p. 484.

bearing polychrome designs, closely resembling such ware found by Sir Aurel in Makrān, and possibly also a type found in eastern Irān.<sup>1</sup>

Among the most interesting finds at these ancient sites were quantities of terracotta figurines of humped bulls and of the 'mother-goddess'. The large numbers of humped bulls, the fact that in some cases many were heaped together, and the noticeable uniformity of their type lead Sir Aurel to surmise that it was an object of popular reverence, if not of actual worship; and he points to the analogy of the Indian cult of Śiva's bull. There being little if any indication of such a cult in the oldest Vedic literature, he is led to speculate whether this cult is not an inheritance from much earlier times. In connection with the figurines of the (mother) goddess, recovered in such numbers at Mehī and other sites and previously found by him in Zhōb, he draws attention to the fact that all these figures, wherever the lower portions survive, end below the waist in a flat base, suggesting that they represent a female goddess of fertility, or 'mother-goddess', the cult of which was so widespread in Asia and Europe. "It is certainly curious," he writes, "that we meet with a corresponding representation of the Earth goddess emerging from the ground with the upper portion of the body also in Buddhist and Hellenistic iconography."

The evidence of burial customs found at several sites disclose, as might be expected, much variety—complete and partial burials, cremation with burial of calcined bones in cinerary urns, exposure with subsequent burial of remains, and cairn burials being met with. The two skulls recovered from Shāhī-tump had unfortunately been so compressed and distorted as to preclude a definite pronouncement; but Col. Sewell and Dr. Guha are inclined to think that they had been dolichocephalic, and one of them, while agreeing with the "Nāl skull" in general type, "would appear to show

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 484-5.

traces of mixed origin and in certain respects tends to approximate to the Caspian or Nordic Type of skull."

For the student of history and physical geography a special interest will attach to the cumulative evidence of climatic change contained in this memoir. Taken together, Makrān, Khārān, and Jhalāwān comprise an area of some 62,000 square miles, but the inhabitants number not more than three to the square mile, the trifling rainfall and desertic conditions supporting but a sparse and nomadic population, who pass a precarious existence. On the other hand, the numerous extensive remains undoubtedly indicate the existence in prehistoric times of a large and settled population. Some seventeen mounds in the limited Kolwa basin alone, several large mounds in the neighbourhood of Āwarān, and three big mounds in close proximity near Jhau, all formed of the debris of prehistoric settlements, bear testimony of this. The settlements near Jhau occupied a broad part of the Nāl valley, that "once was arable ground" in Sir Aurel's words, through which lay the most direct route from the west and north to Las Bela. Again, the numerous huge stone embankments for the storage and distribution of water, locally known as *gabrbands*, and the ruins of massive stone dwellings and other buildings found in different areas can surely bear no other interpretation. The consideration of this question will help to realize the great antiquity of these sites, since we know from the Greek accounts of Alexander's march through Gedrosia that upwards of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millennia ago the conditions of that country can have been little less desertic than now; and some of the sites explored by Sir Aurel would seem, after prolonged occupation, to have been abandoned in chalcolithic times.

FESTIVALS AND SONGS OF ANCIENT CHINA. By MARCEL GRANET, Professor at the School of Oriental Languages, Paris.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ , pp. ix + 281. London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1932. 18s.

This is an English translation of the author's *Fêtes et Chansons Anciennes de la Chine*, published in Paris in 1919, translated from the French by E. D. Edwards, D.Litt. It differs from its original by the omission of the Chinese text accompanying the French rendering of the odes annotated and discussed by M. Granet in the first part of the work, and otherwise would have been more highly priced.

M. Granet's book having now been for some thirteen years before the public must be well known to all who interest themselves in Far Eastern subjects. Few will question the competence of the author, and none, surely, deny the value of this careful research into the love songs of the ancient Chinese classic, or of the independent and conscientious spirit that impelled and sustained it. It is, however, only the English version of the *Fêtes et Chansons* that we have to bring to notice at this moment. The contents fall under two heads the Love Songs and the Ancient Festivals. M. Granet selected sixty-six as examples of the first part. These, of course, are not translated for the first time. Dr. Legge and Père Couvreur had previously made an English and a French rendering. But M. Granet's French version, with equal fidelity to the original, displays a gracefulness of expression entirely wanting in Legge's. Take, for instance, the two renderings from the stanzas of "The Peasant", the last of the odes cited by M. Granet, part of the third and the whole of the final verse: (Granet), "Alas, alas, O turtle-dove, Eat not the mulberry fruits. Alas, alas, O gentle girl, With boys take not thy pleasure. When a young man takes his pleasure, He may be excused. But when a girl takes pleasure, There is no excuse."

And then Legge: "Ah, thou dove, Eat not its fruit [to excess]. Ah! thou young lady, Seek no licentious pleasure

with a gentleman. When a gentleman indulges in such pleasure, Something may still be said for him; When a lady does so, Nothing can be said for her." Again the last verse in Granet's English version runs: "Along with thee I would grow old, And, old, thou hast made me suffer . . . Yet the Ch'i has its banks . . . Yet the valley has sides . . . In my girlish head-dress thou didst feast me! . . . Thy voice, thy laugh, they pleased me. Thy vow was clear as the dawn. I did not dream that thou wouldest change . . . I did not dream . . . Now it is finished . . . alas . . ."

While Legge renders the last six lines of the stanza: "In the pleasant time of my girlhood, with my hair simply gathered in a knot, Harmoniously we talked and laughed. Clearly were we sworn to good faith, And I did not think the engagement would be broken. That it would be broken I did not think, And now it must be all over!"

Part ii, on the Ancient Festivals, containing Local Festivals, Facts and Interpretations, The Seasonal Rhythm, The Holy Places, and the Contests, with the Conclusion, is the weightiest part of the book, and here M. Granet expounds how, out of these local festivals, in these holy places, and during these contests, the Love Songs of the Book of Odes had their origin. The conclusion is an original and compelling document. It is, however, stiff reading in parts, and there are passages where the author's meaning seems to escape definite seizure by the reader, and to have undergone as it were a certain volatilization and dispersal among the generalized phraseology in which it is expressed. One reader, at any rate, has found it so at times, but not through any defect of the English translation, which is throughout admirable. But where, by the way, did Mr. Edwards ever see the "Moon nearing the East", p. 72? No more, certainly, in the text of the Ode than in its journey through the sky.

Altogether a notable work, finely rendered into English.

GEOGRAPHY OF EARLY BUDDHISM. By BIMALA CHURN LAW.  
 With a foreword by F. W. Thomas.  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ ,  
 pp. xxi + 88, map 1. London : Kegan Paul, Trench,  
 Trübner and Co., 1932.

In this brochure the writer carries on in a varied direction the useful work of amassing and arranging this or that kind of information on which he has already spent much time and energy. His aim this time is, in his own words, to present a geographical picture of ancient India as far as this can be drawn from the Pali canonical and commentarial literature. He allots his six chapters to the Middle Country, North, West, South, and East India, and to southern Asian Buddhist countries in turn. He reprints as Appendix a note on "Cetiya". And he has added an exhaustive place-index and, very suitably also, a map. Writers who need quick and handy information of this kind, with text-references appended, cannot fail to find the work useful, and so fulfil Dr. Law's modestly expressed aim, on which he has expended so much industry. He has been fortunate in securing an informative preface by Professor Thomas, who sketches what has been done in this line of Indological research, what is here done, and what remains to be done. I may go so far, in respect of the last clause, as to say that the *Pali Names Dictionary*, to which he alludes, is now within some months of completion, the compiler being Dr. G. P. Malalasekera, author of *Pali Literature in Ceylon*.

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C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

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IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE BUDDHA. Being a translation of René Grousset's *Sur Les Traces du Bouddha* (1929). By MARIETTE LÉON. pp. xi + 352. London : George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1932. Price 15s.

Two of the works of M. Grousset's indefatigable activity have recently been reviewed in this *Journal* from the original : his *Histoire de l'Extrême Orient* of 1929, and his *Philosophies*

*Indiennes* of 1931 ; but I cannot find that in its native tongue this work has been noticed. It is the more fortunate that, to all seeming (I have not the original by me), so excellent a translator has been found. The book might have been written in English, so accomplished a mistress of our tongue is she. We miss any sign of awareness on the part of the author, that she has greatly widened his circle of readers. He has travelled greatly in and among much of what he describes in India and Further India, but he remains, save for the briefest and rarest references, absorbed in the work of French archaeologists. The gain is ours, for we, unless we be experts, have much to learn about their great and admirable activities. M. Grousset leads us up to some of these, and our debt to him for this and for the vivid pictures he gives us, in wayfaring and in historic crises, makes us regret his silence over the launching of this excellent replica of one of his book-fleet on this side of the Channel.

I regret also his title : the English even more than the French title. It is misleading, just as my friend James B. Pratt's title *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism* was also. In the latter case it is he who was the pilgrim ; in the former case it is certain men of long ago who were the pilgrims. The French title means, I take it, the journeys "in trace (or pursuit) of" the Buddha, but this is not what the English title means. There is so much more of the "footsteps" of the heroic pilgrims than of those of the great man they nominally came to retrace and revere. And what did those pilgrims not go through, by land or by sea, to accomplish that, to speak of nothing else that they accomplished ! Late in the book we read the sentence : "Travelling in that far-off time was so surprisingly easy." No one, I judge, who reads the preceding pages will agree. What intrepid and gallant men of set will and daring do not these Chinese "Masters of the Law" seem to have been, dauntless in the hands of bandits, unfalteringly persisting in the teeth of hostile Nature, standing back to drown in shipwreck to let others fill the boat. The author

makes them live for us as never before. He has used an emended Stanislas Julien's translation of Hsüan-tsang's own records, a work, I imagine, that is virtually unknown to English readers. To such readers, for the travels as for the historical atmosphere which the pilgrims left and for that which they found in their wayfaring, I heartily commend this most interesting book.

Enjoyable, too, is the flying comment on the graphic arts which, albeit called "Buddhist", had grown up less because of monastic dominance than in spite of it. However much the latter had worsened human ideals of life, man went on seeking for beauty none the less. That he saw this more than before in compassion, pity, gentleness, tenderness is due to no monopoly held by Buddhist teaching. It is implicit in that Brahman concept of the preciousness of the fellow-man, because of the "Precious Self" being also in the fellow-man. This is what Buddhism did not begin, but only helped to spread, in that from the first it was no philosophy of the Few, but a message for the Many.

There is another feature in the book, not adventure nor political history nor art, which will appeal to but few readers. This is the scholastic metaphysic of the second to the seventh century, elaborated by Buddhist pundits, among whom Hsüan-tsang was both a student and an expert, and in the Sanskrit literature of which his acquisitorial appetite was unlimited. No account of his pilgrimage were complete without this feature. In fact, I suspect that, behind his loyal vows to seek the holy places where those "blessed feet" had trodden, lay his wish both to study, and to try jousts with, the Indian scholars, of whose learned language he seems to have been a master. But the author has judged fit to dive into a wordy sea to try to make us share Hsüan-tsang's enthusiasm. He treats of this under the title "Flight of the Mahāyāna"—is this *essor*? or *vol*? or *retreat*?—and brings much imaginative diction to bear on the curious word-play. It leaves me cold, but my quarrel with M. Grousset, as a writer on

Buddhism, goes deeper than that and needs repeating (*JRAS.*, 1932, p. 709).

His "flight" rushes back to make what he calls "primitive Buddhism" "start with a negation of the ego", in a "reaction" against the immanent theism of Brahmanism. This is at once false and impossibly irrational. The author has not studied the oldest records we yet have of early Buddhism, and is not capable of seeing that the "reaction" is a later excrescence of ecclesiastical records. Pioneer writers, unfamiliar with these, took the dogmas in them at their editorial value, and cited passages which supported this—passages which M. Grousset has quoted from pioneers' translations. If he would substitute, for "primitive", monastic patristic, Buddhism, I have no quarrel with him. The founders of primitive Buddhism sought not to supplant, but to supplement "the divinization of the human soul".

Some day we shall see this, even in the much-edited Pali scriptures, let alone in what yet may be dug out of really ancient Chinese translations. But meanwhile they who take their guidance as to the nature of great religions from scholastic metaphysics do not see that, whereas a doctor in this will fling his dialectic wit *against* another such system, the Founder of a world religion never attacks the heart of his people's religion. He is fostering new growth in this, the very life of the soul; the former is concerned with man's thought.

796.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

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A CRITICAL PALI DICTIONARY. Continued (from Trenckner's Beginnings) by DINES ANDERSEN and HELMER SMITH, Vol. I, Parts 2, 3, and 4. *Ajja-Anuṭīka*. 12 × 9½, pp. 48. Copenhagen : The Royal Danish Academy, 1929–1932. Price 5 kr. each part.

This great work, so fortunate in financial sponsors, comes along with a fairly steady stride. It does not look much to have got only half-way through the *Anu-* words in seven years,

but then there is here inclusion of proper names, and also separate articles of all the negatives in *a-* and *an-*. These two features were, the one never contemplated, the other finally rejected by that *corpus vile* for "critical" pre-occupation, the elder sister published by the Pali Text Society. The best way, perhaps the only way, in which the younger sister may deserve her quaint title is by going one better every time, and in the latter feature I think she does. Another way is by making separate articles of compound names, e.g. *attakamma*, etc., these running to eight pages; *attha-kāma*, etc., these running to over seven. This sumptuous editing makes the act of consulting a fair joy. It is costly, but when you have fairy godmothers . . . Younger sister also goes one better in making good not a few omissions in her senior. As to that, the latter's family have produced, since she was completed in 1925, fourteen volumes of first editions of texts and will be feeding the junior in this way yet awhile. But senior must plead guilty to omissions from earlier volumes and to not a few incorrect references, the latter being sometimes made in indexes, but taken over unchecked. And whereas in the junior, omissions so far appear as made good, the usage of years alone will show where in her there is or will be less fallibility. Indeed, as to omissions, neither can this work be more than a provisional thesaurus of reference to Pali classics, so long as a considerable portion of these is yet relatively inaccessible in Asiatic scripts. Already I hear from one engaged on a P.T.S. edition of an unfinished commentary that he has several *a*-words which are not in these four published parts.

None the less may younger sister carry on and prosper! By the middle of this century she will be adding the usual indispensable "appendix of words omitted". To wait on counsels of perfection is to get nothing done. Despite her shortcomings, elder sister has been, to speak personally, a help indescribable, and long will she be so to many. Her younger rival, *an* she be no better, must like Elijah pray to die just for that! But she is already better—how could she be other-

wise? Let her, however, in one thing keep clear of a tendency to which Childers, first in the field, was, not unnaturally, too prone, nor from which was Rhys Davids, also a pioneer, sufficiently free. Let her keep severely to philology, and shun general statements about Buddhist ideas inserted without historical safeguards. ". . . the self (whose existence as a permanent being or eternal being is always repudiated)": this is a saying which needs a lot of verification out of place in a dictionary, and is untrue of many passages, including some in the beginning of the movement and some in old anthologies.

718.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

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**THE BALL AND THE POLO STICK OR BOOK OF ECSTASY.** A translation of the Persian poem *Gū'i u Chaugān* or *Hālnāma* by 'Ārifī. With three unpublished Polo miniatures in colour. By R. S. GREENSHIELDS.  $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 31, ills. 3. London: Luzac and Co., 1932. 12s. 6d.

This little work is a translation of the text published by Mr. Greenshields in 1931. Even the best versions of Sūfi works normally require a commentary. So bald a one as the present, which creates by its literalness the impression of a "crib", or the editor's guide to his text, needs it more than most; and the illumination provided by the three spirited miniatures more closely concerns polo than Sūfiism. Shades of meaning in the original cannot be properly indicated in a rendering of this kind, but sometimes there are serious obscurities (e.g. p. 8, l. 4, "the latter . . . the former" should be "this drop of water . . . that drop . . ."). The word 'anbar' should regularly be translated by "ambergris" and not by "amber", which conveys an inappropriate meaning in certain contexts). To be of use and interest this translation must be read with the original text. It cannot stand alone.

578.

R. LEVY.

**THE IRAQ LEVIES, 1915-1932.** By Brigadier J. GILBERT BROWNE.  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. viii + 88, ills. 2, maps 3. London : The Royal United Service Institution, 1932.

This is a most disappointing book on a subject which, if competently handled, might have afforded lessons of real importance both to administrators and soldiers. It is expensively produced, with several not very enlightening maps and two pages of illustrations. No intelligible system of transliteration has been adopted, and there are many misprints. The writer has made no attempt to explain the work of the Levies in relation to the general situation from time to time, nor to arrange his facts in narrative form. He has printed a mass of notes, dealing largely with routine matters, in more or less chronological order. The disjointed, sometimes ungrammatical sentences lead to no general conclusions, nor can the general reader gather much of interest therefrom. There is no attempt to compare or contrast the Levies with similar bodies of men raised in other countries, to explain the principles which were adopted in deciding on their organization or equipment, or to expound the tactical aspect of co-operation with the Air Force. "The work of the Levies is done," writes Brigadier Browne. "If it has been done well it is for others to say." It is to be hoped that someone will undertake the task and produce a narrative which will place on record the valuable services and creditable record of a gallant body of officers and men in a readable form.

733.

A. T. WILSON.

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**LE SHINTÔ, RELIGION NATIONALE DU JAPON.** Par GENCHI KATÔ. Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibliothèque de Vulgarisation. T. 50.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ , pp. iv + 252, pls. 5. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1931.

The author of this book occupies the chair of Shintô religion in the Imperial University of Tôkyô. As Professor Sylvain Lévi points out in his introduction, the book represents

Shintō in the light in which Japanese official circles desire it to appear to Western eyes. Dr. Katō's aim is to prove that Shintō, despite its purely magical and animistic beginnings, ended by achieving a moral and metaphysical synthesis that entitles it to a place among the "higher religions". In the course of fulfilling his task he adduces many interesting facts; his bibliography and index will be of great assistance to future students of the subject. But the reader will do well not to lose sight of the fact that the work is one of "applied" rather than "pure" scholarship. It was written with a national end in view, and many of Dr. Katō's conclusions are such as would not have been arrived at by a scholar of nationality other than Japanese.

708.

A. WALEY.

DIE CHINESISCHEN ZAHLEN. Von A. GLATHE.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. iv + 48, ills. 3, pls. 15. Tokyo : Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- u. Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 1932. Leipzig : Verlag Asia Major.

This little manual will be of great assistance to those who have to deal with current Chinese documents, commercial or otherwise, in which numerals occur. As is well known, the Chinese have several different ways of writing numbers, and anyone only familiar with the standard numerals, as found in printed books, is apt to find himself sadly at sea when confronted with an invoice, inventory, or the like. The object of the book is purely practical, and the author does not go into the question of the origin of the signs, nor the relation of one set to another. The system, in all its forms, has close analogies with another system, more familiar, yet as regards its origin equally obscure—the Roman. It is strange indeed that the Romans did not, like the Greeks and Semites, use the letters of the alphabet as numerals. That the Roman system is of Eastern origin has often been suggested. But from Latium to China is a far cry.

711.

A. WALEY.

THE GEORGE EUMORFOPOULOS COLLECTION CATALOGUE OF THE CHINESE AND COREAN BRONZES, SCULPTURE, JADES, JEWELLERY, AND MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS. By W. PERCEVAL YEATS. Vol. iii: Buddhist Sculpture.  $17\frac{3}{4} \times 12\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. viii + 93, pls. 75, 25 being in colour. London: Ernest Benn, 1932. £12 12s.

The large format of this work makes it easy to underestimate the importance of the introduction which, though it occupies only thirty-eight pages, is, in fact, a book in its own right, running at a rough estimate to something like 30,000 words. It is indeed the best general account of the beginnings of Buddhism and Buddhist culture in China that has yet appeared. There were many old errors to be corrected. In the early days of sinology very little distinction was made between history and legend. The Yellow Emperor and his mythical doings ranked side by side with Khubilai or Ch'ien Lung. Then came a period when private works and compilations began to be viewed with suspicion, but absolute faith was put in the official Dynastic Histories. An official history describes the introduction of Buddhism into China in A.D. 67-8, and this account, the legendary character of which was proved by Maspero over twenty years ago, is still reproduced in almost every European work which deals in a general way with Buddhism in China. We are beginning to realize that the Dynastic Histories, though more trustworthy than purely hagiological or purely popular works, were put together under widely different circumstances, some in great haste, others under the influence of strong prejudice. All have been more or less tampered with, and only in the case of quite late works (such as the *Yüan History*) are we able to get behind the refashioning to something approximating to the original form. Where Buddhism is concerned, we cannot, it is clear, be too much on our guard. Here, apart from haste or carelessness, prejudice has played a continual part. We should be as ill-advised to measure the importance of Buddhism in the T'ang dynasty by what is said of it in the *T'ang Shu*

as to credit all that is said to the advantage of Buddhism in the earlier histories. Most of the critical work on such subjects has been done in France, and Dr. Yetts has wisely availed himself of these studies. Naturally, too, his researches have constantly led him back towards India. In connection with the origin of the Buddha-image he notes that an actual prohibition of the representation of Buddha can be inferred once to have existed in the Scriptures—as is proved by a passage in the *Sarvāstivādin Vinaya* (*Takakusu*, xxiv, p. 424). It seems then that the sect which was responsible for Sānchī and Bārhut was akin to the one on whose Vinaya that of the Sarvāstivādins was based. It is by no means to be assumed that the prohibition was in any sense primitive or original. It must, on the contrary, have developed at a point some way down the road which (in Mahāyāna) led to the complete dehumanization of Buddha, though this dehumanization had, of course, in other centres an exactly opposite effect—the use of the Buddha-figure as a cult-object.

Recent opinion tends to place the beginnings of Mahāyāna in the second century B.C., and it is to the same period that the earlier work at Bārhut and Sānchī belongs. If other work of the same or earlier date were to turn up elsewhere, it would not be in the least surprising to find, under the influence of some other sect, scenes in which the figure of Buddha was represented without the least compunction.

A feature of Dr. Yetts's book is the attention which he has paid to the votive inscriptions. Many of these were obviously extremely difficult to decipher and when deciphered, extremely hard to interpret. He has been fortunate enough to secure in certain cases the assistance of Professor Pelliot. In the dating of the uninscribed objects he has been well served by his wide knowledge of parallel works in Europe, America, and the East. His bibliography (in which Chinese characters are given) reaches the high standard set by the previous volumes of this catalogue. Only in one respect is there a falling off, and that is in the objects themselves. It cannot be said

that the Buddhist sculpture reaches so high a level of interest as other parts of the Eumorfopoulos Collection, and there are pieces towards the end of the volume that hardly merit their place in this handsome catalogue. Considering the immense amount of work involved in the series, Dr. Yetts is to be congratulated on having produced three volumes in a comparatively short space of time.

717.

A. WALEY.

**VEDIC STUDIES.** By A. VENKATASUBBIAH. Vol. I.  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. viii + 292. Mysore : Surabhi and Co., 1932. Price 16s.

This book consists of fourteen articles discussing isolated difficult words occurring in the *Rgveda*. Ten of the articles are said to have already appeared either in the *Indian Antiquary* or in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The remaining four, which are not specified by the author in his preface or elsewhere, are apparently published for the first time. Two of the articles, viz. those dealing with the words *nitya* and *yakṣán*, are of considerable length, occupying 49 and 47 large pages respectively. Two others, dealing with the words *smáddiṣṭi* and *padbhíḥ*, are also fairly long, running to 28 and 25 pages, but the remaining ten articles are all comparatively short, i.e. from 10 to 18 pages.

The author has throughout used the Roman characters instead of the Devanagari in quoting the text of the *Rgveda*. He is conversant with the methods of and the results obtained by European scholars in the field of Vedic study, and his articles teem with references to Pischel, Geldner, Roth, Grassmann, Oldenberg, and Macdonell, while the American Sanskritist Whitney is also cited and the English Purāṇic scholar Pargiter.

Four of the words discussed have been mentioned above, the remaining ten being *śunám*, *śagmá*, *svásara*, *arati*, *dán*, *pýthak*, *ábhva*, *admasád*, *nireká*, and the proper name *Indrasend*, which occurs only once in the *Rgveda*. The author

comes to the conclusion that this Indrasenā is the same Indrasenā who is referred to in the Mahābhārata as the daughter of Nala and Damayanti. It is impossible in a short notice to discuss adequately the value of the results arrived at by the author. Some of them, viz. in respect of *dán*, which he takes to be the genitive singular of *dains* in the sense of both strong and strength, *padbhīh*, which is interpreted as a derivative from *spas* (to see), with an anomalous cerebralization perhaps due to false analogy, *admasád*, which is explained as being equivalent to *hoty* the priest who chants the hymn of praise (the literal sense of the word being taken as "the one who sits in the house") and *nirekā*, which is interpreted as meaning strength, quickness, race, booty, prize, and derived from *ni* and *ri* or *rī* (to run) with the addition of the suffix *ka* (as in *sloka* from *śru*), differ from the interpretations of Pischel and Geldner. It will be found that the author has in all these cases, and in his discussions of the other ten words, endeavoured to base his views on a comparison of other Vedic passages, and, although it is improbable that European scholars will find it possible to accept his interpretations in their entirety, it will be necessary to treat them with respect as the product of careful comparative study of the Rgveda. It is to be regretted that the price of this paper-bound volume has been fixed so high that it is likely to have a very small sale.

633.

R. P. DEWHURST.

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THE MAHĀBHĀRATA. ĀDIPARVAN. Fascicule 6. Edited by  
VISHNU S. SUKTHANKAR. 11½ × 8¾, pp. 240, illus. 5.  
Poona : Bhandakar Oriental Research Institute, 1932.

This sixth instalment of the gigantic work, the five previous instalments of which have already been dealt with by me in issues of this *Journal*, carries the stupendously difficult task a very small stage further. Apart from four beautiful illustrations of the kind previously noticed, for which the

same artist is responsible, and a page facsimile of the Śaradā Codex, this fascicule contains only the text of the epic up to the end of the Ādiparvan and footnotes embodying the tremendous range of various readings, which generally far exceed the actual text in magnitude. The most casual scrutiny of these footnotes will suffice to reveal the enormous amount of labour involved in the method of preparing the definite text, which has been adopted, and make it clear what an overwhelming proportion of the ordinary lifetime of a human being must be occupied in completing this great work on the same scale. It must be hoped that the editor may long be spared and retain the enthusiasm and skill which are required for the proper carrying out of the ambitious project.

688.

R. P. DEWHURST.

BHAGAVĀN PĀRSVANĀTHA. By KĀMTĀPRASĀDA JAINA.

$7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ , pp. viii + 80 + 414. Surat : Mūlachanda  
Kisandāsa Kāpādiā, 1928.

This account in Hindi of the twenty-third Tirthankara follows a number of works on Jainism both in Hindi and English by the same author. The story of Pārvanātha is told in a number of *caritras*, and Jaina *purāṇas*, of which the author gives a bibliography (pp. 53–7 of the Introduction), and it is available to English readers in Bloomfield's abridgment of Bhāvadeva's *Pārṣva-nātha-caritra* (*Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Parshvanatha*). Mr. Kamtaprasad Jain, however, gives us more than a biography of Pārvanātha. In a lengthy introduction and again in a chapter entitled “*Nāgavamśajon kā paricaya*” he has compiled from an extensive range of literature, Indian and European, a mass of evidences (of unequal value) for the historicity of Pārvanātha and for the existence and wide diffusion in Asia and Africa of the Jaina *dharma* in the remotest times of pre-history. His argument is, at any rate, well documented, and the

footnotes to his introduction provide quite an extensive bibliography of the subject, from the earliest volumes of *Asiatic Researches* to the latest European authorities upon Jainism. Mohenjodaro contributes something to his theme (figures in the *padmāsana* posture, which he connects with Jain iconography). The book is a symptom of the revolt against the presentation of India as something which began with the *Rg-veda* and then lapsed into late and lamentable Brahmanic and Pauranic beliefs. As such it can claim sympathy not among Indians only. But we need not therefore accept the author's evidences for placing Pātāla-Laṅkā (and early Jainism) in Abyssinia, or his suggestion that the *lālamukha Vidyādhara* of the Jaina *Padma-purāṇa* might be the Red Indians of North America (p. 163, footnote).

592.

H. N. RANDLE.

THE SPHOTASIDDHI OF ĀCĀRYA MANDANAMIŚRA WITH THE  
GOPĀLIKĀ OF R̄ŚIPUTRA PARAMEŚVARA. Edited by  
VEDAVIŚĀRADA S. K. RĀMANĀTHA ŚASTRĪ. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  
pp. vi + xxiv + 266 + 37 (1). Madras University  
Sanskrit Series No. 6. Madras : University of Madras,  
1931. 6s.

This is a well-printed first edition, duly provided with preface, alphabetical index of *kārikās*, and a valuable list of about 500 citations, the great majority of which are identified. The edition is based on three manuscripts noticed in the preface (p. xxiii), and variants are recorded in footnotes. It appears to be good work, and a worthy addition to the series. The *sphoṭa* doctrine is the special property of the grammarians, expounded by Bhartṛhari in the *Vākyapadīya*, and refuted by Kumārila in the *Sphoṭa-vāda* section of the *Śloka-vārttika*. *Sphoṭa* is the eternal Idea or Form of a word ("word-prototype", as translated by J. H. Woods in his *Yoga-system of Patanjali*, p. 241), which becomes manifest as a partless unity on the successive hearing of the transient

sounds uttered by a speaker. Philosophers, with the exception of some commentators on the *Yoga-sūtra*, found no profit in the hypothesis : and it is not clear why this Mañḍanamiśra should have troubled to defend it against the refutation of Kumārila. Nor is it clear who he was. The editor asserts that he is the same as the author of the *Vidhi-*, *Bhāvanā-*, and *Vibhrama-viveka*, but rejects the accepted tradition that Mañḍanamiśra was a pupil of Kumārila who was converted by Śaṅkara and then attained further fame under the name of Sureśvara-cārya. The preface points out that Sureśvara in his *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka-vārttika* actually refutes a view held by Mandana ; but it postpones discussion of this question for a future occasion, devoting most of its space to a detailed account of the three persons (grandfather, grandfather, and grandson) bearing the name Risiputra Parameśvara.

605.

H. N. RANDLE.

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KHARATARA-GACCHA-PATTĀVALĪ-SĀMGRAHA. Compiled by ŚRĪ JINAVIJAYA.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. iii + iv + 56 + 12. Calcutta : Pūrapacanda Nahar, 1932.

This collection consists of a verse *paramparā-praśasti* and three *pattāvalīs*, followed by an excellent index. The author collected the material originally as an appendix to his publication *Jaina-sāhitya-saṁśodaka*, and then proposed to use it for a history of the Śvetāmbara Jaina samgha. Troubled times intervened ; and eventually Mr. Nahar, to whom we already owe a debt for his volumes of *Jaisalmer Jaina Inscriptions*, stood forth as the publisher of Śrī Jinavijaya's collection in its present form. Fifty years ago J. Klatt published a *Kharatara-gaccha-pattāvalī* in an article on the historical records of the Jains (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. xi, 1882, p. 247), and Hoernle followed this up ten years later with an elaborate analysis of some other *gaccha-pattāvalīs* (*ibid.*, vols. xx and xxi). Klatt's *pattāvalī* is very similar to the second of the present collection, but presents a different

tradition for Nos. 25-35. The name Kharatara (always here with this spelling) is derived from Jineśvara's sharpness in debate on the occasion when he defeated eighty-four *mathapatis* at the court of Durlabha of Anhilvāda ; and there is no mention of the alternative derivation from *khara* "a mule", referred to by Guérinot (*La religion djaina*, p. 55). The eleven *gaccha-bhedas* which have subdivided the Kharataras are duly noted and dated in these lists, which with their supplements carry the succession down to No. 71 (Jinasaubhāgya, acc. 1892 *samvat*; or, in another account, Jinahema, acc. 1897 *samvat*). The lists relate how Jinacandra (a constantly recurring name : but this is No. 61, who died 1670 *samvat*) instructed the great Akbar and won the title *Yuga-pradhāna*.

None of these facts are new, but the lists will doubtless reveal things of interest to the specialist in Jaina chronology. And, in drawing the attention of the qualified to this interesting publication, perhaps the reviewer may be so far irrelevant as to commend to their notice the ingenious "padre" whom the East India Company in 1624 "entertained to go a preacher" to Surat. This first discoverer of Jainism, Henry Lord, seems to have escaped the notice of Buehler, von Glasenapp, Guérinot, and others. His name is not to be found even in Guérinot's exhaustive *Bibliographie Jaina*. Nevertheless, in his *Discoverie of the Sect of the Banians* (1630), he was, in fact, "discovering" quite considerable information about the Jains, and he was (by perhaps two hundred years) the first European to name and characterize the Khaqtars and four other Jain gacchas. Of the "several Casts" among the "more special Bramanes" or "Verteas", he says : "One is called the *Soncaes*, and these goe not to Church. . . . Another is of the *Tuppaes*, these goe to Church to pray. . . . A third is of the *Curthurs*, and these pray by themselves, without society. A fourth called the *Onkeleaus*, and these endure not images. A fift called the *Pushaleaus*, the most strict of them all."

A PRIMER OF INDIAN LOGIC ACCORDING TO ANNAMBHATTA'S  
 TARKASAMGRAHA. By MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA S. KUPPU-  
 SWAMI SASTRI.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ , pp. xix + liv + 37 + 364.  
 Madras : P. Varadachary, 1932. 6s.

Professor Kuppuswami Sastri's book is an informative treatise on Indian logic which can be read as a connected whole without reference to the 37 pages which contain the text together with a Roman transliteration. His Part III embodies a translation of the text, but is much more than an exposition of Annambhatta, its purpose being "to serve as an introduction, not only to the study of Indian logic as embodied in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Literature in Sanskrit, but also to the study of Indian philosophy in its diverse systems". The introduction argues for a date between the middle of the fourth and second century B.C. ("perhaps the end of the fourth century") as the time of the redaction of the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika sūtras, the former being the earlier. In this connection the author stresses two facts as important for the interpretation of the passage in the *Kautiliya* which enumerates ānvikṣikī as three-fold—*Sāṃkhya*, *Yoga*, and *Lokāyata*. The first is the occasional use of *Yoga* in the sense of Vaiśeṣika; the second is the interesting citation by Vātsyāyana of the *śloka* which ends the passage. Professor Kuppuswami points out that Vātsyāyana has modified the last quarter of the couplet in such a way (*vidyoddeṣe prakīrtitā*) as to name the source of his citation, namely the *vidyāsamuddeṣa* section of the *Kautiliya*. At present, however, we may be content to note these and other facts, and to wait for more. The author elucidates with success in certain passages (pp. 47–62, 147–154, of Part III) the terminology of the Navya-Nyāya, which (whatever its value may be) is probably unique in the history of thought as a sustained and systematic effort to achieve terminological exactitude. He has not, however, succeeded in clearing up the reason why Udayana and others consider *samkara* as a *jāti-bādhaka*. *Mūrtatva* and *bhūtatva* are the example of

*sāmkara* given in the *Dinakarīya* and *Rāmarudrīya*; not *indriyatva* and *bhūtatva*, which Professor Kuppuswami says (p. 43) cannot be *jātis* "on the ground of unwarranted blend (*sāmkarya*)". Dinakara Bhaṭṭa says that the *navyāḥ* do not regard *sāmkarya* as *jāti-badhaka*. There are sometimes suggestive "general remarks" following the exposition of topics (the want of an index makes it difficult to find particular passages again); but sometimes the criticism, made from the Advaita standpoint, seems rather facile (e.g. pp. 45–6).

753.

H. N. RANDLE.

#### THE GAVIMATH AND PALKIGUNDU INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA.

Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 10. Edited by  
R. L. TURNER.  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$ , pp. 24, pls. 18. Published  
by His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government.  
Oxford : John Johnson, University Press, 1932.

The admirable series of monographs published by the Archaeological Survey of Hyderabad began with *The New Asokan Edict of Maski* in 1915; and its tenth number is now devoted to two other versions of the same Edict which have been discovered in the same region of the Nizam's Dominions—the Raichūr District between the Kistna and its great tributary, the Tungabhadra.

The existence of the new versions was reported by Mr. Narayan Rao Sastri to Mr. G. Yazdani, the Director of Archaeology in H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, in 1931. They are engraved on the surface of rocks in the Gavimath and the Palkigundu Hills, which range respectively to the east and to the west of the town and hill-fortress of Kopbāl or Koppal; and in both instances the inscriptions have been protected by boulders roughly fashioned to form canopies. Such structures are no doubt prehistoric in origin; and many of them have been occupied in later ages by the devotees of religious sects. Of these two ancient sites and of their history Mr. Yazdani, in an appendix to the present monograph, has given a full account illustrated by excellent photographs.

The Gavimath inscription is complete. Of the Palkigundu inscription portions only of five lines of letters remain ; but these are sufficient to indicate that the two inscriptions were almost certainly identical.

To his transcriptions and translation of the new versions Professor Turner has added a minute and scholarly analysis of the phonology and the grammar of their dialect, together with indexes of all the words occurring in the inscriptions and of related forms from other Indo-Aryan languages.

614.

E. J. RAPSON.

**INDIA IN 1930-1.** A statement prepared for presentation to Parliament in accordance with the requirements of the 26th section of the Government of India Act (3 and 6 Geo. V, chap. 61).  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6$ , pp. xxi + 752, ills. 48, map 1. Calcutta : Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1932. 3 rupees.

Compared with the indigestible Blue Book on "Moral and Material Progress" which used to be served up to Parliament in former days, this volume is easy reading. Readers who can find time for 646 pages of text will find in it all they may wish to know of the economics and politics of the India of 1930-1 set forth in a clear and flowing style and illustrated by excellent diagrams and photographs. One chapter is devoted to "The Advancement of Science" and the pages of this chapter (some fifteen in number) which deal with archaeology contain a valuable and very readable résumé of the archaeological and epigraphical achievements of the year.

678.

ANON.

**BRIEFE AN EWALD, AUS SEINEM NACHLASS.** Herausgegeben von R. FICK und G. v. SELLE.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. viii + 223. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1932. RM. 12.

Friends and admirers of George Heinrich August Ewald have selected a number of letters addressed to him by many of the men who had been the most prominent workers in the

field of the new study of Oriental languages. Ewald was one of the greatest Orientalists, theologian and interpreter of the Bible of his period, he had gathered a number of young men round him and he has given the first impetus to a wider outlook and a greater encyclopaedic study of the Oriental languages. The history of Oriental studies in Germany is intimately connected with his name and by the unrivalled influence which he had wielded during the fifty years which cover the period 1827–1877, the whole study of Oriental languages had been entirely changed. The discovery of the Sanscrit language—for one may call it a discovery in Europe—had opened up a new horizon, and whilst Oriental studies had originally been limited to Hebrew and cognate languages, now for the first time the study of the Indo-Germanic languages came within the compass of Oriental scholars.

Of the vast correspondence contained in many volumes of the library at Göttingen only those letters have been selected which throw light upon this development of the Oriental studies in Germany. It is through the influence of Ewald that the first Oriental review was published in 1836 in connection with Lassen, and this led to the foundation of the German-Oriental Society and the Review which has become representative of these studies. Among those from whom letters have been selected may be mentioned Bopp, v. d. Gabelentz, Gildemeister, J. Grimm, Lagarde, Lassen, Max Müller, and Theodore Nöldeke. These letters throw a great light upon the workings of the mind of the most representative scholars in Germany. Not intended to be published they are of a more intimate character. On the one side one sees in them the respect and admiration which they show to their teacher and master and on the other the powerful influence which he exercised upon them. They reveal, at the same time, how much these Oriental studies owe to the initiative and the driving power of Ewald. They are a valuable contribution to the history of Oriental research in Germany.

CEREMONIES AT THE HOLY PLACES WITH ILLUSTRATIONS FROM  
 PAINTINGS BY PHILIPPA STEPHENSON. By H. C.  
 LUKE.  $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. viii + 74, col. illus. 5, maps 3.  
 London: The Faith Press, Ltd., 1932. Price 1s. 6d.

Mr. Luke has collected in this booklet five articles on the Ceremonies at the Holy Places, which he had published previously in various journals and reviews. To this he has added one chapter describing fully the church of the Holy Sepulchre. It gives us a vivid and picturesque description of the frenzy which seizes upon the people in that church on the occasion of the eve of Easter when the holy fire is said to descend from heaven and light the lamp. After describing the way in which Easter is kept in Jerusalem and Christmas in Bethlehem, he proceeds to describe the Samaritans in Nablus, and especially their Passover ceremony on Mount Gerezim, but he makes the mistake of believing that the Paschal lamb slaughtered on that occasion is considered as a sacrifice. It is merely kept in commemoration of the first ordinance given in Egypt before the Exodus. If it were a real sacrifice the whole community, pure and impure, could not partake of it. In fact, they could not bring it. The last article gives a description of the extraordinary scenes of the great gathering of the Jews at Meiron in connection with the celebration of the death of the reputed author of the great mystical work, the Zohar, Simon the son of Yohai. In all these he finds a similar manifestation of exultation and the people working themselves up into a high state of excitement and ecstasy. The book is well worth reading, and is fully illustrated.

752.

M. GASTER.

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BARHEBRÆUS' SCHOLIA ON THE OLD TESTAMENT. Part I :  
 Genesis-2 Samuel. Edited by M. SPRENGLING and W. C.  
 GRAHAM.  $11\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. xvi + 393. Chicago: The  
 University of Chicago Press, 1931. 55s.

Scholars will welcome the first part of a definitive edition of the *Scholia on the Old Testament* which forms part of the

"Storehouse of Mysteries" (*Auzar Raze*) of the Jacobite bishop who was the last of the great Syriac writers. Götsberger in his painstaking thesis (*Barhebraeus u. seine Scholien zur Heiligen Schrift*, 1900) has paved the way for an estimate of the value of the work into which, as he says, the author "has put the sum-total of his learning into the service of Holy Scripture", and an examination of the section here produced will convey to the reader the wide range of Barhebraeus' learning not merely in matters relating to theology and Biblical criticism but also to anthropology and sociology, a trait which leads our editors to describe him as "this wide-awake humanist of the thirteenth century". No less than twenty manuscripts are used in their collation, and they have given in collotype the oldest from the Medicean Library in Florence, written in 1278 during the author's lifetime by his pupil John of Sarw. Page by page with the text is given an English translation, and side by side with the text we have explanatory notes which give, in addition to the editors' own comments, references to the literature of the subjects dealt with; hardly anything of note seems to have escaped their attention, though a reference might have been added on p. 338 to P. H. Mason's valuable monograph on 2 Sam. xii, 21. The fact of there not being sufficient Syriac type in Chicago to print the text has constrained the editors of necessity to give us a collotype, and although in a few folios the MS. is difficult to read we are helped by the collation and translation; and we have the advantages of a text which is not "made", every scholar being able to choose his own by aid of the *apparatus criticus*.

It may suffice in illustration of the variety of matter contained in the *Scholia* to draw attention to a few passages of interest from the rich material before us:—

Gen. ii, 10: "Eden is pronounced 'd̄him in the Hebrew, and it is interpreted delight or abundance.'" As our editors point out in their note on p. 20, Barhebraeus goes back to Origen's comment: τέθειται ἐν τῇ ἐρμηνείᾳ κῆπον ἐν Ἐδεμ,

ἀντῆ χρησαμένω τῇ Ἐβραϊκῇ λέξει· ἔστι μὲν σὸν ἐρμηνεία τοῦ Ἐδεμ κυρίως ἡδὺ κ.τ.λ.

Gen. ii, 15: Is not taken in a Messianic sense; though xlix, 10, is—"until he come to whom it belongs, i.e. the Messiah, to whom the true Kingdom belongs."

Gen. iii, 20: "Tunics of skins"—interpreted by some of the bark of trees, since "even now in India there are barks which are fit for royal robes". In i, 11, the land of H<sup>u</sup>wilā is identified with India.

Gen. xi, 1: As we might expect, the primitive language is assumed to be Syriac, since "Abraham was first called Hebrew because of the crossing ('vār) of the river Euphrates, and how could he have used a tongue in which he was not reared?"

Gen. xvii, 1: "I am Ilshadaj the God," i.e. the God of the promises—by a popular etymology possible in Syriac.

Gen. xxxix, 1: Reference is made to the custom of the Mongol Kings who in Barhebraeus' time gave wives to their eunuchs. There are further references to Mongol customs of the time on 1, 4, "the possessors of a corpse do not only not enter before the King, but are even kept outside the camp"; on Num. xxxi, 23, of the cleansing of natural things which can stand it by fire; on Joshua vi, 5, of the shouting of the Mongols when they conquer cities; on 1 Sam. v, 5, of a similar custom amongst the Mongol priests.

Exod. iii, 14: 'ahijah 'asharahijah is explained as "He who exists and truly exists".

Exod. xii, 2: "In the tenth of this month" is taken as a type of the cleansing of the ten senses. The medieval idea of the ten senses is being revived in modern psychology (see editor's note, p. 112).

Lev. xvi, 16: "zāzā'el is God Almighty, and not the name of Michael . . . nor the name of Satan, according to the absurd supposition of the Manichæans, but in both these goats is represented to us the Messiah, who dies as man and lives as God."

Num. x, 2 : The Greek ἔλατος is translated by a word whose root is ~~ελα~~; not in the lexicons, and has evidently the same meaning as ~~ελα~~.

Num. xxv, 35 : The high priest is taken as a type of the High Priest of Truth, "the Messiah, who by his death saved men from the death of sin."

Deut. xxii, 5 : Barhebraeus thinks the command due to the custom of the heathen in their sacred dances (so  in its original sense). See Driver's note on the passage in *Inter. Crit. Com.*

Judges ix, 37 : The meaning of *tuqna* is unknown. The editors suggest it is an expression for a locality associated with one of the nature cults in the neighbourhood of Shechem.

1 Sam. xxi, 6 : The difficulty in Mark ii, 26, is thus solved—"And the priest gave him the holy bread, i.e. 'Ahīmalk commanded his son Abiathar to give.'

1 Sam. xxviii, 14 : According to Barhebraeus it was not Samuel who came up but a demon who appeared in his likeness.

Some of the MSS. used in collation contain marginal notes derived from the commentaries of Dionysius Bar-Ṣalibī; these notes have been collected by our editors and printed as an Appendix on pp. 359-378. There are two full indexes, one of incidental Biblical references, the other of proper names.

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HISTOIRE DE L'AFRIQUE DU NORD. Tunisie : Algérie : Maroc. Bibliothèque Historique. By CH.-ANDRÉ JULIEN. With preface by STÉPHANE GSSELL. 9 × 5½, pp. xvi + 882, figs. 357. Paris : Payot, 1931. 120 fr.

To write a general history of North Africa (Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco), from the earliest times to the present day, is a prodigious task that might well affright the most energetic of men and the most erudite of scholars. Within the limits

that he set himself, however, Professor Julien has achieved this very task with a completeness that must excite general admiration. From the first page to the last, the narrative is rich in interest, and the abundant illustrations are both judiciously selected and clearly reproduced.

Professor Julien's long sojourn in Algeria, and his frequent journeys through the surrounding regions, have given him that first-hand acquaintance with the ethnography and topography of North Africa which is essential to one who would essay to write its history. To this basic equipment he adds an astonishingly wide and deep knowledge of the literature of his subject, and his bibliography alone runs to seventy-seven closely printed pages.

Primarily the book is intended for the general educated public, and is therefore not burdened with footnotes or critical apparatus; while in the spelling of Arabic names common French usage has been followed in those cases where the words are already familiar. Yet though Professor Julien is writing for *le public curieux, qui ne croit pas à la vertu scientifique de l'ennui*, his book will be invaluable to all students of the history of Barbary, for the conspectus he gives is clear, well balanced, and notably free from partisanship of any kind. No other book on the subject even remotely compares with it for wealth of facts, sureness of touch in the emphasis of important events, or in the neat synthesis of centuries of history. As one reads Professor Julien's pages, the fortunes and misfortunes of North Africa unfold with the vividness and definition of a Victorian panorama; and at the end one is left with a feeling of satisfaction at having had so efficient a guide through a tortuous and often bewildering country.

A special word of praise must be given to the illustrations, all of which are good, and some of which must have been very difficult to obtain. They form a fitting complement to Professor Julien's attractive story, and since they are always apropos they serve to fix the attention, not to distract it as illustrations are sometimes apt to do.

Both Professor Julien and his publishers are to be congratulated at having so ably satisfied what, in this instance, may truthfully be described as a long-felt want.

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E. J. HOLMYARD.

## CINQ ANNÉES DE RECHERCHES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES EN ÉTHIOPIE.

Province du Harar et Éthiopie Meridionale. By the RÉV. PÈRE AZAÏS and R. CHAMBARD. Preface by EDMOND POTTIER. 11 × 9, pp. xv + 348, pls. 6, map 1, and an atlas of 110 plates. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1931. 350 fr.

This sumptuous work is a *journal de voyage* of the R. Père Azaïs, in which he describes his archæological travels in Abyssinia in the years 1921–6. For part of the time he was accompanied by M. Roger Chambard, of the École des Langues Orientales, and the two travellers conscientiously wrote up their journal day by day, "afin de n'être pas plus tard dupe de nos souvenirs." Their camera was widely and wisely used, and the atlas of plates is a model of what such an atlas should be.

The principal archæological results of the five expeditions may be briefly summarized as follows: (i) Numerous dolmens were found in the province of Harar, to the north of Addis-Abeba; (ii) in Guraghé, to the south of Addis-Abeba, are a number of tumuli surrounded at the base by hemispherical stone blocks; (iii) at Buqqisa, near Lake Margarita, four statues were discovered, "recalling in a striking manner the famous neolithic idol, guardian, and protector of tombs"; (iv) in the same district (Siddamo) several groups of phallic stones—some of which bear signs indicative of sun-worship—were discovered, and the authors estimate the total number of such stones to be some thousands.

The four statues found at Buqqisa are regarded by the authors as the most sensational discovery of their five years' work. They suggest that the cult of this neolithic divinity, instead of originating in Asia Minor and the Ægean Islands

and spreading thence to Iberia, Gaul and Britain, may perhaps have begun in some part of southern Abyssinia. The Aegean Islands and the Mediterranean world would then be a later conquest of the cult. The authors regard the inverse hypothesis—viz. a penetration of Aegean civilization into the distant centre of eastern Africa, as less plausible than their own, and remark that the large numbers of phallic stones seem to mark a starting-point rather than the opposite.

An appendix by M. Paul Ravaisse deals with the Arabic steles and inscriptions of Harar, while anthropological and palaeontological appendices are provided by MM. P. Lester and Jean Cottreau respectively.

670.

E. J. HOLMYARD.

INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE. Vol. II. By GEORGE SARTON. 10 x 7, pt. i, pp. xxxv + 480; pt. ii, pp. xvi + 771. London: Baillière, Tindall, and Cox. 63s.

The first volume of this work (1927) quickly gained for its talented author a world-wide reputation as a leading authority upon the history of science. The second volume, which appears after a pleasingly short interval, will certainly confirm and enhance that reputation, for in the meantime Dr. Sarton's acquaintance with bibliographical and other details has grown by leaps and bounds. To the Orientalist the principal value of the book lies in the exhaustive references to Muslim scientific and medical treatises of the period covered by this volume, viz. the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Though some progress has been made in the elucidation of Europe's cultural debt to Islam, as far as the history of science is concerned it cannot be said that more than the fringe of the subject has been touched. The pioneer work of Wiedemann and Berthelot, and the later researches of Ruska, Stapleton, and others have, however, shown that chemistry as a science was established by Islamic savants; while the debt of physics, mathematics, astronomy and medicine to medieval

Islam is appreciated if not yet properly estimated. Dr. Sarton's admirable book will render much easier the work of those scholars who seek to unravel the threads of scientific progress in an involved yet extremely important period—a period, indeed, in which there was a revival of scientific learning not unworthy to be ranked with the wider renaissance of the fifteenth century. The full, and remarkably accurate, bibliographical sections of the book are, however, less valuable to the general historian than the acute and searching surveys of contemporary knowledge with which Dr. Sarton maps out the intellectual field of the Middle Ages. The introductory chapter in particular is a masterpiece of informed and critical description, which no medievalist can afford to neglect.

How carefully Dr. Sarton's details have been collected may be gauged by his list of Muslim alchemists of the period, where al-Tughrā'ī, Ibn Arfa' Ra's, al-Jaubarī, and Abu'l-Qāsim al-'Irāqī are rightly mentioned as the principal figures, and where the most important references to the relevant literature are given without a single omission of note. This extraordinary accuracy and good judgment are characteristic of the whole book, so far as the present reviewer is able to judge; and the fact that Dr. Sarton employs a conventional and consistent system of transliterating Arabic and other Oriental proper names is a relief for which every Orientalist will be grateful.

It should not be overlooked that Dr. Sarton's conception of "science" is an extremely comprehensive one. Besides including astronomy, mathematics, chemistry, physics, biology, medicine, and other subjects definitely scientific in nature, he gives a bird's-eye view of the general intellectual background to complete his picture. Thus the principal features of religion, philosophy, philology, law, sociology, and historiography are skilfully limned and adequately documented, with an impartiality—but with a *flair* for the vitally important—that compels our warm approval. Dr. Sarton is well known as an enthusiast for the new humanism, which seeks to eliminate the gap between the

literary and scientific aspects of culture, and to see knowledge as a whole. His *Introduction to the History of Science* shows that he practises what he preaches, and that the unity of knowledge is both an ideal that may be realized and perhaps the only way to an understanding of the past and a hopeful orientation of the future.

548.

E. J. HOLMYARD.

**THE CASTE SYSTEM OF NORTHERN INDIA.** With special reference to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. By E. A. H. BLUNT.  $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. vii + 374. London : Oxford University Press, 1931. 15s.

In this little work on the castes and tribes of the United Provinces the writer sets forth his objective as the supplying of a want due to the absence of "any book which gives a full and connected account of caste as a system, which describes the factors which brought caste into existence, the evolution of the present system, the nature of the customs common to all castes, the principles which underlie those customs, and the reasons for the similarity or difference between caste and caste".

Inasmuch as the writer deals only with a small part of India, and has overlooked certain fundamental features of caste and tribe development, he can scarcely be said to have attained his object ; nor, in view of the very extensive literature on this subject which has been published in the last thirty years, can the want of a fresh attempt at elucidating caste questions be held to be quite as obvious as the writer would appear to consider. Detailed studies such as the present volume explaining caste construction and practices for one part of India are of great value for reference ; but conclusions regarding caste and tribe generally must be based on the study of the whole area, such as the late Sir Herbert Risley attempted in *The People of India*.

Subject to this criticism, the book may be commended to all students of caste and tribe. Based on Crooke's original

survey, it contains much new matter, bringing together some interesting details of inter-caste food regulations, the system of caste government, "gipsy" castes, and caste in relation to religion. The writer shares Sir Herbert Risley's apprehensions regarding the effects of a too rapid removal of caste restrictions and all that they involve.

Had the work followed the typical form set out for the Ethnographical Survey in 1902, it would have been more useful for purposes of reference. It is curiously limited in its handling of the important subject of exogamous divisions, and has given slight consideration to the part played in caste fission by the character of the people.

Much that is stated regarding caste has been already published in existing works on the subject; but the writer has added a valuable contribution to the existing materials of Indian ethnography.

660.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.

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**EXCAVATIONS AT KISH.** The Herbert Weld (for the University of Oxford) and Field Museum of Natural History (Chicago) Expedition to Mesopotamia. By S. LANGDON. Vol. I, 1923-4.  $10\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 111 + 125, pls. 50. Paris : Librairie P. Geuthner, 1924.

The same, Vol. III. By L. CH. WATELIN, Field Director, with Epigraphical Notes and Selection of Contracts dated at Hursagkalama by S. LANGDON, etc. pp. 20 and plates xv. 1930.

This work is described as a popular account of the explorations in the mounds known by the name of Uhaimir, identified as the site of Kish many years ago. This city seems to have been older than Babylon, and is interesting because of the forms of its buildings and the numerous artistic remains found there. Professor Langdon tells us that the earliest mention of Kish occurs in a text of Me-silim dedicated to the god Nin-girsu at Lagash in the time of Lugal-sag-engur.

The name is there written with the archaic form of the character having the common value of *kis*, meaning "multitude", or the like, without the determinative suffix denoting a place-name. The absence of this suffix would justify taking the common meaning of the character as used in the later texts, and translating *lugal kis*, as Professor Langdon suggests, as "king of universal dominion". If this was the idea contained in the title, it was on a level with other bombastic titles of Oriental potentates of early and also of later times. The kings of Kish seem to have claimed the overlordship over the other small states of Babylonia around, and Professor Langdon quotes and translates a historical text of the Isin-period from Nippur, in which the celebrated Sargon of Agade is mentioned. The wording and the similes used are interesting, and worth quoting:—

"After Enlil had slain Kish like the bull of heaven . . . (and) had mangled Erech in the dust like a mighty bull, (and) . . . to Sargon of Agade had given the kingship from the lowland to the high lands." This, Professor Langdon says in the chapter dealing with the history of Kish, refers clearly to Sargon's conquest of Lugal-zag-gi-si of Erech and of Nanniyah, last of the seven kings of the fourth dynasty of Kish. Sargon's date is fixed at 2752–2696 B.C., so that the date of Kish's most flourishing period is beyond a doubt. The kingdom of Akkad, over which Sargon ruled, was seemingly much farther advanced at this time in the arts and in military power than this primitive kingdom of Kish, hence the success of Sargon over its rulers.

This chapter is mainly devoted to chronological details, much of which will need verification, as Professor Langdon readily admits.

Speaking of a celebrated king of Kish, Me-silim, Professor Langdon points out that he clearly lived before Ur-Nina, the founder of the early line of the rulers of Lagaš, that wonderful city-state governed by many prominent viceroys, of whom the well-known Gudea was one. Fifty years

later came the well-known queen whose name he reads as Kug-Bau, though I prefer the reading first adopted, namely Azag-Bau, which is translated into Akkadian as *Bau-éllit* "Bau is glorious". For the retention of the old reading I think I have good reason. This is the queen who is said to have begun life as a wine-woman, and who reigned 100 years. It is needless to say that to examine all the historical details given would take up too much space, so we must go on to the other chapters.

The second chapter deals with Hursag-kalamma and its cults. The city of Kish seems to have been a double city extending to a length of 5 miles. Professor Langdon quotes what Hammurabi says in his Code of Laws concerning the worship carried on there: "The commander of kings, the brother of Ilbaba, founder of his dwelling in Kish, who surrounded É-mete-ursag with a sheen of splendour; who prepared well the ritualistic cults of Ištar, the guardian of Hursag-kalamma." É-mete-ursag, he explains, was the seat of the cult of the war-god Ilbaba, with whom Ištar, the war-goddess, was associated. "This is known from the inscription of Samsu-iluna, and from the warlike figure of Ištar in her chariot which we found there." Nabonidus refers to the gods of Kish, and the Babylonian Chronicle speaks of the gods of Kish and Hursag-kalamma, but the full list of the deities worshipped there is not known. From certain inscriptions which he quotes, however, Professor Langdon is able to state that Kish was the original name of the city, Ištar was the principal deity of the older Kish, and É-hursag-kalamma ("the Temple of the mountain-peak of the land") was the name of her temple at Kish, and must be identified with one of the two buildings in "the massive hills" of Inghara. "Goddess of mightiness, that is Ninlil, goddess of mightiness, that is Nin-é-anna" (the lady of the temple of heaven), with several others, are among the gods of Kish and Hursag-kalamma. The interesting fact is noted that the Ištar of Hursag-kalamma is a type of the virgin-goddess,

and quite distinct from the war-goddess of E-mete-ursag in the western part of Kish. There seems to be no doubt that Kish and Hursag-kalamma were two quarters of one and the same city, which became a great centre of religious worship, as is shown by the number of temples and temple-towers which it contained. The temple of Enlil and Ninlil, his consort, forms one with the temple of Inninni with twin temple-towers. This, however, seems to have differed from the celebrated temple of Anu and Hadad at Aššur.

Chapter iii deals with the topography of Kish. The ruins lie exactly east of Babil, the red stage-tower being visible from anywhere from along the eastern bank of the Euphrates. The intervening territory is minutely described. It is surprising to find the most imposing of the ruins described as "the little red one"—*Uḥaimir*. The ruins of this tower are described as dominating the plain of the entire region, being more imposing than the twin *ziggurats* of Hursag-kalamma. These various temple-towers are given in the plates, to which reference is constantly made.

The fourth chapter gives a description of the previous excavations at Kish. Professor Langdon begins with a reference to J. S. Buckingham, who wrote a description of his travels. On this occasion (1816) he was accompanying Mr. Bellino, secretary to the British Residency at Bagdad, "disguised as an Arab guide." Buckingham's description is quoted, and in that the Arabic name appears as Al Hheimar, the only form of the name known—or used—by writers upon the ruins until a much more recent date.

The fifth chapter deals with the racial and linguistic problems connected with the exploration of this site. The author begins with the evidence of the royal names in the lists of Babylonian kings, and he finds that they are very mixed, both Sumerian and Semitic names occurring. A Sumerian son of an Akkadian father being an impossibility, it follows that both languages were spoken, and the children who were born in the land in those ancient days, as seemingly later,

received either Sumerian or Semitic names, as their parents or their fellow-countrymen thought fit. Intermarriage would in most cases account for these peculiarities. This would point to a mixed population, as the temple-records and tabulated documents also show.

The sixth chapter describes the temple E-mete-ursag, which was excavated in 1923. This structure was restored from time to time by various Babylonian kings, among them being Nebuchadrezzar.

The views of the stage-tower E-mete-ursag show how well it rises from the plain. But all the ruins are very prominent. Hursag-kalamma, the stage-tower of Uhaimir, and the temple of Ilbaba, are good examples of Babylonian brick structures. The stairways seem to have been especially well built.

Among the artistic remains are fragments of mother of pearl inlays, similar to those of shell found at Ubaid. Other inlay-figures were made of limestone. In the graves were found many interesting cylinder-seals, and there is a fine figure of a stag in bronze. One statuette shows Istar as war-goddess and there is a good statuette of the god Pap-sukal. At E-mete-ursag was also found a model of Istar's war-chariot in clay. Among the inscriptions reproduced are a syllabary and a sign-list, bricks of Samsu-iluna and Hammurabi, and an interesting pictographic tablet.

Monsieur Watelin's volume, though of much more modest dimensions, is nevertheless full of interesting information. It deals with the great temple of Kish (Hursag-kalamma), and gives minute details of the structure and its decorations, in the excavation of which M. Watelin worked. The upper stratum of Ingharra, he says, is occupied by a very large building of unbaked brick, exceedingly well constructed. Around this is a number of well-baked bricks with the usual inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar and Nabonidus. This structure is described as a double temple, close to which were the great and the small ziggurats. It is difficult to realize the positions of the various sites in the confused emplacements

of these ruins of temples, *ziggurats* or temple-towers, and palaces—such as they were—but the plan (plate i) shows their relative positions quite clearly. Reproductions of well-known Babylonian temples are given for the sake of comparison. Plate ix shows the mouldings (or narrow panellings) of the walls.

Dr. Langdon treats, in a second section, of a brick-inscription of Merodach-baladan. This is interesting in that it shows that the goddess Ninlil in this text is identical with Istar of Hursag-kalamma. The reader notes that the word *sirtu* is translated "far-famed" instead of "supreme", as hitherto—by no means a bad rendering. Merodach-baladan here seems to make an interesting distinction between the life of his soul and the life of his body. The king refers to a certain Iddinna-Nergal as "governor of Kish and archon" (*rēšu*), "thy worshipper"—that is the worshipper of Ninlil, to whom the inscription is addressed. We may meet with this historical personage in other texts. Some of the characters are doubtful, but the inscription is well rendered.

The tablets published on plates xi–xvi belong to the Herbert Weld Collection in the Ashmolean Museum, and include a barrel-cylinder describing the wars of Samsu-iluna and his restorations at Kish. There is also a lease dated in the reign of Nebuchadrezzar, contracts dated in the same reign, and others dated in the reigns of Neriglissar, Cambyses, Darius, Xerxes, and Alexander. The tablet dated in the reign of Cambyses is "a loan of silver from a bank" (*birtum*).

Notwithstanding the dilapidation of the ruins, and the desolation of their appearance, the results of the excavations are more than satisfactory, and the two volumes offer much material for study.

**HINDU MONISM AND PLURALISM.** As found in the Upanishads and in the Philosophies dependent upon them. By M. H. HARRISON. 9 x 6, pp. xiv + 324. London : Oxford University Press, 1932. 11s. 6d.

This wide title is intended to cover a study of monism and pluralism as found in the early Upanishads and in the systems of Śankara, Rāmānuja, and the Sāṅkhya philosophy. The author tells us that he does not mean to trace the full development of each of the systems, but only to discover its origin in the Upanishads and to explain its classical statement in its standard text or commentary. In the course of his work he has gained the conviction that there is to be found in the Upanishads not one normative system of thought, but, on the contrary, a number of different strands of thought with many discordant features. However, he has limited himself to two, for he concludes that only the Vedānta and Sāṅkhya are to be considered as in their main intent genuine philosophical systems, and further, that only the orthodox systems can be considered as belonging to the main line of development of Indian thought. It may be suggested that it is rather bold to speak of explanation while omitting everything between Śankara and the early Upanishads. Why, when Buddhism and Jainism are omitted, should the author attempt to settle the relation of Śankara to Buddhism in one paragraph ? How is it possible to give an account of "the significance and probable origin" of classical Sāṅkhya without deciding whether the epic Sāṅkhya is an earlier and more rudimentary form or a later degeneration ?

Nevertheless, the book will be highly useful to anyone who wishes for a guide on coming to a first-hand study of the Upanishads. It gives a freshly written account of the nature of the texts and the chief problems, and it will also be a great help in bringing the reader abreast of some of the latest and most important studies of the main problems. The bibliography is useful, but appears to have escaped proof-reading. It also needs revision. The work of Professors Ranade

and Belvalkar should not have been ignored. In the "general list" twenty books are given which belong to the section of texts and translations. Seven of them are given twice over.

658.

E. J. THOMAS.

**REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT AND THE SUMER PUBLIC LIBRARY, JODHPUR (MARWAR), FOR THE YEAR ENDING 30TH SEPTEMBER, 1931.** Vol. V. By B. N. REU.  $13 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. iv + 14. Jodhpur : Marwar State Press, 1932.

**ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT (TRAVANCORE) ADMINISTRATION REPORT, 1106 M.E. (1931).** By R. V. PODUVAL.  $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. vi + 24, pls. 6. Trivandrum : Government Press, 1932.

Mr. Bisheswarnath Reu, Superintendent of the Archaeological Department in Jodhpur, reports the work done and the accessions in the Archaeological and Historical sections, the Museum, and the Libraries. There are lists of coins and inscriptions, and three Sanskrit inscriptions of historical importance are given, two of the eleventh and one of the twelfth century.

In the Report of Mr. R. Vasudeva Poduval one of the most interesting items is his exposition of the art of pantomime in Kerala, as shown in the illustrations of a large number of mudrās. They are said to be amplifications for secular purposes of the orthodox types of Tāntric and Mantric symbols. Besides the reports on Malabar architecture and the epigraphy ten Christian inscriptions of Portuguese tombstones of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are given.

668, 672.

E. J. THOMAS.

VORISLAMISCHE ALTERTÜMER. Rathjens- v. Wissmannsche  
Südarabien-Reise. Band II. By C. RATHJENS and H. v.  
WISSMANN.  $11\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ , pp. xvi + 212, ills. and maps 327.  
Hamburg : Friederichsen, de Gruyter and Co., 1932.  
RM. 15.

In the introduction to the volume in which the inscriptions found by these travellers are published, it is stated that the object of their journey was geographical exploration. In the introduction to this one the authors give an outline of their trip to Yemen but provoke more questions than they answer. Fortune, in the person of Arabian potentates, was not kind to them. They went from Hodeida to Sanaa and back by the same road. From the capital they visited three places situated on a line 30 miles long, 15 miles to the north. The Imam is interested in the antiquities of his land : his visitors were not archaeologists, but were ready to do their best ; so it was agreed that they should dig at Ḥugga. When they arrived they found that the local men were already at work, digging up the ruins with ploughs ! The next few days were the nightmare of an antiquary with malaria. They had to get orders from the Imam superseding the local authority, who was also the commander-in-chief. It says a lot for the authors that the resultant coolness lasted only a day or two. The workmen cared only for metal and treasure, removing walls as encumbrances.

They excavated a temple ; an oblong building, one long side of it faced a court which was surrounded on the other three sides by a colonnade. Behind the colonnade on the two sides lay further buildings. An underground cistern had two openings, one in the court and one just outside the boundary wall. The authors see a likeness to the old mosque at Sanaa, that of 'Amr in Cairo, and others. The temple at Ṣirwāḥ faintly resembles this, especially in its lack of symmetry. The authors believe that a strong Hamitic element is mixed with the Semitic population of Yemen and they would ascribe the rectangular temples to one and the elliptical to

the other. They note that most of the old towns lay to the east of the mountains and none lay to the west or in the coast plain. Probably the Sanaa plain became important politically after the east was abandoned. The political centre also moved from north to south. Some of the lava is recent and they think that the temple at Hugga may have been destroyed by an eruption about A.D. 300. They think that Yemen is the land of Punt ; if so, there must be a pre-Minaean civilization, the remains of which have not been seen or, perhaps, recognized as such.

No more digging was attempted, and the travellers contented themselves with seeing what they could. In architecture perhaps the history of the south Arabian column and capital can now be sketched, but in the absence of dates and in view of the many sites still to be explored, even this would be a risky undertaking. They made no wonderful discoveries ; a lion's head in bronze was the only piece that could be called a work of art ; the Imam retained it. A gold bead with a glass sheath is curious. Several gargoylees in the form of bulls' heads were found. The authors declare that they are not archaeologists, but their book seems to prove them to be wrong. It is hard to see how they could have done more or better. Except for a page or two of architectural detail, the book is very readable, and the pictures, especially those of the country, are beautiful. Who took the air photograph of the fort on Mt. Nuggum ?

Still, one thinks of Horace Walpole : " I am content with all arts when perfected, nor inquire how ingeniously people contrived to do without them—and I care still less for remains of art that retain no vestige of art."

## NYĀYADARŚANA (GAUTAMA SŪTRA) BHĀSYA. By VĀTSYĀYANA.

5 vols. Sanskrit text translated and explained in Bengali by P. TARKAVĀGĪŚĀ.  $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , Vol. I, pp. 48 + 470, Vol. II, pp. 10 + 526 + 4, Vol. III, pp. 12 + 369 + 3, Vol. IV, pp. 4 + 11 + 372 + 3, Vol. V, pp. 22 + 486 + 4. Calcutta : Bhārata-mihira Press, 1324 B.S..

This work contains the Sanskrit text (in Bengali characters) of the *Nyāyasūtras* and Vātsyāyana's commentary upon them, together with a super-commentary on both in Bengali by Pandit Phanibhūṣana Tarkavāgīśa. By far the greater part of the space is occupied by the super-commentary.

There is an introduction to the first volume which discusses the tenets of the Nyāya school of philosophy, the arrangement of the Sūtras, their reputed author Gotama, and the two commentators, Vātsyāyana and Uddyotakara. In this introduction there is only a passing reference to the modern view that only the first of the five books of the Nyāya-Sūtras is the work of Gotama (Akṣapāda). It is true that the reader is told that the matter will be discussed at various points in the course of the commentary. It would have been more satisfactory to include the discussion of such points in the introduction. As it is, the student who wishes to know the views of the editor on this or any similar point has to roam through five volumes, containing in all more than two thousand closely printed pages in the hope of lighting on the spot where the matter is dealt with, for there is no subject index to help him. This absence of an index is a very serious matter, and it is to be hoped that the Bangīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, under whose auspices the work appears, will remedy the defect by arranging for an index to be published as a supplementary volume.

In spite of this serious defect, and in spite also of the regrettably long (and incomplete) list of misprints appended to each of the five volumes, this work will doubtless remain for many years the standard work in Bengali on the Nyāya-Sūtras, serving for Bengali students much the same purpose

as that served for English students by Dr. Gaṅgānātha Jhā's translation of the Sūtras and the two recognized commentaries on them. There is, however, still room for a shorter Bengali work on the lines of Mahāmahopādhyāya Satiśa Candra Vidyābhūṣaṇa's English work, containing simply the Sūtras themselves with short explanatory notes.

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W. SUTTON PAGE.

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CHINESE PAINTINGS IN AMERICAN COLLECTIONS. *Annales du Musée Guimet : Bibliothèque d'Art, Nouvelle série II.*  
By OSVALD SIRÉN. 5 parts, 16 $\frac{1}{2}$  × 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. 161, pls. 200.  
Paris and Brussels : G. Van Oest, 1927-8.

It is impossible for an Englishman not to regret, as he reads the introduction and turns over the plates of Dr. Sirén's fine publication, the opportunities which men of his country had of forming collections of Oriental paintings in Japan in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In those days the United States had no monopoly of wealthy collectors, and the prices asked for even the best pieces were wonderfully low compared with anything that would be quoted nowadays—even if the things of really fine quality ever come on the market at all. The heroes of Dr. Sirén's book, as explained in his lucid historical introduction, are Professor Fenollosa, Dr. Bigelow, and Dr. Weld, who brought together the paintings which formed the basis of the Museum collections at Boston—without question the finest, outside of Japan at least—and Charles Freer, who bought fearlessly in China and Japan, though without special training, entirely on his own judgment, and made the other great American public collection, now at Washington. From these two Museums are drawn the large majority of the subjects which are illustrated in the rest of the publication, the text simply consisting of descriptions of these examples, with such suggestions as is all that the present progress of the study of this extremely difficult subject seems to the editor to justify.

The plan has been to publish alongside of the traditional ascription of the painting, the official attribution, together with "the comments of the museum authorities by whom they have been catalogued" and critical observations by Dr. Sirén himself. This retiring attitude on his part does indeed give us the privilege of seeing some of Professor Okakura's sensitive appreciations, and of being admitted to the intimacy of Dr. Lodge's personal taste, but the result makes the publication too formless to be of great value to anyone trying for the first time to obtain from these reproductions a general idea of Chinese painting.

This is to be regretted, because the available literature in European languages is still so small and because none of the collections on the Continent of Europe is rich enough to give an adequate idea of the history of Chinese painting in all its periods. For the student, however, these portfolios provide a valuable mass of material, though reproductions of Chinese paintings are even less informative than those of oil paintings. A comparison of these colotypes with ordinary photographs of the same paintings shows how much is dependent on accidents of lighting and method of reproduction and makes one doubt the value of either for critical judgment. But this is not a very fair complaint; book reproductions never take the place of photographs and for such a nucleus as this the student must be grateful, particularly if he has already seen the originals. In the critical field we must hope that Dr. Sirén's forthcoming history of Chinese painting will provide the help which he has here withheld.

151.

BASIL GRAY.

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MUSÉE NATIONAL DU LOUVRE. Les miniatures persanes.

Par IVAN STCHOUKINE. 8vo, pp. 104, pl. xxxii. Paris,  
1932.

This volume contains the first catalogue of Persian miniatures in one of the older European museums to be published

and as such it is to be warmly welcomed. M. Blochet has done much towards a catalogue of the great treasures of the Bibliothèque Nationale but, until the big libraries make available definite descriptions of their contents, it is impossible that the subject should be put on a sound scientific basis.

The Louvre collection is of recent formation, only two of the sixty-four pieces here described having been acquired before the war; but it is none the less of remarkably high quality, and contains several miniatures of first-class importance, like the well-known Muhammadi sketch, which is the only signed and dated example of his work, and the page from the Demotte *Shāh-nāma* with its unusually large and sweeping design showing Farāmurz pursuing the king of Kābul (pl. iii). Both these were part of the bequest of Georges Marteau which virtually founded the collection.

The catalogue also includes ten miniatures which came to the Louvre so recently as last year under the will of Raymond Koechlin, whose death was such a loss to Islamic studies. Several of these were seen earlier in the year at the exhibition at Burlington House.

M. Ivan Stchoukine has followed up his work on Mughal painting, which includes a catalogue of the Louvre collection published in 1929, by extending his attention to the allied field of Persian miniatures. Both in the short historical notice which is prefixed to this catalogue and in the full critical descriptions he has done admirable work. There is only room here to call attention to some of the most valuable features. In the introduction he naturally lays considerable emphasis on the later periods, in which the collection is exceptionally strong, while regretting that it is weakest in the finest phase under the Timurids. He makes a spirited defence of the drawings of the period of 'Abbas the Great with their "pictorial line and appearance of spontaneity". He has fine examples to support his thesis, though they include several drawings which have not previously been dated so late as M. Stchoukine now puts them. He even finds

the rather crude and acid colours of the period refreshingly modern.

Features of the catalogue are the careful description of costume and the full bibliographies which record the opinions of previous art historians. One has only to look at them to see with how much greater sureness dating can now be attempted than twenty years ago. The thirty-eight reproductions are extremely clear and make the work a charming souvenir of a collection which could only have been formed in Paris, where the Persian miniature was first appreciated in Europe and most discriminattingly collected.

N.R. 14.

BASIL GRAY.

A DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES IN INDIAN BUDDHISM.

By C. AKANUMA. With introduction by Professor YAMABE.  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ , pp. xvi + 888. Nayoga, 1931.

Now that this monumental work, the outcome of fifteen years' single-handed labours, is completed, it is befitting to draw the reader's attention to its value and importance in the field of Buddhist studies. It is hardly too much to say that it forms a complete encyclopædia of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

The basis of the Dictionary is formed by the Chinese Āgamas. Next in importance are the Buddhist Sanskrit sources, followed by the Pāli Tipiṭaka and (preponderating) its Commentaries. Every Sanskrit name is given in its Chinese transliteration as well as translation, with full text-references exceeding in some cases 100 in number. The alphabetical arrangement follows that of Childer's Pāli Dictionary, viz. the Roman alphabet. A very complete Index in the Japanese alphabet concludes the work.

The merits of the work far outweigh its occasional shortcomings. It is invaluable for the investigation of the relations between Indian, Chinese, and Pāli Buddhism, and thus of great use even to Pāli students, although for a full appreciation of its depth and width a knowledge of Chinese is indis-

pensable. The comparative tables, given whenever occasion offered, are of very great help to the student of Pāli Buddhism, as informing him of many various lines of tradition.

N.R. 15.

W. STEDE.

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DIE ÄTHIOPISCHE ÜBERSETZUNG DES PROPHETEN DANIEL.

Herausgegeben von OSCAR LÖFGREN. 10 × 7, pp. liv + 163, pls. 4. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1927.

A most remarkable and most regrettable lacuna in the corpus of published Ethiopic texts has been the absence, until quite recently, of certain books of the Old Testament. In his *Daniel* Dr. Löfgren gives a list of eleven books of which no critical edition had then appeared—though his own labours have now reduced them to six. The Asmara Old Testament was indeed completed in 1926 ; but without belittling that achievement one may endorse what Dr. Löfgren has said elsewhere—that it “keinen eigentlich wissenschaftlichen Wert besitzt”. One cannot dispute Dr. Löfgren's right to throw a gentle stone or two, for it is no glass house that he inhabits : his work is scientific in a most proper sense. His text of Daniel is based on the Paris (Bibl. Nat.) MS. Éth. 11, which has been minutely collated with the eleven next best manuscripts known which contain the book, the variants being recorded in detail. On this foundation he has been able to make a very reasonable attempt, in his *Einleitung*, to define the relations of the Ethiopic version with the Syriac and Hebrew recensions. Moreover, the exhaustive *Kommentar* takes account of parallels and contrasts in the Greek, Latin, Coptic, and Arabic.

The difficult typographical problems involved have been very adequately solved, and the complexities both in text and apparatus are readable and not unsightly ; and the errata list comprises but three items. The Register might perhaps have been expanded into a rather fuller index to the commentary. There are four facsimiles of pages from the three

oldest manuscripts—unless Dr. Löfgren has antedated MS. Éth. Abb. 55, which gives the impression of a somewhat later date than 1500. But the dating of Ethiopic manuscripts is admittedly dangerous ground, and Dr. Löfgren brings some impressive philological and orthographical data to bear on the matter.

581.

STEPHEN WRIGHT.

YŪRAP MĒ DAKHNI MAKHTŪTĀT. By NĀSĪR UD DĪN HĀSHIMI. 9½ × 6½, pp. 11 + 714. Hyderabad, Deccan : Shams ul-Matābi', 1932.

Mr. Hāshimī has visited seven libraries, six in this country and one in Paris (India Office, British Museum, Royal Asiatic Society, Cambridge University, Bodleian, Edinburgh University, Bibliothèque Nationale), and examined the Dakhnī MSS. mentioned in their catalogues. Here he takes these MSS. one by one, translating what the catalogues say and giving further information about them and their writers. He confers a boon on all, especially European scholars, who may wish to make a study of early Urdu literature.

Some of the most interesting books in Urdu are those produced in the Deccan before 1700. It is, and perhaps will always remain, the fashion in north India to decry the output of early Dakhnī writers. This is due to three causes : firstly north Indian readers are ignorant of Dakhnī literature ; in the next place they are jealous of the fact that the Deccan was two or three hundred years, or even more, ahead of the north ; and thirdly they attach undue importance to outward form, and consequently fail to realize the beauty of such works as do not conform to present standards in language and figures of speech.

This volume reminds us of Muhiyyuddin Qādri's *Urdū Shahpāre*, but the object of the two books is different. Dr. Qādri's is the first of a series of three *tazkiras* dealing with

the whole of Urdu literature. He covers the period from the earliest times to the death of Valī Aurangābādī. Almost all the writers quoted belonged to the Deccan, though one or two came from Gujrāt. Down to Valī's time north India had done practically nothing in Urdu. Mr. Hāshimī has purposely confined himself to the Deccan, but Dr. Qādri was limited to that country because there was hardly anything worth mentioning in the north. He again wrote of authors and their works, Mr. Hāshimī of MSS. and their authors, a similar, but not identical, aim.

Early Dakhnī literature, it always seems to me, can best be divided into three periods : (i) before 1590 ; (ii) 1590 to the end of the Qutb Shāhī and 'Ādil Shāhī periods in 1686-7 ; (iii) from then to the death of Valī. From a study of this volume we observe that none of the British libraries are said to contain any MSS. of the first period. There are twenty of the second and twelve of the third (duplicates excluded). Paris has one of the second, and two of the third. Most of the MSS. are later than Valī. But I would draw attention to two important MSS. which have been omitted, both of the first period, the *Khūb Tarang*, 1578, in the India Office, and the *Nūr Nāma*, about the same time, in the British Museum. They may have a strong Gujrāti colouring (the first certainly has), but that hardly accounts for their being left out.

Mr. Hāshimī agrees with the India Office Catalogue in calling Sevak the author of the *magnavī* known as *Jang Nāma*. In my *History of Urdu Literature* I attributed it to Abu'l Qāsim Mirza, adding the word "doubtful". The two persons may, however, be the same.

The Deccan is at present the scene of much literary activity, and there are several enthusiastic workers. Mr. Hāshimī has worthily upheld their reputation and deserves our gratitude.

EIN BEITRAG ZUR KENNTNIS DER CHINESISCHEN PHILOSOPHIE :  
 T'ung-šū des Čeū-tsī mit Čū-hī's Commentar nach dem  
 Šing-li Tsing-i. Chinesisch mit mandschuischer und  
 deutscher Übersetzung und Anmerkungen. Heraus-  
 gegeben von WILHELM GRUBE : Kap. 1-20 ; fortgeführt  
 und beendet von WERNER EICHHORN : Kap. 21-40.  
 9½ × 6½, pp. xvi + 173. Leipzig : Verlag Asia Major  
 G.m.b.H., 1932. RM. 25.

More than fifty years have passed since the first part of this translation of the *T'ung shu* was published by Wilhelm Grube, then a rising young sinologue, after having been accepted by the Philosophical Faculty of Leipsic University as an "approbita Promotionsschrift". For some reason or other he never completed the work, although its importance in the history of Confucian philosophy is undisputed ; and perhaps a lack of acquaintance with Manchu prevented others from continuing it. Now Herr Eichhorn has come forward to shoulder the task : he has reprinted chapters 1-20 in Grube's translation, and—with a certain amount of help duly acknowledged—has done the rest himself, keeping to the general scheme, though deviating here and there from the interpretations of his predecessor. One is glad to find that the dreadful transliteration which appears on the title-page is discarded in his part of the work. The "T'ung shu des Chou-tze" is far simpler and just as accurate as "T'ung-šū des Čeū-tsī". On the other hand, the enclosing of the author's own text in cartouches, which served to distinguish it more clearly from the commentary, is a feature of Grube's work which might well have been retained.

The *T'ung shu* is the later of Chou Tun-i's two surviving works, the other being the *T'ai chi t'u shuo*. It is a series of forty short inquiries into various points of metaphysics, ethics, and politics. Grube thought that no very definite connection could be traced between the different chapters, and therefore suggested "encyclopaedia" as the most correct rendering of the title. This is rejected by Herr Eichhorn,

who believes that *t'ung shu* means "the book of penetration" (*Buch des Durchdringens*), by which he understands the penetration of or into the essence of the Sage or Holy Man. He sees in it no disjointed set of aphorisms, but a connected attempt to discover the essential quality of "holiness", resting on data supplied by the *Chung yung* and the *I ching*. Between these two opinions the reader himself must judge; but he may be warned that in any case he will find it no easy matter to follow the author's train of thought and piece together the logical sequence of the chapters, if any such there be. Again, there is much doubt about the relation of the *T'ung shu* to the *T'ai chi t'u shuo*. One of Chu Hsi's contemporaries declared that the same man could not have written both, while others regard the *T'ung shu* as complementary to the earlier work, and an integral part of the author's philosophical system. This question is not discussed here.

Herr Eichhorn gives a useful summary of the contents of the chapters translated by Grube, showing at any rate some sort of connection, and it is a pity that it is not continued so as to include the remainder of the treatise. The printing and the general setting of the page are very clear and good, but there is rather too long a list of corrigenda for a book of such moderate bulk. In one case, the same misprinted character occurs no fewer than seven times in three consecutive pages.

727.

LIONEL GILES.

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JEHOL, CITY OF EMPERORS. By SVEN HEDIN. Translated from the Swedish by E. J. NASH.  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. xiv + 270, ills. 65, map. London: Kegan Paul, 1932. 18s.

Stockholm and Chicago are to have replicas of the great Lama Temple at Jehol, which the author visited in 1930. This book does not contain a fully detailed description of the wonders of this city of monastery temples, and the scientific student must await impatiently but hopefully the

series of scientific monographs on Lamaism—by the author, Professor Lessing and Dr. Martell.

The Potala at Jehol commemorates the reunion of the Targots with the Manchu Empire after a passage perilous from Russia in which the refugees suffered incredible hardships, vividly narrated in chapter iii. Hither came the Grand Lama in 1780, when the great temple monastery, Hsin Kung, was built to the plan of the Tashilhunpo, so that the holy visitor might feel at home. With him came an agent from Warren Hastings whom the Tashi Lama called “his splendid friend, a prince, and regent”, tribute due to the Great Pro-consul. Here the holy visitor died—“at an opportune time” for the Manchu ruler, whose historians and record writers pass this tragic event with discreet silence.

Thence, on its long journey (1,800 miles) to Tashilhunpo, across the barren country which the author knows so well, was sent the most magnificent funeral procession that the world has ever seen.

Thither (chapter ix) came Lord Macartney’s Embassy of which fortunately we have an authentic and reliable account by the hand of its secretary, Sir George Staunton, the Minister Plenipotentiary. The question “how far the Ambassador could go in showing reverence to the Manchu Emperor without overstepping his obligation to his own Monarch” was settled ingeniously, but the haughty and contemptuous reply was followed later by what the author calls “royal and barbarous revenge”. Comment on this is hardly necessary, as the author’s attitude is notorious. It is pleasant to record admiration for the skill and charm of the narratives of the tragedy of Hsiang Fei, who in loyalty to the memory of her gallant soldier husband refused the dishonouring honours heaped upon her by the Emperor, and was strangled by the order of the Queen Mother; of the rise and fall of Ho Shen, the Great Emperor’s favourite and minister; the career of Yehonala, the Manchu Lady; and the sad fate of Tung, the faithful wife of Wang, and their end.

The author has made copious use of other authorities, such as Bland and Backhouse, Professor Karlgren, Franke, and the Handbook of Jehol. Experts in the history of Chinese art may dispute the suggestion, assigned to Professor Lessing, that the prototype of the Laughing Buddha is to be found in the popular picture of Silenus, a short, fat man, bald and carrying a wineskin, surrounded by playing children. It may be so. The translation is excellent, and the illustrations are beautiful.

741.

T. C. HODSON.

### Indonesia

*By C. O. Blagden*

1. **ADATRECHTBUNDELS.** Bezorgd door de Commissie voor het Adatrecht en uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië.  $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ . xxxi : Celebes, pp. vii + 444; xxxii : Zuid-Sumatra, pp. vii + 468, pl. 1, map 1; xxxiii : Gemengd, pp. ix + 482, map 1. 's-Gravenhage : Martinus Nijhoff, 1929, 1930, 1930. G. 5.50 per deel.

Previous volumes of this important series of documents on Indonesian customary law have been noticed in former issues of our JOURNAL, and it would be superfluous to dilate on its value and interest. The contents of these three volumes are of a very varied character and are drawn from many sources. The geographical area dealt with is given in the titles of the first two volumes, the third is miscellaneous, and includes all parts of Java (and Madura), Achin, the Gayo, Alas, and Batak regions of north-western Sumatra, the Minangkabau section of the same island, and Southern Sumatra, the Malay region, Bangka, and Bēlitong, Borneo, the Minahasa, Bolaang-Mongondou, and Toraja regions of Celebes and its extreme southern section, the Ternate archipelago, the Kai group, Western New Guinea, Flores, Ende and the Solor

archipelago, Bali, the Sangir and Talaut group, and Madagascar. In addition to this there are articles dealing with various aspects of the study and practice of customary law and particular portions of it, including one on land titles in Hawaii, and on the local applications of Muslim law, etc.

It may be remarked that apart from the legal and ethnographic interest of this collection, it has also some value from the linguistic point of view, for it embodies texts and lists of technical terms in several Indonesian languages.

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2. PANDECTEN VAN HET ADATRECHT. Koninklijk Koloniaal Instituut te Amsterdam, Mededeeling No. IV, Afdeeling Volkenkunde No. 2. IX. Schuldenrecht.  $9 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. vii + 774. Amsterdam : Uitgave van het Instituut, druk De Bussy, 1931. F. 12.

This is a volume of another series on Indonesian customary law, but the system of arrangement is different. The present volume is entirely concerned with the law of debt, the division into chapters is based on the subject-matter, the subdivision of the chapters is geographical, and within these the material is arranged in sections, like a code. The several chapters deal separately with such matters as movables in general, plants, cattle, slaves, trade, and barter, pawning and pledging, etc., under twenty-five heads. This has the advantage of presenting the available material in a systematic form. The geographical classification is much the same as in the Adatrechtbundels series. There is as an appendix a list of many of the sources from which the information has been derived. Other references to sources are appended to the several sections of the text, and it is noticeable that many of them refer to the Adatrechtbundels, but there is much else as well. The two series are really complementary to one another.

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3. HINDE-JAVAANSCHE GESCHIEDENIS. Door Dr. N. J. KROM.  
 Tweede, herziene druk.  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ , pp. v + 505, maps 2.  
 's-Gravenhage : Martinus Nijhoff, 1931.

The first edition of this excellent work was published in 1926, and reviewed pretty fully in our JOURNAL in October, 1928. This revised edition takes into account a number of matters which have been brought to light or discussed in the meantime. I need only refer to recent prehistoric discoveries as evidence of primeval migrations into the Indian Archipelago (pp. 36-9), epigraphic and other data concerning early Sumatran (pp. 120-2, 143-5) and Javanese rulers (pp. 125-6, 136, 155-7, 187-8), and the age of the old temples of Eastern Java (pp. 160-1), among the material here freshly incorporated. There is even a reference in the addenda to a paper read at the Leyden Congress of Orientalists in September, 1831.

Though thus brought up to date, the work nevertheless remains substantially the same ; and I can only repeat that it would be very desirable to have an English version of it.

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4. BEKNOPTE MALEISCHE GRAMMATICA. Door C. A. MEES.  
 Tweede druk.  $7\frac{3}{4} + 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 172. Santpoort : Uitgeverij  
 C. A. Mees, 1931.

This is a second edition, revised and considerably enlarged, of a work published under a slightly different title in 1927, and reviewed in our JOURNAL in October, 1928. The observations then made about it need not be repeated here. It is beyond question a good and useful little grammar, but it offers a number of points for criticism in detail.

On p. 55, for example, we are told that certain verbs such as *tahu* and *masok* (I use the English romanized spelling for the convenience of British readers) require a preposition to link them to an object. In colloquial Malay, at any rate, this rule is not always followed, and there are instances to the contrary on pp. 37 and 123 of this very book. It is putting the case too high to assert (as on p. 81) that a numeral classifier must always accompany a numeral when concrete objects

are involved; the colloquial often omits some of them, notably the numeral classifier *orang*. The rule (given on p. 95) that the prepositions *di*-, *ka*-, and *dari* must always *immediately* precede a word of place has long been relaxed in the case of the last named (which is also quite frequently used before words of time, etc.); and it is now in process of being gradually abandoned (though, in my opinion, wrongly) as regards the other two as well. Indeed, an example with *ka*- occurs on p. 73 of this work. On p. 101 *oleh* is styled a substantive; an instance of its use as such in Malay does not occur to me. The rule on pp. 124-5 that nothing may intervene between subject and verb (in the simple form, when the verb is one that is capable of taking the prefix *mēng*-) is not observed in the colloquial. No objection is made, for example, to *kita* (or *sahaya*) *tidak* (or *hēndak*, or *bēlum*) *lihat*, and the like.

In the preface there is a complaint that the work has not received adequate criticism, particularly from the pedagogical point of view. There is hardly space for more in this place; but I have noted about fifty other passages on which I should like to offer some comment, and I am prepared to furnish the author with particulars, if desired.

### 534.

5. KATALOG DES REICHSMUSEUMS VON ETHNOGRAPHIE.  
MOLUKKEN. Band xxi. Sula-Inseln, Buru, Ambon und Ceram (Erster Teil). pp. xix + 140, pls. 10. Band xxii. Ceram (Zweiter Teil), Ternate, Tidore, Batjan, Halmahera, Aru- und Kei-Inseln (Erster Teil). pp. xx + 136, pls. 11. Band xxiii, Südost- und Südwest-Inseln. pp. xviii + 166, pls. 10. Von Dr. H. H. JUYNBOLL.  $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ . Leiden: E. J. Brill A.-G., 1930, 1931, 1932.

As will be inferred from the title, this is a detailed catalogue of ethnographical exhibits from the Moluccas and now in the possession of the State Ethnographical Museum at Leyden. The classification is primarily geographical, under the above-mentioned main heads, and secondarily according to function,

e.g. appliances connected with food, drink and stimulants, ornaments and clothing, buildings and furniture, hunting and fishing, agriculture and horticulture, and many other matters connected with the life of the natives of these islands. The separate entries within these several subdivisions are numbered (by series and items) and briefly describe each individual object, explaining its use when that is not obvious from its name.

Each volume is provided with an Introduction, and contains lists indicating the sources from which the objects were derived, the names of donors being given. There are also valuable bibliographies, table of contents, descriptions of the plates, addenda and corrigenda, indexes of proper names and names of objects, and also of their native names, as well as tables of the serial and item numbers with references to the pages where the particular objects are described. The plates, each of which usually contains illustrations of several objects, are well executed and leave nothing to be desired, save that the scale is inevitably rather small.

The publication of this catalogue has now been proceeding for a number of years past, and has been revealing to the world the riches of the Leyden Ethnographical Museum, whose only defect is that it has not enough space to do them full justice. But that is the fate of most of the leading museums, unfortunately. From the ethnographical point of view, this catalogue is a very important publication.

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C. O. BLAGDEN.

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VEDIC VARIANTS : A STUDY OF THE VARIANT READINGS IN  
THE REPEATED MANTRAS OF THE VEDA. By MAURICE  
BLOOMFIELD and FRANKLIN EDGERTON. Vol. II :  
Phonetics.  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 570. Philadelphia : Special  
Publication of the Linguistic Society of America,  
University of Pennsylvania. 1932.

We are much indebted to the generosity of the Linguistic Society of America and the American Council of Learned

Societies in furnishing the means for the publication of the series of *Vedic Variants*. The work of the late Professor Bloomfield and of Professor Edgerton, who has had the help of Dr. Emeneau, is of fundamental value for the progress of Vedic studies. It forms an indispensable adjunct to the elucidation of the history of the Vedic texts and the determination of their meaning and their interrelations. Scattered throughout the work are many observations on points of detail which will deserve serious consideration from all editors and interpreters of Vedic texts.

One general conclusion which emerges from the work is the arbitrary and capricious nature of the Vedic tradition (p. 344), which is admirably illustrated by the irrational procedure by which the *Taittirīya* sets aside its practice of recording *iy* and *uv* for the normal *y* and *v* of other texts in favour of *kṣyant*, *prorṇvāthām* and *kvala*, while vice versa the *Kāthaka* insists on *triyavi*, and the *Rigveda* itself records *svvāna* despite the metrical certainty of *svāna*. Another of no less importance is the conclusive evidence that the Mantras suffered severely in oral tradition, and that the compilers of later texts frequently did not understand the tradition and either handed it down in unintelligible form or endeavoured to produce something more capable of ready apprehension. This strongly suggests that the Mantra literature possesses a considerable antiquity, though, of course, once in existence it could freely be copied and varied, and many of the Mantras actually preserved, for instance in the *Atharvaveda*, may well have been composed contemporaneously with the Brāhmaṇas; even the Sūtras contain material which indicates that the priests were perfectly ready to adapt the ancient formulæ to more recent ritual needs.

These considerations are of special interest in view of the stress laid (p. 20) by the authors on variants which suggest possible dialectic influence from popular speech by their resemblance to the phonetics of the later Middle-Indic dialects. The large mass of variants of this kind, in their view, clearly

points to the "extensive influence of Middle-Indic phonetics in the earliest periods of the language", and very properly they regard this conclusion as one of the most important results of the volume. Similarly they speak (p. 295) of the wide spread of Prakritism in Vedic times, and (p. 314) of "the now well-established fact that Prakritic phonology played a large rôle in the speech of Vedic times". Evidence they find not merely in Prakritisms, but also in hyper-Sanskritisms, the latter indicating a rather definite consciousness on the part of the handlers of the texts of the antithesis between the phonetics of the high speech and of the popular dialects. How far can we accept as proved this point of view? To a certain and very important extent the thesis may be admitted, and, indeed, is already generally conceded.<sup>1</sup> The Asokan inscriptions and the few possibly earlier records show that long before 300 B.C., in parts at least of India, there were current forms of speech in which phonetic change had advanced far beyond that normally found in the early Mantras. The appearance of such a grammar as that of Pāṇini is clear proof that conscious study of a norm of speech for the highest class had long been practised. We may, therefore, assume with certainty that in a period when such texts as the Brāhmaṇas, the Upaniṣads, the Sūtras, and a portion of the Mantras were being produced, there were current popular forms of speech as well as local dialects which may easily have influenced the composers of these works. But are we to go as far as the authors and believe that the earliest Mantras were produced by priests at a time when there prevailed in popular speech those tendencies which we may conveniently style Prakritic? Of course, if we accept the theories of comparatively late date for the *Rigveda* itself, *cadit quaestio*; but, if for various grounds we reject these views and assign a relatively high age to the *Rigveda*, we must consider the possibility of the alternative explanation that such Prakritisms as can really be traced in that text are

<sup>1</sup> Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, i, xviii.

the result of change in tradition, and must not be imputed to the original seers or to those who first handed down their hymns. There is, however, yet a further possibility to be borne in mind. Sporadic instances of phonetic change or of borrowing from another dialect may have occurred in the earliest Vedic period, although contemporary speech did not generalize the change or extend the borrowing.<sup>1</sup> Nothing is more obscure than the process of development of phonetic change, and such a possibility must always be kept in mind. When, therefore, it is suggested that the *Sāmaveda* has "secondarily, of course", restored Sanskrit vocalization in *durhṛṇāyataḥ* for the Prakritized form *durhanāyataḥ* (p. 295), the assertion seems too strong; assuming the *r* form original, it may well be that the Rigvedic tradition, whence the *Sāmaveda* borrowed, had *durhṛṇāyataḥ*, and that the change in the former tradition is later. But it remains to be proved that the *r* form is the true Sanskrit.

There is no possibility of a conclusive settlement of the issue, but the *Rigveda* seems to have too few Prakriticisms to render it plausible to believe that the popular speech of the contemporary world was largely Prakritized. In the later Vedic period the evidence of Prakritic influence is palpable and abundant; thus the *Āpastamba Sūtra* has *dadhiṣe*, *cākupānāḥ*, and *tvaṣṭumantas*, that of Hiranyakesin *dhenugā*, and *dyām*, and the *Vaitāna* is rich in such forms. But the further we go back the less evidence of Prakritism seems to be forthcoming. When MS. has *prsthavāt* for *pashthavāt* of the other Samhitās, it is surely needless (p. 296) to talk of a hyper-Sanskritism. The MS. form is the proper Sanskrit form, and there is no reason to suppose that it was not original, and the alternative form should be treated as secondary. The change in SV. of the RV. *somah sutah pūyate ajyamānah* to *suta rcyate pūyamānah* is surely a legitimate variation and not a lexical change with hyper-Sanskritic tendency (p. 34). It resembles

<sup>1</sup> The authors assume such an isolated dialectic borrowing for *avata* (p. 87).

rather such variations as we find between *vācam* and *vājam*, or *ud-ac* and *ud-aj*, where there is no real Prakritic influence in operation. To suggest (p. 41) that the absurd MS. *diśām tevy avatu no ghṛtācī* is a hyper-Sanskritism is hardly plausible ; it is the essence of a hyper-Sanskritism that it seems to be Sanskrit and *tevī* is a mere smudge, parallel with the absurd *mātyk* of TA. i, 5, 1. Again, it seems impossible to accept the TS. *prṣvā* for *pruṣvā* as hyper-Sanskritic (p. 312) ; it rather illustrates the early uncertainty of the pronunciation of *r*, *ri*, and *ru*.

In the same way we must be cautious about assuming Prakritisms ; they exist, but in some cases we have no textual evidence worth consideration for their early character ; the isolated *piga* of KSA. and its *vārhīnasas* are worthless as they rest on such scanty tradition. Of the variants *acharā* KSA., *atsarā* MS., *ṛkṣalā* VS., and *ṛcharā* AV., it is impossible to make anything (p. 22) ; certainly we cannot assert that either MS. or VS. is hyper-Sanskritic. There is no sound reason to claim that *nādh* is a Prakritic form of *nāth* (p. 45) ; the change from *nādh* to *nāth* is at least as probable.<sup>1</sup> In the VS. *niṣaṅgadhi* for *niṣaṅgathi* the dominant force has clearly been connection in the mind of the coiner of the word with *-dhi*. Mental association again explains the MS. version *purāṇḍaro gotrabhṛd vajrabāhuḥ* much better than hyper-Sanskritism (p. 298) ; no doubt *gotrabhid* is the original, but that is so clearly good Sanskrit that a correction is out of the question, but the thought of the person responsible for the text ran to *vajrabhṛd*. Spontaneous cerebralization is not really probable<sup>2</sup> for *avata* or *pan* (p. 87), and the variation of *artham* and *ardham* in *maiśāṁ nu gād aparo artham etam* is surely the case of the substitution of one idea for another, not of synonyms (p. 45). The Mantra material of TB. is poorly preserved, and we cannot be certain that forms such as *edageva* or *pārāvadaghñīm* have any value as evidence, still

<sup>1</sup> Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, i, 123.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., i, 167, 193.

less nonsense such as the line *jajñā neta sann apurogavāśah* (p. 38) found in several texts. It is impossible, however, to pursue the matter in further detail. The conclusion seems clear that in the later Vedic period Prakritic influence affected the learners of sacred texts, so that changes were made in those which were handed down, and those priests who made new Mantras might depart from the traditional norm. But there is no sufficient ground to suppose that in the earliest Vedic period this tendency was in operation to any substantial extent.<sup>1</sup>

It remains to note that an important chapter (xx) is devoted to suggestion of graphic variants. Some of these are plausible, but the impression certainly is strengthened that the tradition of the Vedic texts was essentially oral and that writing intervened at a late stage of the transmission.

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A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

#### NOTE ON BARSALIBI'S CONTROVERSIAL WORKS

In editing the controversial work of Barsalibi against the Armenians<sup>2</sup> my aim was not to enumerate all the modern copies which contain it. Of such copies, Mr. Moss evidently knows only that of Sir Ernest Wallis Budge, dated A.D. 1890 (now British Museum, Oriental, 9377). There is also another copy at Harvard, dated A.D. 1898 (Semitic Museum, 4,019). There is a third copy in my collection, written about A.D. 1870 (Mingana Syriac, 215), and a fourth copy, of a still later date, belonged to the late Professor F. Nau, whose recent death all Syriac scholars deplore. All these modern manuscripts, with the exception of the Harvard copy, are derived from a badly preserved and defective original, found in the West Syrian Cathedral Church at Mosul. I carefully examined this original, and so far as the treatise against the Armenians is concerned, I could not find in it any important variants, as compared with Mingana Syriac 347, which was written

<sup>1</sup> *jyotiś* is a probable example of the tendency.

<sup>2</sup> See review of my *Woodbrooke Studies*, iv, in *JRAS.*, 1933, pp. 232-6.

about A.D. 1560, and which I reproduced in fascimile for my edition of the work. In the review of my book by Mr. Moss it is implied that I am ignorant of the existence, in the British Museum, of Sir Ernest Wallis Budge's copy, referred to above, but if Mr. Moss cares to ask Mr. Leveen, of the Oriental Department of the Museum, he will learn that on three occasions I have taxed to the utmost his kindness in my thorough examination of this copy.

Mr. Moss further states in his review that I have failed to notice that Togarma, the father of the Armenians, mentioned by Barsalibi, is the Togarma of Gen. x, 3,<sup>1</sup> and that my reference in this connection to Thorgoma is probably not correct. May I point out that Togarma of the Bible, and Thorgoma of the Armenian historians are the same man? It is exactly a case of the French : "Chou vert et vert chou."

Mr. Moss's interesting review of my book ends with the sentence : "In spite of criticisms on certain points of detail, etc.", but these criticisms only bear on the fact that, by an oversight, I had omitted to notice in the footnote a reference to Wisdom, vii, 2, and Ecclesiasticus, v, 5. I thank Mr. Moss for drawing my attention to this omission.

A. MINGANA.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes :—

**THE VISION OF ASIA : An Interpretation of Chinese Art and Culture.** By L. CRANMER-BYNG. London : John Murray, 1932.

**CURRIES AND OTHER INDIAN DISHES.** By MULK RAJ ANANA. London : Desmond Harmsworth.

**MAHARANA KUMBHA : SOVEREIGN, SOLDIER, SCHOLAR.** By HARBILAS SARDA. Ajmer : Vedic Yantralaya, 1932.

**AMSU BODHINI SHASTRA.** By MAHARSHI BHARADWAJA. Chapter 1. Bangalore : V. B. Soobbiah & Sons, 1931.

<sup>1</sup> The verse of Gen. is x, 3, not x, 4, as stated by Mr. Moss in his review.

- AŚOKA (Carmichael Lectures). By D. R. BHANDARKAR.  
University of Calcutta, 1932.
- THE ORIGIN OF THE ALPHABET AND NUMERALS. By R. N.  
SAHA. Allahabad : Indian Press, Ltd., 1931.
- DOCUMENTS CONCERNING ENGLISH VOYAGES TO THE SPANISH  
MAIN, 1569-1580. The Hakluyt Society, Second Series,  
No. LXXI, 1932.
- THE PERSIAN GULF : A Persian Translation by Muhammad  
Sa'idi. Teheran, 1932.
- THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF ISLAM. Fasciculus Q. London :  
Luzac & Co., 1932.
- NÄYTTEITÄ VATJAN KIELESTÄ. Edited by LAURI KETTUNEN  
and LAURI POSTI. Mémoires de la Société Finno-  
Ougrienne : LXIII. Helsingfors, 1932.
- SAMOJEDISCHE WÖRTERVERZEICHNISSE. Edited by KAI  
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LXIV. Helsingfors, 1932.
- THE ART OF DAGHESTAN : CARVED STONES. By A. S.  
BASHKIROFF. Moscow : Ranion, 1931.
- GRAMMAIRE DE LA LANGUE DARKWA (DARGWA). By L.  
JIRKOFF. Moscow, 1926.
- PROCEEDINGS OF THE NINETEENTH INDIAN SCIENCE  
CONGRESS : BANGALORE ; Third Circuit, 1932. Asiatic  
Society of Bengal, 1932.
- PICTURESQUE REPRESENTATIONS OF THE DRESS AND MANNERS  
OF THE TURKS. By WILLIAM ALEXANDER. With  
Turkish Translation by MUHARREN FEYZİ BEY.  
Istanbul : Zaman, 1932.
- NOTE ON THE BULGARO-TATAR CIVILIZATION IN THE REGION  
OF THE VOLGA. By A. S. BASHKIROFF. Kazan, 1928.
- THE TURKISH PRESS, 1925-1932. By LUTFY LEVONIAN.  
Athens : School of Religion, 1932.
- LE VOYAGE D'UN PÉLERIN CHINOIS DANS L'INDE DES  
BOUDDHAS. By HENRI VALENTINO. Paris : Édition  
G. P. Maisonneuve.



## OBITUARY NOTICES

### Lieut.-Colonel J. Stephenson, I.M.S., M.B., F.R.C.S., D.Sc., F.R.S., C.I.E.

Born in 1871, educated at Manchester, Bachelor of Science of London at the age of 19, John Stephenson graduated as Bachelor of Medicine at Manchester and London with highest honours. After holding two resident hospital appointments, he entered the Indian Medical Service in 1895. He did five years' military duty, and was then appointed Civil Surgeon in the Punjab. It was characteristic of him that, during his first period of leave, he worked for and obtained the Fellowship of the Royal College of Surgeons of England. He was appointed Professor of Biology in the Government College, Lahore, in 1906, and the rest of his service was passed in the College, of which he became Principal in 1912. The C.I.E. was conferred on him in 1919, and he left India in 1920.

Colonel Stephenson was a man of very varied talents; with the highest medical qualifications, a keen scientific outlook, and a charm of manner such as few men possess, there is no doubt that in the practice of his profession he would have gone very far. But he made the study of Biology his life-work, and his election to the Fellowship of the Royal Society in 1930 marks the value of his contribution to that Science. Elsewhere tribute has been paid to his professional and scientific attainments; here it must suffice to note that, after twenty-five years' service in India, he was for ten years lecturer on Zoology in Edinburgh University, and for the last three years was doing important work as editor of the *Fauna of British India*. A Fellow of the Linnean and Zoological Societies, he was taking an active part in the work of both. Though in indifferent health for a number of years, he retained to the end his zeal for work.

To members of this Society, which he joined in 1906, another branch of his activities makes more appeal. As an Oriental scholar he had made his mark, and, but for his strong sense of duty, would have devoted yet more of his time to Oriental studies. He possessed in an unusual degree the gift of tongues. Within a few weeks of his arrival in India he passed his first language examination, and before the end of his first year had taken the Higher Standard in both Hindustani and Persian. The High Proficiency Persian came later, and he spoke fluently Pashtu and Punjabi, and acquired a considerable knowledge of Arabic. Only a few years ago he was deputed by the Government of India to attend an international Science Congress in Italy. At the time he had no knowledge of the Italian language, yet after a few weeks' stay in the country he was able to act as interpreter between the Italian and English-speaking delegates.

His first serious work as an Orientalist was the editing and translation of the first book of the *Hadiqatu-l-Haqiqat* of *Sana'i*. The subject in itself is difficult enough, but the difficulties were much increased by the disorder into which the text had fallen. The translation was nearly completed from lithographs of the text obtained from Lucknow and Bombay, no manuscript being available in India. Later the heavy work of collating these and five manuscripts in the British Museum and India Office Libraries, only two of which showed any close agreement, was undertaken during a period of leave in England. The work was completed in 1908, but was not published till 1910. Printed in Calcutta, it does not seem to have met with the recognition it undoubtedly deserves, if only as the first translation into any European language of the most important work of one of the earliest exponents of Sufi doctrine. The collation of manuscripts and editing the text must have been an immense labour ; but the result justifies Colonel Stephenson's claim that he had, at least in some cases, restored the original order of the lines and made sense where before it was wanting.

In 1928 appeared, as vol. xxx of the New Series of the Oriental Translation Fund the Zoological Section of the *Nuzhatu-l-Qulub* of *Hamdulla al-Mustaifi*, edited, translated, and annotated by Colonel Stephenson. This also was begun from a lithographed copy obtained in India, later collated with six manuscripts in Europe. A full review of this work, by Professor Nicholson, appeared in the Society's JOURNAL in January, 1930, to which I can only add an expression of the debt due to the author from those interested in the history of medicine.

Several reviews by Colonel Stephenson in the JOURNAL are not only admirable in themselves, but demonstrate what manner of man the writer was and bear witness to his scientific insight, his philosophy, and his intense interest in humanity in all climes and ages. These were all essential parts of him, but perhaps those who were privileged to call themselves his friends will remember, with the keenest sense of loss, his innate courtesy and kindness and his understanding sympathy.

G. MACI. C. SMITH.

### Professor A. H. Sayce

An admirable account of the life and work of Professor Sayce was printed in the *Times* of 6th February, and an interesting estimate of his career in Oxford by colleagues at Queen's in *The Oxford Magazine* of 16th February. Having been asked by the President and Council to contribute an obituary notice of the great Orientalist to the JOURNAL of the Royal Asiatic Society, I have chosen to turn rather to personal reminiscences and impressions covering half a century.

I well remember my first meeting with Sayce, the hesitating climb up the college stairs and the tap at his door, immediately answered by the great man himself, who conducted me to a chair with charming courtesy and eventually invited me to

a breakfast where the chief guest was a promising young Assyriologist, S. A. Smith. Smith, to our grief and amazement, disappeared after publishing a few Cuneiform texts.

I held a scholarship at Sayce's own College—Queen's—and I was afterwards told that it was his judgment of my essay in the examination that led to my election. The subject set was "How far is inconsistency a merit?" and in my untutored way I upheld the merit of inconsistency and quoted the Archaeopteryx as an instance of inconsistency in nature. From subsequent experience, I feel sure that Archaeopteryx was the winning hit. A little interest in outside knowledge counted for more than the most precise information on the uses of  $\delta\nu$ .

Sayce was always a pessimist in regard to humanity and held that in England there was no career for unorthodox scholarship or research. In my case this point was settled favourably by kind friends and by the Egypt Exploration Fund with Flinders Petrie.

Sayce, as everyone knows, used to travel in Egypt annually, and after inspecting the progress of exploration in all parts of the Mediterranean region wrote a letter to the Academy on what he had seen and the conclusions he had drawn. To those who had borne the burden and heat of excavation it was a mixed pleasure to see its results gathered and estimated by a passing visitor, however much knowledge and acumen accompanied the statement. Too often Sayce's conclusions were vitiated by over-hasty views. He carried with the utmost ease a vast weight of various and peculiar learning, and could concentrate all this on any particular point that came up for valuation, while his vivid imagination could draw sharply defined conclusions from the data; unfortunately, before he had tested his evidence and conclusions, his attention was too easily diverted to other matters within his vast range of interests. In short, his critical faculty was inferior to his other gifts. In spite of weak lungs and weak eyes, he read enormously and accomplished a vast amount of writing;

besides popularizing research, Sayce effected decipherments of great importance in several directions and pointed out for the first time historical facts of a revolutionary character. Unfortunately he made the Higher Critics of the Bible the principal butt for attack, and it must be confessed that here he actually sacrificed research and scholarship to a fleeting popularity. The truth prevails and must prevail.

Professor Sayce joined the Royal Asiatic Society in 1874, and contributed to its JOURNAL some of his finest work. Especial mention must be made of his treatise on the tenses of the Assyrian verb (1877) and his triumphant decipherment of the Vannic inscriptions from 1882 onward. Down to the time of his death he was writing reviews and articles for the JOURNAL. At that time there survived only one member who was senior to him. He served long on the Council, and in 1925 the Society awarded to him its triennial gold medal. The Society of Biblical Archaeology, however, of which he was President for many years, claimed his most constant service from its foundation in 1872 to its absorption by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1919.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

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### Archibald Henry Sayce as Assyriologist

Dr. A. H. Sayce, Emeritus Professor of Assyriology at Oxford, was a Welshman of distinguished and aristocratic lineage. His father held a living in Monmouthshire, but the family was long attached to Bristol, where his great grandfather built Clifton House under the tower of Clifton Church.

His early youth was marked by remarkable precocity. He was reading Homer and Virgil at the age of ten, and before he entered Queen's College, Oxford, at the age of 18 he had read some Egyptian, Hebrew, Sanskrit, and the discoveries of Grotefend, Rawlinson, Hincks, and Oppert. An article on the decipherment of the Persian and Babylonian versions of

the Behistun rock inscription of Darius, written before he entered the University, showed that he already possessed a firm grasp of the problem of Cuneiform studies, and Hincks endeavoured to discover who this remarkable young man was.

He became a Classical Scholar of Queen's, and on graduation was elected a fellow and tutor in 1869. His first contribution was the well-known article "An Accadian Seal" (of Dangi), *Journal Philology*, 1870, in which he discovered many of the linguistic principles of Sumerian. This priority of insight into the difficulties of Sumerian was admitted by Lenormant and Haupt. At this early stage of his career Sayce already revealed that strange trait of mind which characterized his whole long life. He might have persisted in this subject and become one of the founders of scientific Accadian and Sumerian philology. No man living, with the possible exception of Jules Oppert, had such an encyclopædic linguistic equipment as he; his eyes were too poor to copy texts, but he had the excellent copies of Norris, Pinches, and George Smith to use. He did not continue his Sumerian studies. Indo-Germanic philology now occupied most of his attention, and he became Deputy Professor to Max Müller in Indo-Germanic Philology at Oxford, publishing his *opus magnum*, *Introduction to the Science of Language* (1880), two thick volumes, which attained to a third edition. *Pari passu* with his exhausting work on Aryan languages he continued his Cuneiform studies and was the first interpreter of astronomical texts, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1874, pp. 145-339. In 1875 appeared his *Elementary Grammar of the Assyrian Language*, and he founded the *Records of the Past*, 1873-8, in which he offered translations and interpretations of Accadian texts. A revised edition of these eleven small volumes (1888-1892) contained selections of the Amarna Letters. This practically ended his original contributions to pure Assyriology.

His brilliant work on the Elamitic version of the Darius inscription which he was lead to undertake in 1874 by Layard's

discovery of Cuneiform tablets at Mal-Amir helped to lay the foundations of Elamitic studies. The interpretation of the Mal-Amir tablets was published in *PSBA.* 1874, pp. 465–485, and he seems to have been the first to discover the linguistic nature of the second version of the Behistum inscription. The name "Elamitic" belongs to him. Again, at the Sixth Congress of Orientalists (1885), he read the *Inscriptions of Mal-Amir*, vol. i, 639–756. His decipherment of the language of the empire of Urartu, whose ancient capital was Van in Armenia in the ninth–eighth centuries, was a linguistic feat of astonishing accuracy. Without any bilingual text he made a successful outline of the grammar and translated some of the Cuneiform texts of that lost kingdom. This is an agglutinative language, and here Sayce's immense range of languages, including Basque, Hungarian, Polish, Turkish, and Mongolian, gave him an advantage not then possessed by any living scholar. This remarkable work was published in *JRAS.* 1882, pp. 377–732. When de Morgan and later Belck found a bilingual Vannic-Assyrian inscription in the pass of Kelichin, Sayce's decipherment was found to be in the main correct.

In 1872 he worked on Karian and published his results, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, and *PSBA.* 1886, pp. 112–166. His work on the Greek alphabet became one of the accepted acquisitions of Greek Epigraphy. The undeciphered Mitanni language attracted his attention in 1888, and he offered an interpretation simultaneously with Jensen and Brünnow in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (1890). He has for over fifty years devoted his attention to the pictographic script of Hittite, with admittedly great insight and some success. That problem has now been somewhat advanced by the recent works of Forrer, Bosert, Frank, and Gelb. They all acknowledge certain discoveries by Sayce. It is lamentable that his continuous absence from his books lost him the opportunity of being the decipherer of the Hittite language as written in the readable Cuneiform script of the

ancient Hittite capital at Boghazkeui. This distinction fell to Hrozný, of Prague.

From the point of view of an Assyriologist Sayce must be reckoned as one of the most remarkable geniuses of the heroic age of the subject. When the science of Accadian, Sumerian, Elamitic, and Hittite philology became exact sciences the younger generation developed a tendency either to forget or to underestimate the services of this fine scholar of the old school. There was no trace of jealousy or anything approaching to bad manners in his whole career. He could not specialize; it was not in his nature. The scientific development of Assyriology he left to others. And then that remarkable man, Rudolf Brünnow, son of the Astronomer Royal of Ireland, came to Oxford, and wrote his *A Classified List of All Simple and Compound Cuneiform Ideographs*. This book, which will always remain one of the foundation stones of Assyriology, was published in 1887. If Oxford had retained Brünnow, who, with Delitzsch, on the strictly scientific side, was undoubtedly the greatest Cuneiform scholar of that period, the whole course of Assyriology in England would have taken a more serious direction. But he became professor in Bonn, turned his attention to Arabic, and ended his days as professor of Semitic languages in Princeton. Oxford, however, gave him the peace and quiet scholastic surroundings necessary to produce this great book, and he was within easy access to the collections of the British Museum. Oxford tradition, therefore, must claim Sayce and Rudolf Brünnow, two men of widely diverse ability and both necessary to the progress of a subject so vast and intricate, where the decipherer must precede the strict scientist. Naturally the younger generation know the name of Brünnow and cite him almost daily. Sayce's immense services are easily forgotten by those whose plodding ways exclude the appreciation of genius.

I have known Sayce very intimately since 1907. His immense range of knowledge, always ready to hand because

of his phenomenal memory, was not so obvious in his published work as in his private conversation. He could write good prose in at least twenty ancient and modern languages. This aristocratic scholar of stately manners retained his wonderful memory and interest in Oriental scholarship to his last days. He was reading Ras Shamrā Phœnician texts in his eighty-eighth year, annotating them from memory in Arabic, Assyrian, Hebrew, and Phœnician even after he was stricken by his last fatal illness. I saw him several times within a few days of his death, and when I left him the last question he asked was "When will more Ras Shamrā texts be published?" It was a fitting end to the life of a great man whose mind was ever attracted by the appearance of new languages and scripts. Ras Shamrā, at the end of his life, had yielded the texts of the early Phœnician language in a strange Cuneiform alphabet. Such a problem was precisely the kind which was food to his soul. It should finally be said for the benefit of many critics that I never heard Sayce speak harshly of those who soundly denounced his work. He himself frequently admitted his mistakes, and certainly in his application of Assyriology to the Old Testament in opposition to the rising school of Hebraists he had the entire opinion of the Assyriologists against him. This does not concern his brilliant work as a decipherer; decipherment was his *métier* and on this his reputation must rest.

S. LANGDON.

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## NOTES OF THE QUARTER

### The Decadent Races of Annam Chams and Mois

On the 3rd of November, 1932, a lecture describing the Decadent Races of Annam, illustrated by original lantern slides taken by the lecturer, was given before the Society by Madame Vassal, Knight of the Legion of Honour. Madame Vassal is the wife of an Officer in the French Colonial Service and has spent many years in French Indo-China.

The lecturer began by describing the locality inhabited by the various races of that part of the world. Annam is one of the five countries of French Indo-China, the others being Tonking, Cochin-China, Cambodia, and Laos. Tonking and Cochin-China are by far the most prosperous. The Tonkinese delta and the Mekong delta include some of the richest rice fields in the world.

The Chinese, whose commercial instincts enable them to draw greater advantages from this colony than either the French or the Annamese, hold most of the export business in their hands. They own a great proportion of the mills for decorticating the rice and many of the boats in which it is exported to China, Japan, and the Philippines.

Among the races of French Indo-China the Annamese number 14 millions out of a total population of 20 millions. Next come the Cambodians ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions) who are the descendants of the Khmers—the builders of the famous temple of Angkor-Vat—and then the Thai (who occupy Laos), the Chams, and the Mois.

The Annamese are small and wiry, resembling the Japanese rather than the Chinese, although they originally came from a province south of China. In those days they were called the "Giao-Chi", which means "separate big-toe", and that

is still a peculiarity of many of them. They made their way southwards into Annam, a name which means "The Peaceful South". The Chinese sent rulers to govern them but the Annamese constantly rebelled against the Chinese yoke and in the tenth century threw it off for ever.

Cambodia was the home of the Khmers. They came from India some centuries before the Christian Era and introduced into Cambodia Brahminism and the Sanskrit language. The city of Angkor-Thom was constructed about A.D. 900, while the Temple of Angkor-Vat dates from the twelfth century. A replica, almost full size, was to be seen in the recent Colonial Exhibition in Paris. In 1910, when the lecturer visited these marvels in their natural environment of tropical forest, they were almost inaccessible. Now they can be reached from Saigon by road, river, and air.

Among the numerous native races which lived in Indo-China there are none comparable to the Chams. They have left monuments scattered over the country which give an idea of their advanced civilization. But though they once dominated Annam they have nearly disappeared before the Annamese, so that only a few representatives remain in the villages round Chandok, Phan-Rang, and Phantiêt.

The existence of the ancient kingdom of "Cyamba" was revealed to Europeans by Marco Polo, who visited it in 1280. The Chams are probably of Malay extraction and Indian civilization; though not an aboriginal people of Annam they had been there many centuries when the Chinese first came into contact with them after their conquest of the Giao-Chi, now known as Annamese, at the end of the second century B.C. At that time the Chams, as described in the Chinese record, were not only a very civilized race but rich and prosperous and the owners of a powerful army and large fleet. Their country extended from Saigon to the north of Tonking and to Siam on the west.

In the quarrels between the Annamese and the Chinese the Chams gave help first to one side and then to the other,

and it was largely owing to their aid that, in the tenth century, the Annamese shook off the Chinese yoke never again to resume it. No action could have been more deadly for the Chams. The Annamese, freed from Chinese rule, were at liberty to devote their attention to the Chams with whom they soon picked a quarrel. From this time forward severe fighting constantly took place between the two nations. Dumoutier wrote that the Annamese showed genuine qualities in this campaign and the Chams were slowly driven farther and farther back.

In the year 1472, in the reign of the great Annamese Emperor Thanh-Tông, an army consisting of 260,000 soldiers invaded "Champa", took the capital and sacked it, capturing the king of the Chams and killing some 40,000 men. The Annamese seized all the pure golden statues in the temples and melted them down. It is said that 100,000 lb. weight of solid gold was thus carried off. The decline of the Cham race went on steadily from this time forward.

The first French missionaries, who arrived in the country at the end of the seventeenth century, gave the name "Champa" to what is now the province of Khanh-Hoa, probably because the Chams were still living there in certain numbers. Now it is necessary to go to Phantiêt, Phan-Rang, or Chandok to find families of pure origin.

But if the race is nearly extinct their monuments remain. A considerable number of temples showing the different periods of Cham art still exist. Especially are they to be found along the coast of Annam in four principal groups: Tourane, with the 67 shrines of Mi-Son and the Monastery of Dong-Duong; Quinhone, the golden tower, the silver tower, and the brass tower; Nha-Trang with its wonderful Pô-Nagar temple; Phan-Rang and Phantiêt.

French archæologists have been studying these temples since 1900 so that there is now a library of works on Cham history; Cham records have been translated and a French-Cham dictionary published. Inscriptions abound on the

portals of the temples and even on the deities themselves. The temples are built of red brick and the bricks seem, in some cases, to have been baked in situ.

Cham architecture was perhaps at its height in the seventh century, which is the date of the Pô-Nagar temple of Nha-Trang. The primitive shrines are small square buildings with separate vestibule in front and projections for blind doors in the other side. The plan of the building is repeated in the stories of the roof which recede and leave space for small corner towers, while the whole is surmounted by an apex, usually octagonal. The façades are decorated with slender pillars and foliated scrolls.

Divine nymphs (*Apsaras*) set at the angles of the cornice with projecting motifs at the foot of the building form a characteristic of Cham art.

Mi-Son, south of Tourane, contains the remains of 67 small temples dedicated to Siva which exemplify the whole development of the Cham style from the seventh century onwards. In Pô-Nagar, near Nha-Trang, beside the style of the first period, pyramidal forms are found. The primitive style marks the temples of Khuong My (on the seashore, S.E. of Mi-Son).

The Mois, of mixed race with Indonesian blood, are the aboriginal people of Annam. The country is divided into two parts—low-lying plains situated all along the coast and the Annamitic chain of mountains behind. The Annamese occupy all the low fertile plains with their rich rice fields, and have driven the Mois into the mountains. The Annamese word "Moi" means savage, and the word is descriptive of all these tribes. They are quite different from the civilized Annamese. They wear very little clothing, though their climate is cold in winter. Nearly all villages are over an altitude of 4,000 feet. They do not use money, and writing is absolutely unknown. The Annamese have an utter contempt for them. It is sad to think that the Mois are dying out, but that is certainly their fate. Their intertribal

wars, as well as disease and the poor nourishment of their mountain rice, are making terrible ravages among them.

The most important tribes are : Rhadès, Djarai, Bahnar, Muong, Sedang, Pih. They number, according to Father Cadière, 600,000. In some tribes one can find traces of polyandry and of a matrilineal system of genealogy and inheritance. Visitors are welcomed in many villages by a woman, who seems to be acting as a sort of chief. Their religion is very simple. They worship some big trees of the forest. There are no special priests. They sometimes sacrifice buffaloes with traditional ceremonies, and the flesh is eaten. In some districts the dead are buried, but in others, placed on platforms and left there. A Moi village is often compressed into two or three huts—the hut containing a great number of families. Sometimes a hut is put aside for the unmarried men.

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### Megalithic Burials in South India

On Thursday, 10th November, 1932, Dr. E. H. Hunt, who was for many years Chief Medical Officer of H.E.H. the Nizam's State Railways, and has contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* and the *Hyderabad Archaeological Journal*, gave a lecture on the above subject before the R.A.S. at their rooms in Grosvenor Street. He described how enormous numbers of these burials are still to be found. Groups, often containing hundreds, are seen close together and each is clearly a local cemetery. Only important persons could have received such elaborate interment and a long period of time must cover even one group.

Burials vary widely in type. Three varieties may be taken as examples :—

- (a) The "house of cards" cist burial. The cist lies deeply buried, inside a stone circle, with its long axis north and south. Pots, etc., surround it. Inside the cist are more pots and the burial, rarely extended but more

commonly contracted, with an occasional urn burial or burnt bones. Multiple burials in one cist are common. Large egg-shaped pots, with ring stands, and polished black-topped pots are characteristic. Lapis lazuli beads are more usual than in other types.

(b) A rectangular cist, with thick, vertical slabs and a large "port-hole" in the north slab. Pots resembling those of (a) are found only inside the cist.

(c) This type has a cist resembling (b) but the port-hole is in the east slab. Inside the main cist is a small, secondary cist. Many of the pots have legs. These three associated features—hole to the east, secondary cist, and legged pots—link up this type with other variant types further south.

The evidence suggests not so much that these different types were contemporary, but rather that they represent an evolution of ideas connected with burial.

Associated with burials are other megalithic remains; circles; menhirs; cromlechs; dolmens, with and without port-holes; alignments, etc. The exact association of burial types with these other structures has not yet been worked out.

Iron is found throughout the whole series, but it is unwise to base any theories of date on its presence for "there is no doubt that the existing manufacture of wrought iron by the direct process was widespread in the country before the date of the most ancient historic records" (*Imp. Gaz. of India*, iii, 145).

Coins, etc., have occasionally been found in burials, but it is unsafe to apply such evidence except to the exact type in which the finds have been made.

Comparisons with other countries yield a confusing series of resemblances; e.g. the port holes with Brittany, polished black-topped pottery with Egypt, etc.

It is clear that lapis lazuli is an important clue, for geologists have satisfied themselves that this stone has only one source (Badakshan), whether found in Egypt, Mesopotamia

or India. The nickel impurity in copper affords another link with Mesopotamia.

The lecture was illustrated by lantern slides which showed the vast number of these burials visible in various views of the countryside, the method of scientific investigation, and the details of the finds. Coloured slides of the treasures found in these burials, together with some of the actual treasures themselves, were shown and described by Mr. H. C. Beck, of Fittleworth, Sussex, who is one of the greatest authorities on the subject of beads, their distribution and meaning.

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### Some Population Problems in Asia

On 8th December, 1932, a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, was delivered before the Society by Colonel Sir Charles Close, President of the International Union for the Investigation of Population Problems.

By means of some specially prepared slides the lecturer showed how the densest large masses of humanity are to be found in southern and eastern Asia. Here, in a region comprising about one-ninth of the habitable globe, will be found nearly half of the human race, and here the density is nearly four times the average. The study of these masses leads to a consideration of an optimum density in a given area, and from this to the thought of an optimum constitution of any given population. The high birth-rate in India and China is no doubt due to a certain philosophy of life.

The actual population of China is not known with any degree of accuracy, but the latest estimate, that of Mr. Willcox, gives a total, excluding Sinkiang, Tibet, and Outer Mongolia, of 342 millions. It is certain that some of the provinces suffer from over-population, a condition which has been finding some relief in mass migration to Manchuria and elsewhere; at one period the numbers so migrating amounted to nearly a million a year. But, broadly speaking, if under a stable government the amenities of life were to improve in China,

a diminished birth-rate in the congested regions would be the first necessary condition.

The state of affairs in Japan is sometimes compared with that in the British Isles ; the density per square mile being 400 for these islands, and 450 for Japan proper. But, if we take England only, we find a density of over 730 ; and if we exclude Hokkaido, the density of Japan is 550. The total population of Japan is at the present moment about 66 millions, and this is increasing at the rate of more than 900,000 each year, and may soon increase at the rate of a million. Japanese emigration is insignificant, and the Japanese do not show much tendency to emigrate even to Taiwan (Formosa). In the opinion of many authorities Japan is reaching a point of over-saturation. The Japanese Government is fully aware of this, and everything possible is being done to relieve the strain, though the resources of the country have been used almost to their fullest possibility. It has been suggested that some relief would be afforded by "drawing off" a 100,000 each year by emigration ; but, at the most, this would only relieve the pressure in the proportion of 1 in 673, and the effect would be almost negligible.

The 1931 census of India gave the surprising total of 352·8 millions, showing an increase in the previous ten years of about 33 millions ; excluding Burma, the total was 338 millions. The density of India, excluding Burma, was 215. There are domiciled outside of India about two and a half millions of Indians. Intercontinental emigration is negligible. Between one-fifth and one-sixth of the entire human race live in India. Most authorities look upon India as definitely over-populated ; that is to say, the numbers are so great that they cannot adequately be supported by the resources of the country. And, though some help is to be expected from the development of agriculture, both in quality and in area, the main lesson is that the birth-rate is too high. The notion that emigration can afford any real relief is a mistaken

one, and any attempt to transfer any considerable numbers of Indians to Africa would be most unwise. No industrial development is likely to be of value for many years to come. A reduction of the birth-rate is the best hope for India.

Sometimes countries have presented to them the choice between a relatively small and fit population and a large unfit one. The greatest happiness of the greatest number is not to be attained by multiplying the miserable.

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### A Secret of the Summer Palace, Peking

On 12th January, 1933, Sir Reginald F. Johnston, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., Professor of Chinese in the University of London, lectured at the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society on the subject of "A Secret of the Summer Palace, Peking". The lecture was illustrated by lantern-slides never before exhibited, made from photographs taken by the lecturer himself when he was Comptroller of the Summer Palace and its adjacent estates. This post, which was conferred upon him by decree of the young Emperor Hsuan-T'ung, was held concurrently with that of Imperial Tutor.

The country residence of the imperial family, known to Europeans as the Summer Palace and to Chinese (since 1888) as the I-Ho-Yuan (頤和園), is the most recent of a number of similar residences which have been built in or near the same locality by various emperors during the last six or seven hundred years. The lecturer explained that remains of the older palaces existed at the so-called Hunting Park at the edge of the Western Hills, known in Chinese as Hsiang Shan (香山) and as Ching-I-Yuan (靜宜園), at the Jade Fountain Hill (玉泉山) known officially as the Ching-ming Yuan (靜明園), and on the site of the Yuan-ming-Yuan (圓明園). The earliest of these residences was that which was built at Hsiang Shan by one of the Kin (Golden Tatar) emperors in the twelfth century. The last but one—the famous Yuan-ming-Yuan—situated immediately to the

east of the present Summer Palace—was destroyed by the Anglo-French allies in 1860 as a punishment (useless and futile as it proved to be) for the tortures inflicted by the Court on Harry Parkes and his fellow-prisoners. Those of its priceless art-treasures which were not looted on that occasion were burned or deliberately smashed to pieces.

The present Summer Palace, built to take the place of the Yuan-ming-Yuan, was completed about the year 1888, having cost enormous sums of money which the old empress-dowager obtained by pillaging the Navy. Most of its sumptuous buildings are clustered on the slopes of a hill known as the Wan-shou-shan (萬壽山), which overlooks a beautiful lake fed by the pure waters of the neighbouring Jade Fountain. The "secret" revealed by the lecturer had reference to a discovery made by him in one of the buildings known as the Yü-Lan-T'ang (玉瀾堂), which was once the residence, or rather the prison, of the unfortunate captive-emperor Tê Tsung (德宗), generally known by his reign-title of Kuang-Hsu (光緒), who died in 1908. In 1898 this young emperor, who had become an enthusiastic pupil of the famous scholar and reformer K'ang Yu-wei (康有爲), made a most gallant attempt to inaugurate extensive social and political reforms in the Empire, but he was overpowered by the reactionary party who instigated the ignorant and superstitious but very strong-minded dowager-empress to carry out a *coup d'état* and resume her former position (which she had held during two minorities) of Regent. Having succeeded in placing the emperor under arrest she caused him to be imprisoned in a little island in one of the Lake-Palaces adjoining the Forbidden City in Peking; and when she visited the Summer Palace she had him conveyed there so that he might always be kept under the close observation of herself or her minions. At the Summer Palace his prison was the Yü-Lan-T'ang, or rather one reception-room and a tiny bed-chamber within that building. The building contained, in addition, two side-halls or *p'ei-tien* (配殿),

opening into an enclosed courtyard, and one of these side-halls commanded a charming view of the lake.

Sir Reginald's discovery was that the empress-dowager had built a solid unbroken brick wall *inside* each of the *p'ei-tien*. These walls were built inside the two rooms along their full length, leaving only a few inches of space between wall and door. (The lecturer's lantern-slides enabled the audience to follow and understand his oral description.) The walls were invisible from the outside of the building, and could be seen only when the doors leading into the two *p'ei-tien* from the inner courtyard were opened. Apart from the fact that the walls made the rooms within which they were built wholly useless for residential or any other practical purposes, they served as a perpetual reminder to the emperor that he was a prisoner ; and it was with the deliberate object of adding to his misery and humiliation, as well as for the purpose of depriving him of room-space and of the possibility of beholding the waters of the beautiful adjoining lake, that his cruel and vindictive jaileress conceived the brutal idea of constructing the interior walls.

After the emperor's death the doors of the two side-halls were sealed up, and the Yü-Lan-T'ang was closed not only to all ordinary visitors to the Summer Palace but to everyone except the Comptroller. It was not till 1924, when Sir Reginald Johnston made his first official inspection of the various buildings within the Summer Palace, that the seals affixed to the closed doors were broken by his orders. He then discovered the grim secret, which was a new revelation of the spiteful hatred actuating the old dowager in her treatment of her imperial nephew during the last ten years of his most unhappy life.

The lecturer was unable to say whether the brick walls were still in existence or whether the local authorities who had had control of the Summer Palace since its confiscation by the "Republican" Government had caused them to be demolished. In his opinion they should if possible be allowed

to remain where they were as a permanent memorial of an imperial martyr to the cause of national progress and reform and of the hate and spite of a bigoted and vindictive woman who not only blighted his life and brought his dynasty to ruin but was largely responsible for the disorder and misery which have afflicted the long-suffering Chinese people for the past twenty years.

The lecturer's young imperial charge, the emperor Hsuan-Tung (now Chief Executive of Manchuria), first visited the Summer Palace during Sir Reginald's term of office as Comptroller. Sir Reginald accompanied him from the Forbidden City in Peking and was responsible for his safety on that occasion, which was the first time the young emperor had been allowed to venture beyond the walls of Peking. Sir Reginald had two modern rowing-boats, which he named "Ariel" and "Witch of Atlas", constructed at Tientsin for use on the Summer Palace lake, and in one of these the young emperor had his first rowing-lessons. The Palace staff were somewhat dismayed at the sight of the Son of Heaven performing the menial task of pulling an oar, but the emperor himself thoroughly enjoyed the experience. This was only a few months before the *coup d'état* carried out by the "Christian General" in November, 1924, which resulted in the expulsion of the emperor from his palaces and the arbitrary cancellation of the rights and privileges guaranteed to him at the time of the establishment of the Republic. It was after this *coup d'état* that he was obliged to seek refuge first in the Legation Quarter and subsequently in Tientsin. Since 1925 the Summer Palace has been under the control of the various military and other leaders who have held sway in Peking, and as a result of the measures taken to make it a source of revenue it is now rapidly losing much of its charm and special character.

Among the lantern-slides shown by the lecturer was one of a group of Europeans, Chinese, and Manchus who lunched at the Summer Palace as his guests on 17th August, 1924.

Among the many guests on that occasion were the Emperor himself and his young empress, the late Sir Charles Eliot (then British Ambassador at Tokyo), Dr. W. W. Yen, who was recently China's representative at Geneva during the League of Nation's discussion of the Manchurian trouble, and Mr. Chêng Hsiao-hsü, now Prime Minister of the new State of Manchuria.

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### Sa'udian Arabia

Captain C. Lewis, who has recently returned from Arabia, where he has been attached to the British Legation at Jeddah for the past two years, delivered a lecture on Sa'udian Arabia at the rooms of the Society on 26th January, 1933.

The speaker commenced by outlining the adventurous career of Ibn Sa'ud from 1900 when he had been living in exile in Kuwait. The Wahhabi King had first recovered Nejd from the Raschidites, and had then added the important province of Hasa to his dominions and thereby gained an outlet to the Persian Gulf. In 1919 he had captured Hail and put an end to the Raschidite dynasty, whilst in 1925 he had invaded the Hejaz and evicted the Hashimites. His subsequent annexation of Asir had been at the request of the Idrisi tribes. Captain Lewis pointed out that Mr. Philby's recent crossing of the Rub-al-Khali had been by no means without advantage to Ibn Sa'ud. Before Mr. Philby had started he had written a letter to the King undertaking to plant Ibn Sa'ud's flag of victory on any places he might discover. A glance at the map would show that there was now comparatively little territory in Arabia proper which was not comprised in Ibn Sa'ud's dominions.

Turning to the economic side of Sa'udian Arabia, the speaker said that there were no industries at all in the country. Practically the only source of revenue was the annual pilgrimage. Arabia had been hard hit by the world-

wide depression, not because of such economic problems as over-production and under-consumption, but because of the effect of the depression on the ability of pilgrims to perform the Hajj. In 1927 there had been something like 250,000 pilgrims from overseas, whereas last year there had only been just under 30,000.

The speaker said that the English gold sovereign was still the currency of the country. The principal effect of Great Britain's departure from the gold standard was to force up the value of gold in Arabia in terms of the local coin—the riyal. In 1931 the Sa'udian Government had pegged the riyal at ten to the pound. Now the sovereign was worth 18 riyals, the silver content value of the latter coin incidentally being about  $7\frac{3}{4}d$ .

British trade in Arabia was practically dead, because British exporters would not take the trouble to study the psychology of the Arab. Out of nearly 3,000 cars in the country only eleven were of British make, because British manufacturers had refused to adapt their standard design to cope with desert sands. Another example of the lack of British exporters' foresight was in a simple commodity like soap. The Arab did not want a peach-like complexion. What he wanted was something that would raise a lather and be cheap. Our exporters would only supply the best soap and we had therefore lost the market.

Turning to the future, Captain Lewis said that Ibn Sa'ud's influence was entirely for peace. The only war the speaker could visualize as being within the realms of practical politics was between Sa'udian Arabia and the Yemen, which did not vitally concern any of the Great Powers. But when Ibn Sa'ud died matters would be very different since there was not one of his possible successors who could contain the dissentient tribal elements in Arabia for a month.

### Marco Polo's Quinsai

#### The Splendid Capital of the Southern Sung

On 9th February, 1933, the Rev. A. C. Moule gave a lecture before the Society upon "Marco Polo's Quinsai". It was illustrated by many remarkable slides of ancient and modern maps and plans to facilitate comparison, as well as views of the city and its environs.

The Lecturer described how Marco Polo's famous *Description of the World* was written in 1298 and contains the results of his observations made during seven years of travel through Asia and seventeen years of residence and travel in China, 1271-1295. Of his 200 chapters the longest but one is devoted to the Chinese city of Quinsai of Hang-chou, which also fills a second shorter chapter and part of a third, making together about one-nineteenth part of the whole book.

Hang-chou was the temporary but very splendid capital of the Southern Sung dynasty from 1139 till it surrendered to Kubilai's troops in 1276, and Marco Polo calls it "without fail the most important city and the best that is in the world", and describes it in greater detail than any other place. Although his account is avowedly based on a written Chinese document there seems to be no doubt that he visited the place himself and saw it with his own eyes, as he says.

Leaving out the immense mass of interesting details on the government, industry, trade, and amusements of the city, fourteen more definitely topographical features are chosen, and with the help of plans and photographs and of extracts and statistics from contemporary Chinese books it is shown that these actually existed, although Marco Polo's numbers and measurements are generally exaggerated. The greatest exaggeration—the number of bridges given as 12,000 instead of the actual 347—cannot be explained, and may be due to a very early copyist's error or even to a misunderstanding of Marco's words by Rustichello, who wrote the book, since

in medieval Italian or French the words for " thousand " and " mile " are but vaguely distinguished.

Some final quotations from the *Mēng liang lu*, a thirteenth century book about Hang-chou, illustrate several points in Marco Polo in a more general and desultory way and throw some light on the life and customs of the place at the time.

The slides show a few typical examples of the manuscripts of Marco Polo's book, copies of four plans of Hang-chou which were printed there in 1274, copies of some contemporary illustrations of fortifications and other features, and some modern maps and photographs.

The lecturer incidentally drew attention to the more important printed editions of Marco Polo; the best commentary is still that of Sir Henry Yule, but far the most accurate and complete English text is that edited and revised by Sir Denison Ross for *The Broadway Travellers*, 1931.

Will any member give or sell to the Society *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. 2, pts. 1 and 2, 1908, complete with the coloured plate to pt. 1, also title pages to both parts and the index which were issued in a supplement?

The Librarian would be grateful for the presentation of any of the following works of which the Library is in need. Information as to the existence of copies for sale would also be welcomed:—

*Bibliotheca Indica*, Sanskrit, etc.: No. 4: *Nīti-Sāra* fasc. 1, 1849. No. 11: *Taittiriya*, etc., *Upaniṣads*, 1851-5. No. 27: *Sāṃkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya*, fasc. 1, 1854. No. 131, *Sāṃkhya-Sūtra-vṛtti*, etc., 3 fascs., 1890-4.

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### Notices

The hearty congratulations of the Society are passed to Professor W. Perceval Yetts upon his appointment to the Chair of Chinese Art and Archaeology in the University of London, tenable at the new Courtauld Institute of Art. This is the first Chair limited to Chinese Art and Archaeology to be founded in the United Kingdom, and has been made possible through the allocation of a portion of the British share of the Boxer Indemnity.

Attention is drawn to Rule 97, concerning the borrowing of books from the Library for purposes other than review : " In no case shall a book be retained for a longer period than six months." Members desiring the use of books for a longer period must return them to the Librarian for examination at the expiration of that time with a suitable request. Should the book not be required it will be returned to the holder.

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The annual List of Members will be published in the JOURNAL in July. Members who wish to make any alterations in name, style, or address must send the fully corrected entry so as to reach the Secretary by 1st June.

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The quarterly numbers of the JOURNAL OF THE R.A.S. are forwarded to subscribers about the 11th of January, April, July, and October respectively. Should a volume not be received within a reasonable time after the prescribed date, notification should be sent to the Secretary as early as possible, but, at any rate, by the end of the quarter concerned. Should such notice not be received by the Secretary within six months of the first day of the quarter for which the volume has been issued, the onus cannot be admitted, and the volume cannot be replaced free of charge.

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In accordance with Rule 93, the Library will be closed for cleaning and repairs throughout the month of August.

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Authors of articles in the JOURNAL who desire more than the twenty off-prints which are supplied gratis, are requested to apply to the Secretary before publication. The cost of the extra copies varies in accordance with the length of the article.

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### Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan. VI : The Tibetan Army

B. Documents (3, Armature ; 4, Grades and commissions ; 5, Military instructions ; 6, Incidents ; 7, Personalia ; 8, List of Regiments)

BY F. W. THOMAS

(Concluded from p. 400)

#### 3. Armature

21. M.I., vii, 59 bis (wood, c. 18 × 2·5 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ~~g~~ | : | blon . Gtshug . bzañ . la | ya . lad . stod . | gsum || blon . [A 2] Phya (Dgra ?) . bžer . la . ya . lad . stod . gñis | stag . Gtshug . bzañ . la [B 1] ya . lad . stod . gñis || Guñ . Rgya . legs . la | ya . lad . st[o]d . gñis | [B 2] blon . Stag . sgra . la . g<sup>1</sup>ya . lad . stod . gehig || stag . Stag . rtsan . la | ya . lad . stod . gehig | Dpal . bžer . la . ya . lad . stod . gehig ||

"To Councillor Gtshug-bzañ upper helm-and-corslets three ; to Councillor Phya-bžer upper helm-and-corslets two ; to Tiger Gtshug-bzañ upper helm-and-corslets two ; to Guñ Rgya-legs upper helm-and-corslets two ; to Councillor Stag-sgra upper helm-and-corslet one ; to Tiger Stag-rtsan upper helm-and-corslet one ; to Dpal-bžer upper helm-and-corslet one."

<sup>1</sup> *g* crossed out.

*Note*

*Ya-lad* is given in the dictionary with the meaning "helm and corslet", "coat of mail" (perhaps in one piece): *stod*, "upper," in this connection may mean "outer", as in *stod-gos*, "overcoat," or "for the upper part of the body". From the document it is evident that such protective armature was usual, at least for persons of rank and "Tigers" ("braves"?; cf. Forsyth, *A Mission to Yarkand*, p. 13).

22. M.I., xl, 8 (wood, c. 11 × 1.5–2 cm., complete, slightly curved; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❖ | *mdah.dar.sni* (*for sne or rñi?*).*can.gsum*

"Arrows with silken nooses, three."

Possibly the silk string served for recovery of the arrow after emission.

Cf. M.I., xiv, 142, and lviii, 007 (*infra*, p. 539).

23. M. Tāgh. c. ii, 0053 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❖ || *mde : hu.thuñ.gi.gžu.gchig*

"Bow for short arrows, one."

*Mdehu* recurs M.T. a. iv 0026, c. iv, 0025 (*mdehu-thuñ-mkhan*, "short-arrow man").

24. M. Tāgh. b. ii, 0044 (wood, c. 22 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at l.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso*, in columns, of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ❖ || *Nen.kar.gyi.sde.De.ga.Lha.skyes* | *phub*

[A 2] | *rje . blas . dgon . gi . bsar . byañ* |

[A 1] *la : (ral.?)* | *ral.* | *mdah :* | *gžu.rgyud*

[A 2] *gyu.ma* | *gyu.bea* | *hchan(?)* | *dañ.chas (gcig?)*

[B] | *do.sgye(i?)* | *hurdo* | *mdah.ral.[kh]od(n?)*

"Nen-kar regiment: equipment ticket of his eminence De-ga Lha-skyes, *dgon*—Armour (or breast-plate); knife without haft (?); knife with haft (?); arrow; scissors (?); bow with string; bags, two; sling; arrow and knife pouch."

*Notes*

This document is interesting as illustrating the case of a monk—for such the “eminent Lha-skyes of De-ga” (on which see *supra*) clearly is—acting as a *dgon* or archer’s comrade, a relation which we have had a previous occasion for noting. Secondly, it exhibits probably the complete outfit of a *dgon*. In several points the reading or meaning is doubtful: thus *bchan* “scissors” is not certain, though probable, and the reading of the last syllable as *khod* and its interpretation as *khud*, “wrapper,” or *khud-pa*, “pouch,” are somewhat conjectural; but there is no difficulty in *gyu-ma* and *gyu-bea* = *yu-med* and *yu-beas*, while *sgyi* and *sgye* can both mean “bag”, and *hurdo* (*hur-rdo*) is certainly “sling”. In M.I., xiv, 006, we have *mdah . gžu . . . bchan*, “arrow, bow, scissors (?).”

25. M.I., xiv, 39 (wood, c. 20·5 × 1·5 × .75 cm., complete; hole for string at l.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint and partly erased).

[1]  | . | Rgod . tsan . smad . kyi . sde . mdah . [g]žu : mdah . ral . gyi (for gri ?) . phub . . . [2] [Lba ?]m . Klu . spe . bšar . . . [bdu?] . . . (stsa ?)l . (khog—(n?) ?) -ma . [bla] . . [dar . dañ ?]

“Lower Rgod-tsan regiment: arrow, bow, arrow, knife (-pouch ?), armour . . . sent . . . equipment [for] [Lba ?]m Klu-spe . . . with banner (?).”

*Notes*

This is plainly similar to the preceding. *Bšar* is clearly identical with the *bsar* of that passage: *glah-dar* has occurred in M.I., iv, 71 (= *bla-dar* “a little flag”?).

26. M.I., lviii, 007 (wood, c. 19 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint).

[A 1]  || . [gyi ?] . lha . hi . mñan . srañ . ra . skyes . bžin . bzañs . geig | skyem[s] [A 2] rdzi(e) . hu . gañ . co . ga . skyems . rdze . hu . gañ . phye . bre . gañ . mar . srañ . gei[g] [B] śiñ . ris . geig . mda[h] . dar . sna (sic) . can . gcig

"Of ... *lha*, one government balance, large, in the form of a he-goat(?) ; drinking-cup, one, full ; *co-ga* drinking-cup, full ; flour a full *bre* ; oil one ounce ; wood, one bundle (?) ; arrow with silken string, one."

*Notes*

The meaning of *co-ga* ("lark" : in M.I. 0018 *cog* or *tsog*) is not known : *ris*, for which the rendering "bundle" is suggested, usually means "figure", "outline", "quarter" ; *res*, "time" (i.e. "allowance") may have been intended.

27. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0057 (wood, c. 12.5 × 1.5–2 cm., somewhat burnt away at l. ; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of square *dbu-can* script).

¶ || Rgyahi.mduñ.rtse.bcu

"Chinese spear-points, ten."

28. M. Tāgh. c. i, 0026 (wood, c. 13 × 1.5–2 cm., complete ; somewhat curved ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ¶ || Rgya.khrab.ma.hbriñ.rim.dgu.pa [B] gsum

"Chinese bucklers (or mail-coat), medium, with nine rows (or with nine medium rows) : three."

The "rows" may point rather to bucklers than to mail-coats, both of which senses are given in the dictionary.

29. M. Tāgh. c. ii, 0021 (wood, c. 12.5 × 1.5–2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

¶ || Byi/byar.gyi.khrab.ma

"Buckler of Byi-byar."

Apparently Byi-byar is a personal name.

30. M. Tāgh., 0353 (wood, c. 15 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 (mostly erased) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ¶ || spaḥi.gñer.las.cag.grugs.su.byuñ.ste.ma. [A 2] lom.bah | mdeḥu.thuñ.gi.gž[u].gñis | Li.gž[u].y]añ [B] [mo].gsu[m]

"From the man in charge of ornaments (?), broken and

unserviceable (?) bows for short arrows, two ; light Khotan bows, three."

*Notes*

*ma-lom-bah* appears to be unknown : possibly it means simply *ma-lon-pa*, "not arrived."

4. *Grades and Commissions*

31. M.I., vii, 33 (wood, c. 20 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] *¶* || bdag . ñan . pah || sug las | tu . htheb . tu . bskos . pa las || sug rjed kyi . sr[ø]h . ma . zin [A 2] nas || da . duñ . gi . bar . du . | sug . rjed . ma . thob . pa || bkah . [drin] . yañ . chad[u] . hchald . par . gyur . na | [B 1] Hdzom . stod . kyi . sde || ru . ña . cuñ | do . cig . yul hbrosu . mchi . mchi . [ba] . las || slar . babs . nas . | [B 2] gži . la . mchis pa || bdagi . sug . rjedu . stsald . par | bkas gthad par thugs pags ci mdzad ||

"Your humble servant, when appointed in succession to a duty, did not receive a *sroh* (nit = "bit" ?) of commission. Down to the present time he has not got a commission. If ratification was kindly intended, please trouble to send orders that the minor *Ru-ña* of the Upper Hdzom regiment, who at present, after going about roaming the country, is returned and is on the spot, should send my commission."

*Notes*

A 1, *htheb-tu*, "in succession." Does this mean "in due course of promotion" or "in succession" to another?

*sug-rjed*, "hand-memorandum," is given in the dictionaries as meaning "a mark of honour as a reward" ; but here and again (*infra*, p. 564) it evidently corresponds to what we understand by a "commission" or formal appointment to a function. See p. 390, and add M.I., iv, 40.

A 2, *bkah-drin-yañ-cha[d.d]u* : This might mean "to ratify the kindness" ; but *bkah-drin* seems sometimes to be used adverbially. Is *hchald* from *hchel* "desire" or *hchol* "appoint"?

B 1, *Hdzom-stod-kyi-sde* : Concerning this regiment see p. 558.

*ru-ña-cuñ* : Cf. M.I., vii, 9. Since the term *ro-ña* occurs elsewhere (*infra*, p. 543) as a military title, this should be likewise.

32. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0074 (wood, c. 19.5 × 2.5-3 cm., cut and broken at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 4 *recto* + 3 (a different hand and subject) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] *Legs.khri* : hi.mchid.gsol.bah.bkah.yig.sprins [A 2]  
 . . . d-.bro.rmas.pa.dg-r.htshal.de.bri.ni.ma.htshal.bar.  
*ches* : so : *rqed*.phyis.de.htshal [A 3] . . . [cīñ].mchis.len<sup>1</sup>.  
 len.du.gtañ.ba.lagsna.de.las.na.der.skur.bar.  
 thugs spag. [A 4] [c]ir.mdzadna.

"Letter-petition of Legs-khri: that I was glad of your having sent your commands and inquired after [my] illness I certainly need not write. The soldier-memorandum (*so-rqed*), which is delayed, I am desirous (of having) and I have sent to get it. So please trouble to sent it there (here)."

#### Notes

I. A 1-2, *dgar-htshal* . . . *htshal-bar-ches* : The phraseology is unusual.

*so-rqed* : " Soldier-memorandum " (or commission); see p. 390. In a. ii, 0048 we read *gsan-skyold-du-mchis-na-so-rqed-mchi-ham-myi* "as I am come on secret convoy, is the *so-rqed* coming or not ? "

A 3, *der* "there" for "here" seems to be epistolary.

33. M.I., vii, 16 (wood, c. 8 × 3 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 *recto* + 1 *verso* of inelegant cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1]  gyab.Lha.ston.gyi.glañ. [A 2] gehig || Myes.  
 bo[r] [A 3] dañ | Myes.mthyön [B] la.kha.bstan ||

"One ox belonging to *gyab* Lha-ston, promised to Myes-bor and Myes-mth(y)oñ."

On *gyab* see p. 389.

34. M. Tāgh. c. iii, 0048 (wood, c. 9.5 × 1.5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

 | : | sro : Dgyer : sto |

"*Sro* Dgyer-sto."

<sup>1</sup> n below line. *len* seems to be repeated in error.

On *sro* see pp. 389, 555.

35. M.I., xli, 0013 (wood, c. 8·5 × 2·2·5 cm., broken away at l.; in two pieces of equal size; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . pan . skyes . dba[n] . bgyid . pa . las [A 2] . . .  
 blas . Tshla<sup>1</sup> . byih[i] . ru . dpon . du . bskos [B 1] . . . hbrugi .  
 lo . la . ni | Na . bzañ . gis [B 2] . . . rmos | sbrul . gi . lo . la .  
 ni | Lañ.

“ After the administration of [H]p[h]an-skyes . . . appointed by [His Excellency] brigade-commander of Tshal-byi. . . . In the Dragon year ploughed by Na-bzañ; in the Serpent year, Lañ . . .”

On *ru-dpon* “brigade-commander” see pp. 380, 388; on Tshal-byi, 1928, p. 555, . . . *blas* is perhaps for *rje-blas*.

36. M.I., xlvi, 006 (wood, c. 8·5-9 × 2 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faded or erased).

[1] 马 | . | mehibs.[d]pon | g-os [2] kyo. Yor.go |

“ Horse-commandant *g-os-kyo* *Yor-go*.”

On *mehibs-dpon* see pp. 384, 388.

37. M. Tagh. b. i, 0093 (paper, fol. No. 37 in vol., c. 6 × 1·5 cm., a discoloured fragment; ll. 1 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, obscure).

[A 1] . . . dpuñ. pon. chen. po ||

[B 1] . . . bul(dul ?). rtsañ[s] (snañs ?). chuñs.[m] . . .

“ . . . major troop-commander . . .”

On *dpuñ-dpon* see pp. 386, 388.

38. M.I., xiv, 0012 (wood, c. 17 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] 马 || ños . pon . mthoñ . khyab . gyi . sde | bag . ñu .  
 sñva . ma (*n. chad* ?) . ro . ña . pra . mo . yan . [2] chad . | so .  
 ñul . du . mchi . ra . sug . las . bgyi . bahi . rtsis . mgo

“ Region-commander-watchtower regiment: list of work to be done by *bag-ñu-sñva* down to minor *ro-ña* going on secret service.”

<sup>1</sup> Compendious for *Tshal*.

*Notes*

l. 1, *nos-pon* : "commander of a direction" (i.e. of a frontier in one of the four directions). Recurs M.I., xiv, 7; xxvii, 7.

*bag-nu-sīva* and *ro-ñā* : See *supra*, p. 389. *pra-mo* = *phra-mo* "little".

l. 2, *so-ñul* : See p. 391.

*rtsis-mgo* : See p. 390.

39. M.I., xiv, 0062 (wood, c. 9 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

• | . | bag.no.sīva.g-yon. |

"Left-hand *bag-(r)no-sīva*."

40. M.I., lviii, 001 (wood, c. 11 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

• | mthoñ.khyab.gyi.sde.bag.ra.Khri

"*bag-ra* Khri of the Watch-tower regiment."

41. M.I., xxvii, 4 (wood, c. 11 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at each end ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

• | : | bag.ra.Bža(i ?)hi.mchid.gsol.ba |

"Letter-petition of *bag-ra* Bža (or of four *bag-ras*)."

42. M. Tāgh. b. ii, 0042 (wood, c. 13–13·5 × 2 cm., practically complete ; hole with string at r. ; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script ; *verso* also 3c).

[A 1] • | . | Stag.skugs.na. | sīna.sur.Bañ.tshe. | ri.zug [A 2] pañi.brg[y]ags. | so.Sluñs.la.btañ.ba.riñsu. [B] skyol.chig |

"Mountain-sickness provisions for *sīna-sur* Bañ-tshe in Stag-skugs : to be handed to [a] Sluñs soldier and conveyed in haste."

On *sīna-sur*, *ri-zug*, and *Sluñs* see pp. 389, 385–6. The phrase "to be handed to [a] Sluñs" recurs in c. iii, 0016 and 0047, and it is evident that the Sluñs people furnished the army messengers, police, servants, and camp-followers. On *Stag-skugs* see 1930, pp. 265–6.

5. *Military Instructions*

43. M. Tāgh. a. v, 002 and 0031 (wood, two adjoining pieces, together c. 11.5 × 2.5 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . rtsald.pa : | dbyard.sla.tha.cuñs.tshes.gsum

[A 2] . . . -u.rtsig.pahi : dusu : bsñeñs : par : thugs : [A 3]  
... d : | bag . ma : h̄dor . bar : | ñin : ra . sa : mtho . žin : ||

[B 1] . . . [da]ñ : | rdul . mgo : ji . gdrah (gdah) . ba :  
brtag : | mtshan.zin : [B 2] . . . -om : ji . grag . pa : yañ : ñin .  
gyi : ñin : ra . da[ñ : ] [B 3] . . . : mthoñ . tshor . na : |  
Ñam . ru . pag : gi : |

"sent. Take care to arrive on the third day of the last summer month at the time of building. . . . Putting away carelessness, the day encampment being high ground, mark . . . and what dust and heads appear; at night . . . what sounds. For the day look for and examine the day encampment and . . . Of Ñam-ru-pag . . ."

*Notes*

A 3, *bag-ma* seems to be = *bag-med*. *ñin-ra* = "day-enclosure", here and in B 5. In Khad. 037 we read *mtshan-yañ-rkañ-ra-dmadu-gzu[n]* "at night again the bundle-enclosure (*rkañ-ra* 'foot-enclosure' ?) taken on low ground (*dmadu* ?)".

B 3, *Ñam-ru-pag-gi*: The instructions are apparently for a company of the (oft-mentioned) *Ñam-ru-pag* regiment, on which see p. 563.

44. M. Tāgh. a. v, 007 (wood, c. 13.5 × 2.5–3 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] 𢃠 | . | stso(so?) : sa : hdi : rnams : gyi . tshugs :  
pond : so . tshor . . . [A 2] la : so . sa : gžir : phyind . par .  
mchi . la : | do . cig . Pe[hu?] . . . [A 3] chuñ . bahi : | sas :  
gyan . mchis : pas : | le . lo : ma . bg[y]i . . . [B 1] gs[o]l :  
ba : nas . | ñin . žin . yul . gyi . dbyañs : [p?] . . . [B 2] my  
(rgy?)—. bar . tsag . tsig . dañ : | rta . sgra . lhañ . b[tsh]er :  
dañ : dgra . g . . . [B 3] mtshan . gyi : mye[l] . tse . dgu : dam .  
du . tsugs : la : | dgra . byuñ . [b] . . .

"To the sergeant and company of soldiers [in charge] of these contributions. . . . While the contributions are on their way to reach the place, as at present there is in Pehu (rtse ? mar ?) but little, it is requested that there should be no carelessness. In the day-time the country sounds . . . rustling (?) and clear neighing of horses and enemy . . . Halt during nine watches of the night. An enemy having appeared . . ."

*Notes*

Analogous directions for caution on a march have been exemplified (1928, p. 588). On *tshugs-pon*, *so-tsho*, *myel-tshe* see pp. 386, 388, 386, respectively. The "nine watches" of the night may be "nine watchmen" or "all the watches". *Tsugs* (from *hdzugs*) = "halt" is conjectural.

45. M. Tāgh., 0485 (paper fragment, c. 21.5 × 3.5 cm. ; ll. 4 *recto* + 3 *verso* of clear, regular, *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . sha.nas . . .

[A 2] bdahste | gdugs . mtshan . spy[odna . . . -y] . . . [bsl-  
bs-mu . chā] || [r]ka . tsam . gnug (bzag ?) . [pa] . ñan . . . .

[A 3] bzin . drug . du . mchi || lag . pon . dañ . mtshon .  
cha . dañ . ldan . ba . thab . mo . pa . dag . ni || dgra . mgo .  
ci . ltar . g . . . . .

[A 4] pon . kyi . cha . skad . sdod . chiñ | hbros . khu[n] .  
dañ . thab . sa . tsam . dag . kyañ . btsal(s ?) . te . gži . na .  
bsdad . la | . . . .

[B 1] bgyi . htshal<sup>1</sup> . bahi . skad . chig . mchis . na . yañ  
|| sna . la . rta . pas . | dgras . šul . du . tshog . myi . rdzis .  
pahi . chos . [su] . . .

[B 2] mchi : | myi . bśar . dañ . gnag . [-o . . — -i . . . .]  
[din (chiñ ? riñ ?)] la.thug.ste.[šu].lañ.su.mchi[s (n ?)] . . .

[B 3] . . . [rmi.che — (mi ?)]

[A] ". . . in front (or first) . . . driving . . . marching day  
and night . . . the troop should go in six like . . . The workmen  
and the armed fighting men, on seeing enemy heads . . . The

<sup>1</sup> I below line.

troop of . . . waiting a moment, after scrutinizing avenues of flight and battle-ground, should wait in its place. [B] If some news of an intended . . . comes, in the van horsemen should go in the manner of pioneers checked by the enemy on the way. If falling in with men in arms and . . . they should retreat . . .”

#### Notes

The document is fragmentary and accordingly in places obscure.

A 2, *rka(ska)-tsam-bzag* : “ Halt for a moment ” ?

A 3, *mgo-ci-ltar* : On “ seeing heads ” cf. 1928, p. 588.

B 1, *dgras-śul-du-tshog-myi-rdzis-pa* : An obscure expression, *tshog* = *rtsog* ?

B 2, *bśar* : On this word see pp. 538–9.

*śul-nans-su* : “ On the road of retreat ” ? Concerning *nans-su* see 1927, pp. 1817–18.

#### 6. Incidents

46. M.I., x, 3 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete (in two pieces); hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint).

[A 1]  || brgyags . byan . ma . mchis . hbum . ltogs . la .  
cug . pah || mnah . bdag . chen . [A 2] pohi . sñan . myi .  
slebs . po<sup>1</sup> . la | bla . hog . [na]s | dbu . yugs . smad . la .  
dnansu (?)<sup>2</sup> [B 1] bgyid . de || [sno ?] . gze . dañ . glan<sup>3</sup> .  
htshal . dag . kyan . mchisna . | sdum . bt[ab] . dgra[sla] . . .  
[B 2] ba . [b]usmad . [g]cons<sup>4</sup> . kyi . bar . du . || bla . hog .  
[nas] . sus . kyan . myi . gtse . zin . | ph[a (phra ? pha ?) .  
min . dar] [B 3] [stoñ . sdehi] . [ho]g . du . mchis . su . stso[1] .  
[c]ig . pa (?) | Nob . ched . pohi | rtse . rje . la . bkās . gtad .  
pra (par).ci.gnañ

“ In regard to certain comers, friends (servants ?) of a great person in authority, who are without a provision-ticket and reduced to hunger, high and low bowing their

<sup>1</sup> pahi ?  
<sup>2</sup> glon ?

<sup>3</sup> dnai-can ?  
<sup>4</sup> gtsen yo ? gtseñ so ?

head-wraps to insult and seeking to mend their old vessels (?), be pleased to send orders to the chief official of Great Nob that, while they lament their homes and families . . . the enemy, no one high or low should harm them, and that they with their little brother (?) should be allowed to go down to the Thousand-district. . . .”

### Notes

A 1, *brgyags-byāñ*: No doubt, a ticket authorizing receipt of provisions.

A 2, *sñan-myī*: This may mean either “friends” (*sñan*, “dear”) or servants (*sñan*, “hear”).

*dbu-yugs . . . glan*: Reading in part uncertain and translation conjectural. *Dbu-yugs* should mean “head-wrap” (= turban); *glan* or *glos* may mean “lend”, but it may come from *len* “take”, and the sense may be that people are insulting them and seeking to rob them.

B 2, *phra-miñ-dar(ñ)*: Can this mean “with their little brothers”?

*ston-sde*: This may be the *governor* of the Thousand-district, as 1928, p. 584.

47. M.T., 0488 (paper, c. 22 × 5 cm., fragmentary at l. (?), r., top and bottom; ll. 5 *recto* of good *dbu-can* script + l. 1 *verso* in an inferior hand).

[A 1] . . . n d-ñ . ch . . . . . [g] . . . y- . [s]l-r . hduste . m[chis] . . .

[A 2] . . . žugs . gy- . g-y[o]n . l-nd . to | hog . pon . ni . mye . skrad . gth-ñ . pahi : žal . ta . dañ . ñin . rahí . sto . . .

[A 3] . . . tshugs . pon . geig . bu . htshal . pa . dmyig . skyo . pas . so . [ye] . myigis . myi . tshor . par . [mchis . pa] . . .

[A 4] . . . ni . hog . pon . man . cad . pyan . g-yog . yan . cad . rta . sor . [byed] . [pahi . myi . de] . las . -e . . .

[A 5] . . . pa . sug . las . gžan . ni . mamchis . [pa] . . . -i

[B] : . . . g- . gsold . ci . g

“ . . . being again united, went . . . avoided (*g-yon-lend*) the fire. The corporal . . . the service of putting out the fire

and . . . of the day-encampment. . . . The sergeant who wishes to be alone, being of a quarrelsome (?) disposition, went unperceived by the alert-eyed soldiers. . . . The . . . from corporal down to cook's mate . . . from those men who were (that man who was) causing the horses to run away. . . . The . . . who had no other task. . . ."

### Notes

The incident is one in which a squad, with a sergeant and corporal, encounters difficulties, its encampment being fired and the horses scared away. The fragmentary state of the document obscures the details. Concerning *nin-ra*, *tshugs-pon*, *ye-myig*, *hog-pon*, and *byan-g-yog* see *supra*. *Mye-skrad* (from *skrod*), "put out" the fire, is probable; *dmyig-skyo* "fancy-quarrelsome (or sorrowful)".

48. M.I., x, 2 (wood, c. 15.5 × 2 cm., slightly cut away at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, *verso* in part very faint).

[A 1]  || dpen . bahi . zo . sa . hbul . hbul . bahi . dgras . bku . bahi [A 2] [bu ?] . smad . hkhor . yul || chis . [skagsu (dag ?)] . chañ . khyur . spyan . gyi[s] . htsho[l] [B 1] cig . ce[s] . ž[an . lon] . ched . pohi . mchid . kyis . kyañ . bead || khri . dpo[n] . dañ [B 2] stoñ . pon da[g . g] i . . . || [žig] . la . -e . ma . ži[n (g ?)] || chi . . . gy- [B 3] htshal . bas || gu[m] . kyañ . my[i] g[tsi] . bar . || Nob . ched . pohi . rtse . rje . [b]la . hog

"The great Uncle Councillor has by letter ordered that the families of those killed by the enemy while bringing offerings of useful contributions should upon their arrival in the territories administered be interviewed by the *chañ-khyur*, the commandants of Ten-Thousands and the commandants of Thousands should [do no harm to any of them : whoever seeks to harm them] is not to [receive consideration] even when dead—[orders from] the chiefs in command of Great Nob, superior and inferior."

*Notes*

A 1, *dpen-bahi-žo-ša* : See 1927, p. 75; 1928, p. 584.

A 2, *hkhor-yul-chis-skagsu* : We have translated *hkhor-yul-mchis-skabsu*. *Hkhor*, however, could be taken with *bu-smad*, in the sense of "and belongings". *Skagsu* could mean "in ill-luck".

*chañ-khyur* : An official designation, perhaps of a general nature (= "chief officials") : see 1927, pp. 77, 79.

B 1-2, *khri-dpon, stoñ-dpon* : The commandant of a "Ten-Thousand" (district) is obviously superior to the commandant of a Thousand, concerning which office see p. 382. Both are civilians. The original text perhaps continued *dag . gis || žig . la . gtse . ma . žig || chis (cis) . gtse . bgyir . htshal . bas*

B 3, *bla-hog* : Perhaps the intended meaning is "to all, superiors and inferiors, [gives instruction]."

49. M.I., xxviii, 0023 (wood, c. 11 × 2 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of neat, clear, *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . sp[e ?] || skun . kar . gyi . slad . rol . žin . tog . du |

[A 2] . . . [y]as . gtses . ſin . glan . ka . bgyid . du . yañ . glo .

ba [B 1] . . . [-i(e ?)] . du . mchis . pa | hthol . žin . mchis . na .

[B 2] . . . [-i]s . myi . gtshe . bar . chi . gnañ . žes . gsol . te .

" . . . in the fields (*žin-tog* = °*thog* ?) outside the fort are being harmed by . . . and are tempted (*glo-ba-ñae-du*) to make reprisals (*glan-ka*). Being engaged in digging (*hthol*), . . . beg [you] to allow no [one] to harm . . . "

On *skun-kar* (*sku-mkhar*) see p. 386. *Hthol* (with *btol, gtol*) probably means "dig"; but in the Tibetan Chronicle (ll. 20, 134) it occurs several times with the sense of "bury", which perhaps it has here (as also in M.I., vii, 3 and 20; xix, 002; M. Tāgh. 0293).

50. M. Tāgh. 001 (wood, c. 20.5-21 × 2 cm., somewhat broken away at r., upper and lower corners; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 (mostly erased) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . gsol . ba . thugs . bde . bar . smon . mchid . yi . ge . las . ſnun . gsol [2] . . . n . so . ñul . [las] . gsan . ba . tsam .

rabs . bdag . ḥan . pa . yañ [3] . . . [ch-d . s-g ?] tsha . bo .  
 hi<sup>1</sup> . rgyags . sn[o]d . gal . du . nañ . mtshal (= nan-rtsal ?).  
 chad . ḥdi [4] . . . myi . las . Mes . slebs . Hu . ten . [du] . . .  
 [B 1] . . . [khor] . žag . du . mchis . pa . mchis : || yañ . ri . zug .  
 dag . ni . mañs . pa . dañ . dgra [B 2] . . . [n . chad . du .  
 myi] . bzañ . bas . yar . byin . na . ruñ . ba . hdra || mchid .  
 yig . sña . phi . gsum [B 3] . . . n . mchis . sam . ma . m[ehis] :  
 žal . m[ja]l . gyi . bar . [du] . thugs . bde . žiñ . la . žal . myu[r .  
 du] [B 4] m[ja]l . [bar . smon . ciñ . mchis] | |

" . . . petitions: Prayers for (your) happiness: this letter  
 is to inquire after (your) health. So far as I hear from the  
 soldier spy, it is excellent. Your humble servant has exerted  
 himself for the transmission of grandson . . . 's provision  
 basket (?). Of the men here Mes-slebs has gone on leave to  
 Hu-ten. Also there are many mountain-sick: being no good  
 for . . . an enemy, it looks as if they ought to be let go up.  
 Have the three letters, prior and later, come, or not? Until  
 we meet face to face may you be in good spirits: I am praying  
 for an early meeting face to face."

On *khor-zag* "leave" see p. 398; on *ri-zug*, pp. 385-6;  
*yar* (B 2) "up" might mean "back to Tibet" or "back  
 to headquarters (Sín-san ?)".

51. M. Tagh., i, 0014 (wood, c. 12.5 × 1.5-2 cm.; incised  
 lines and notches *recto* and *verso*; large notch in bottom  
 centre; hole for string at l.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ፩ | . | dgra.byuñ.sor.dag. | [2] chad. |

"Punished (executed) for flight on appearance of enemy."

Similar punishment for cowardice is reported in M. Tagh.,  
 0206, and a. v, 0012, and b. i, 0036b (?).

#### 7. *Personalia*

52. M. Tagh. c. ii, 006 (wood, c. 14.5 × 2 cm., complete;  
 hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can*  
 script).

<sup>1</sup> *ni* (?)

[A 1] ፭ | : | Ḥo . tsho . pagi . sde . Ḥo . ru . Pyi . tshab . | so . la . btus pa . las [A 2] bro . htshal . nas | so . la . m[ch]ji . bahi . rño . mi . tog . nas . ko . [B 1] na . stoñ . sde . nañ . du . sña . súr . slog . ta . dañ . so . sña . pyir . sde . [B 2] brjes . te | slog . ta . res . la . Pyi . tsab . mehi . bar . bgyis . |

"Ho-ru P[h]yi-tshab, of the Ho-tsho-pag regiment, having after joining service, fallen ill, and being unable to go on service, it was arranged that he should exchange service earlier and later with a *sña-súr* returning to the Thousand-district and that P[h]yi-tshab should go in place of the returning man."

#### Notes

A 1, *so-la-btus* : On the phrase see p. 386.

*stoñ-sde* : The Thousand-district is, no doubt, Ho-tsho-pag.

B 1, *slog-ta* : Apparently a technical term, denoting a man released from military service. Concerning *sña-súr* see p. 389.

53. M. Tāgh., 0019 (wood, c. 14-14.5 × 2.5-3 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso* of squared *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ፭ | . | jo . co . Khri(o ?) . bžer . dañ . tsa . bo . Cuñ . ra . dañ . Cuñ . hbrin . la . | Ḥpan . s[gy]e . [A 2] s . gyi . mchid . gso<sup>1</sup> . ba . Stag . cuñ . gi . tsal . ma . tsam . žig . ma [A 3] r . ma . skur . na . kho . yañ . lbegs : sde . hgum : žiñ . mchis : b [B 1] dag . cag . hi : htsal . ma . la : yañ . gnod . ciñ . mchis . na . skur . [B 2] bar . gsol : yar . gtañ . du . ni . mchi . bahi . rño . myi : thog . ciñ . [B 3] mchis : | da . lta . ni . tsal . ma . su . mnar . ciñ . mchis : na : |

"To lord Khri(o ?)-bžer and grandsons Cuñ-ra and Cuñ-hbrin : letter petition of Ḥpan-sgyes. Stag-cuñ's rations, any at all, not having been sent down, he has died by suicide (hunger, *ltogs?*). My own rations also having been injured, please send. As for dispatching [a message] up, it is not possible to go. At present I am where rations are . . ."

<sup>1</sup> I omitted.

*Notes*

A 1 : On *tsa-bo* "grandsons" see 1930, p. 262. Cuñ-ra and Cuñ-hbrin are, doubtless, sons of Khri-bzer.

A 3, *lbebs* : = *lcebs*, found *supra*, 1927, p. 81 ?

B 3, *su-mnar-cin* ?

54. M.I., vii, 46 (wood, c. 14.5 × 1.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] || byi . ba . bgyis . pa . khrims . che . la . thug . pa . || dmag . pon . dañ | [2] spyan . gis . dbyoñs . dkyigs . [la] . gsol . cig ||

"One who, having done his duty, has met with a heavy sentence begs for a personal interview with the general."

*Notes*

*spyan-gis-dbyoñs* : "interview with sight." On *dbyoñs*, from *hbyon-pa*, see 1927, pp. 72, 844.

*dkyigs* : This is perhaps the word *dkrig*, given in S. C. Das' dictionary as meaning "personally".

55. M. Tāgh. c. i, 0030 (wood, c. 13.5 × 1.5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of squarish *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] || nañ . rje . po . blon . Lha . bžre<sup>1</sup> . gi . ža . sñar || Gyi . na | [A 2] riñ . gi . mchid . gsol . ba . Mars . Lha<sup>2</sup> . rma . hi | [B 1] rkub . bead . bar . ci . gnañ . Gyi . na . riñ . gyañ . rkub . bead . [B 2] bar . gsol ||

"To the presence of Lha-bžes, minister of internal affairs : petition of Gyi-na-riñ. Thanks for the *rkub-bead* of Mars Lha-rma. Gyi-na-riñ also petitions for *rkub-bead*."

*Rkub-bead*, which in Sanskrit would perhaps be *pāyu-ccheda*, is perhaps some surgical operation : since the request comes from the person concerned, it can hardly be disciplinary.

8. *List of Regiments (sde)*

(N.B.—Regiments certainly belonging to Tibet proper, about twenty in number, are distinguished by a \*.)

*Bar-khoñi-sde* (Bar-kho unknown).

<sup>1</sup> Compendious for *bter*.

<sup>2</sup> *Lag* (?)

56. M. Tāgh. c. i, 001 (wood, c. 11 × 1.5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ཨ | . | Bar . khohi . sde | Rlañ . Gyer . bu . cuñ .  
 [B] bži . bcuñ . rtsa . lha . chad |

"Bar-kho regiment: Rlañ Gyer-bu minor punished forty-five (stripes?)."

*Bron-tsham-gyi-sde*. See *Hbron*°.

*Bzañ-Hor-gyi-sde* ("Good Hor regiment").

On the Good Hor and on the *Hbron-tsams* regiment see 1931, p. 882, and *infra*, p. 557, respectively.

Further mention of the same regiment in M. Tāgh., 0345, a. iii, 0013, quoted above and a. iv, 0026, b. i, 002, c. ii, 0046, c. iii, 0060.

\* *Dags*(or *Dvags*)-*po-sde* (Dags-po, a Tibetan tribal division).

57. M. Tāgh., 0332 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., broken away at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

ྨ | . | Dags.po.sde | Se : Khlu : rton

"Dags-po regiment: *Se* Khlu-rton."

*Se* is perhaps a military title: see *supra*, p. 389.

*Dgyes-sde* (Perhaps a special kind of troop; on *dgyes* or *sgyes* see *JRAS*. 1930, p. 263, and *supra*, p. 385).

58. M. Tāgh., 0351 (wood, c. 15.5 × 2 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, very faint).

[1] ྨ | . | Dgyes . sde . [po] . Chuñ . ra . dañ . [Snañ] . bzer . la . . . [2] gyis . rmas . na . ph[y]ogsu . thugs . b[de . ba . žes .] . . .

"To Chuñ-ra and Snañ-bzer of the Dgyes regiment . . . it having been stated by . . . that [you] on your part are happy. . . ."

Further mention in M. Tāgh. a. ii, i, 0011, 0097, c. ii, 0017.

\* *Dor-te-hi-sde* (Dor-te (or de), a Thousand-district in Tibet, as noted *supra*).

59. M.I., 0034 (wood, c. 8 × 2 cm., fragmentary at r.: l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

¶ || Dor.tehi.s[d]e | H . . .

"Dor-te regiment : H . . ."

\* *Gad-sram-gyi-sde* (Gad-bkram, a Thousand-district of Hgos, in Tibet).

60. M. Tāgh., 0239 (wood, c. 8.5 × 2.5 cm., complete (?); ll. 1 *recto* + 2 (a different hand) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] Ŋam.nam.smon.leg |

[B 1] Gad.sram.gyi.sde | sro.Tshes.mthno.<sup>1</sup> [B 2] pye.bre.gsum.htshal. |

" . . . Gad-sram regiment : *sro* Tshes-mthno requests three *bre* of flour."

*Sro* is apparently a military title : see *supra*, pp. 389, 542.

61. M. Tāgh. a., 4 (wood, c. 13 × 1.5-2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 (in 4 compartments) of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] Gad.sr[am] | gtad.My[o]s | Hb[r?]ehu.gzig[s] | . . .

[2] s[d]e.la | [rlob] | cad. |

"To the Gad-sram regiment sent [by] Myos-rlob : Hbrehu-gzigs executed . . ." Also in a. iii, 0019, *infra*, p. 556.

#### *Glan-šan-sde*

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. a. i, 0021 (fragmentary).

\* *Gcom-pahi-sde* (Beom-pa, a Thousand-district of Cog-ro in E. Tibet).

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0096, quoted 1930, pp. 51-3.

*Gom-pahi-sde* (apparently different from the Grom(Hgrom)-pa regiment).

62. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0037 (wood, c. 12 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

¶ || Gom:pa:hi:sde:ko:nan:Pan:legs

"Gom-pa regiment : ko-nan P[h]an-legs."

63. M. Tāgh. a. v, 008 (wood, c. 12.5 × 1.5-2 cm., broken away at l. ; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

<sup>1</sup> Compendious for *mthno*.

... Gom.pahi.sde phu.bag.Mu.ne.sta.na |

"Gom-pa regiment: Phu-bag Mu-ne-sta-na."

*Phu (Pu)-bag*, which recurs *infra*, p. 567, and in c. iv, 0035, may be an official (or local) designation.

*Grañ-brtsan-sde*

64. M. Tāgh. b. ii, 0047 (wood, c. 10 × 2·5 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 of squarish *dbu-can* script).

[1] ܘ | Grañ.brtsan.sde | stag.Khri.-[e] . . .

[2] sñiñ.ñen. | Tro.ki.Min.phan.dañ | . . .

"Grañ-brtsan regiment: officer Khri.e . . . sñiñ.ñen: *Tro-ki* Min-phan and . . .

*Tro-ki* is probably a surname.

65. M. Tāgh. a, vi, 0020 (wood, c. 11 × 2·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, obscure and dirt-encrusted).

[1] ܘ . . . Grañ.[brts]an.gyi.sde.gyerd | [2] Kho[n}s . . .

"Grañ-brtsan regiment: *gyerd* Kho[n}s . . ."

*Gyerd* is perhaps an official title: see *supra*, p. 389.

\* *Grom-pahi-sde* (= *Hgrom-pahi-sde*, q.v.).

*Gyar-skyan-gi-sde* (= *Yar-skyan-gi-sde*, "Yarkand regiment," q.v.).

\* *Hbro-mtshams-kyi-sde* (*Hbro*, a tribal district in Tibet).

66. M. Tāgh. a. iii, 0019 (wood, c. 14 × 2·2·5 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint).

[A 1] . . . [l?] . Khyuñ. dañ. | Bro.tshams.gyi.sde.Rgya.Dred.po.dañ. | Hbro.[rgya?]

[A 2] . . . [kh?]—ñ.gyi.sde.Dgro.Legs.[z]i[gs] | dañ.Ga.sram.gyi.[sd?]e.[Rgya?]

[B 1] . . . bzer.gyis | Skyan.po.Lha.goñ.dañ.

[B 2] . . . | gy—.lña.ky-[s].Rma . . . khri.la.[sprinō?]

" . . . Khyuñ, and of the Bro-tshams regiment Chinaman Dred-po, and of the Hbro . . . kh—ñ regiment Dgro Legs-zigs,

and of the Ga[d]-sram regiment Chinaman (?) . . . bzer : along with Skyan-po Lha-goñ . . . : by [these] five sent to Rma . . . khri."

*Khyuñ* and *Skyan-po* are, like *Hbro*, tribal designations (noted *supra*). *Hbro* . . . *kh-n* is perhaps = *Hbroñ-khoñ*, and *Ga-sram* is the *Gad-sram* recorded in this list. *Dgro* is perhaps the *Sgro* Thousand-district of Tibet.

#### *Hbrom-gi-sde*

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. a. i, 0031, quoted *supra*.

\* *Hbroñ-mtshams-kyi-sde* (no doubt connected with the *Hbroñ* district of Mdo-smad in Tibet).

67. M. Tāgh. a. vi, 0019 (wood, c. 12-12.5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ܘ || *Hbroñ.tsams.khi* [*sic*].*sde.Po.yon.Htus.rma.* | [B 1] *dños.Huten.na.mchis.na.dmag.skyin.nas.g[la]* [B 2] *thud.hbul.lam.myi.hbul.rma* |

" *Hbroñ-tsams* regiment: P[h]o-yoñ *Htus(Hdus)-rma*, at present in Huten, inquires whether from what is owing to the army (*dmag-skyin* ?) extra wage (*gla-(h)thud*) is, or is not, paid."

The place-name *Pho-yoñ* (*g-yoñ*) is known as surname of a Tibetan queen: see S. C. Das' *Dict.*

68. M. Tāgh. c. ii, 0046 (wood, c. 11.5 × 2.5 cm., complete; hole for string at l. ; ll. 3 *recto* of square *dbu-can* script + 2 *verso* in a more cursive hand).

[A 1] ܘ | . | *Bzañ:Hor:gyi* | *sde:Hzañ.Ma.brid* || *Šan.sde:Brñ.* [A 2] *legs.Moñ.* | *Bron.tsham:gyi:sde:Be:sna.* .

[A 3] *Mñal.pan.Mu.Šan.doñ.*

[B 1] ܘ || *Bzañ.Hor* | *Hzañ.Ma.brid*

[B 2] *gyi.[sd]e* |

[A] " Of the Good *Hor* regiment *Hzañ Ma-brid*; of the *Šan* regiment *Brñ-legs*, a *Moñ*; of the [*H*] *broñ-tsham* regiment *Be sna*; a *Mñal-p[h]an Mu Šan-doñ*."

[B] " Good-*Hor* regiment: *Hzañ Ma-brid*."

*Notes*

On the Good-Hor, Šāñ, and Mnāl-phan regiments see in this list. Be-sna is perhaps identical with the Ba Snañ-rma (of the same regiment) mentioned above (M. Tāgh., 0614).

*hdzind-byar-sar-lha-mtshohi-sde* (title imperfect ?)

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0096, quoted 1930, pp. 51-3.  
*Hdzom-smad-kyi-sde* ("Lower Hdzom" regiment, Nob region).

69. M.I., i, 6 (wood, c. 6.5 × 1.5 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ፪ || Hdzom.smad.kyi.sde | ho.na[l] . . . [A 2]  
mkhar.du.hph(b?)yuñ.ba.las | so.[pa] . . . [B 1] tsan.na.  
mchis.pa.dan | bcu . . .

"Lower Hdzom regiment: the *ho-nal* . . . having been  
into . . . town, soldier . . . was in . . . tsan and ten . . ."

Mentioned in M.I., ii, 25 (quoted *supra*); viii, 17; xxiii, 109b.

On *ho-nal* see *supra*, p. 389.

*Hdzom-stod-kyi-sde* ("Upper Hdzom" regiment, Nob region:  
possibly the Hzom-lom-stod of *Ancient Khotan*, p. 569).

70. M.I., ii, 38 (wood, c. 14 × 1.5 cm., complete; l. 1 of  
cursive *dbu-can* script).

፪ || Hdzom.stod.kyi.sde | Tshe.spoñ.Mthoñ.skyugs

"Upper Hdzom regiment: Mthoñ-skyugs of Tshe-spoñ  
(in Tibet)."

71. M.I., ii, 37a (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete; l. 1 of  
cursive *dbu-can* script).

፪ || Hdzom.[stod.kyi].sd[e].Ldu.Rmol.tsa |

"Upper Hdzom regiment: Ldu Rmol-tsa."

Mentioned in M.I., ii, 17 (quoted *supra*), and vii, 33.

\* *Hgrom-pahi-sde* (Grom-pa, a Thousand-district of Hbro,  
in Tibet).

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0096, and b. i, 0095 (both  
quoted *supra*).

*Ho-tsho-pag-gi-sde*

72. M. Tāgh. a. iii, 002 (wood, c. 14 × 2-2.5 cm., complete;  
hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

- [1] 𩫑 | : | Ho.tsho.pagi.[sde] | Na.gram.Lha.brtsan.  
 [2] bzag |

"Delivered by Lha-brtsan of Na-gram, Ho-tsho-pag regiment."

On Na-gram see 1930, p. 274. *Bzag* in the same sense occurs in M.I. iv, 71, M. Tagh. a. ii, 0048, etc.; cf. pp. 393, 566.

73. M. Tagh. c. i, 0010 (wood, c. 11·5 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, smudged and partly erased).

- [1] 𩫑 || Ho.zo.pagi.[s]de.Khyuñ.po.[Snañ?].kno<sup>1</sup>  
 [2] [hog.pon]

"Ho-zo-pag regiment: Khyuñ-po Snañ-kon, corporal."

*Khyuñ-po* is the name of a Tribal division of Tibet.

74. M. Tagh. c. i, 0031 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint).

𩫑 | : | Ho.tsho.pagi.sde | sñe.lo.Na.gzigs. |

"Ho-tsho-pag regiment: the sñe-lo Na-gzigs."

*sñe-lo* is apparently a military title.

Mentioned also in M. Tagh. b. i, 0058 and 0095 (quoted *supra*) and c. ii, 006.

*Kha-dro-hi-sde* (Kha-dro, a district in the Nob region).

Mentioned in M.I., xiv, 124 and 129, and xlvi, 3.

*Khar-sar-gyi-sde*. See *Mkhar*<sup>2</sup>.

\* *Khri-boms-kyi-sde* (Khri-boms, in Tibet).

75. M. Tagh. c. iv, 0033 (wood, c. 11 × 1·5–2 cm., cut away at bottom: hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

- [1] 𩫑 | . | Khri.boms.kyi.sde.Dbyen.Hphan. [2] la.  
 r[t]on |

"Khri-boms regiment: Dbyen Hphan-la-rton."

Mentioned also in M. Tagh. c. iii, 0063 and H, 6. *Dbyen* is an unknown surname: *dben* means "anchorite".

\* *Khri-dan(tañ)-gi-sde* (Khri-tha, a Thousand-district adjacent to Hdre, in Tibet).

<sup>1</sup> For *kön*.

76. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 009 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete as new; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

¶ : | : | Khri : dañ . gi : sde : | Hbre : Pan : legs : |

"Khri-dañ regiment Hbre (error for Hdre or Hbro ?) P[h]-an-legs."

77. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 0041 (wood, c. 13-13.5 × 1.5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint).

¶ || [Khri].dañ.gi.sde.gsen.Ci[s].[pā ?] |

"Khri-dañ regiment: the *gsen* Cis-pah."

On *gsen* see *supra*, pp. 389-90.

\* *Khri-goms-kyi-sde* (Khri-dgoñs, a Thousand-district of Hbro, in Tibet).

78. M. Tāgh., 0382 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 (+ upper parts of another) *recto* + 1 (a different hand) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ¶ | Khri.goms.gyi.sde.Hol.god.Byañ.bya[ns]

[A 2] na (cha ?).[bar ?].[pañ].gtogs.te.so

[B] ..[s(l?)].gyi.bśus ||

"Khri-goms regiment: Byañ-byañs of Hol-god . . ."

\* *Lañ-myi-sde* (Lañ-mi, a Thousand-district of the Pa-tsab, in N.E. Tibet).

79. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0077 (wood, c. 13.5-14 × 2.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* of square *dbu-can* script; *verso* 1 *akṣara* of the same).

[A 1] ¶ | : | Lañ.myihi:sde:rtsi:Klu:lod:nañ [A 2] gcheg:myi:chad:par:rjes:gtsho [B] . . . d

"Lañ-myi regiment: rtsi Klu-lod writes requesting . . . not to be punished (?)."

The meaning of *rtsi* and of *gcheg* is unknown; but cf. *tseg* in a. iv, 0068, and *supra*, p. 398 (*tsheg* = *tshegs*?).

80. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 0034 (wood, c. 10-10.5 × 2 cm., somewhat cut away at bottom; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, somewhat faint).

[1] 阿 || [L]—.myi.sde. | Kog.Hsam.sgyes [2] hog.pon  
“ Lañ-myi regiment, Kog Hsam-sgyes, corporal.”

The surname *Kog* or *Ha-kog* recurs *infra*, p. 563, and elsewhere.

81. M. Tāgh. a. iii, 0033 (wood, c. 11 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] 阿 | : | Lañ.myi.sde Žims.Stag [2] rton  
“ Lañ-myi regiment: Stag-rton of Žims (in Tibet).”

Further mention in M.I., i, 23, and M. Tāgh. a. iii, 0013 (quoted *supra*).

#### *Lhag . . . hi.sde*

Mentioned in M. Tāgh., 0492 (quoted 1930, pp. 56–7).

\* *Lho-brag-gi-sde* (Lho-brag Thousand-district in S.E. Tibet).

82. M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0028 (wood, c. 12–12·5 × 2·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, the second l. faint).

[1] 阿 | Lho.brag.gyi.sde.Lbo.kol. [2] [gsol]  
“ Lho-brag regiment: petition of Lbo-kol.”

83. M. Tāgh. c. i, 0023 (wood, c. 12–12·5 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of squarish *dbu-can* script).

[A] 阿 || [Lho . brag . gi] . sde . | Sprag . Bsam . koñ .  
[B] bzaño. |

“ Lho-brag regiment: Bsam-koñ-bzañ of Sprag(s).”

Mentioned also in M. Tāgh., 0264.

\* *Mañ-khar-sde* (Mañ-khar (gar), a Thousand-district of Hbro, in Tibet).

84. M. Tāgh., 0343 (wood, c. 12·5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

阿 | . | Mañ.khar.sde.lä |

“ To the Mañ-khar regiment.” Also in a. iv, 0012.

#### *Mkhar-sar-gyi-sde*

85. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0087 (wood, c. 13–13·5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of square *dbu-can* script).

- [1] ፩ | : | [M]khar.sar.gyi.[sde] | Mon.chuñ.la |  
[2] gsal [sic].pa.

"Mkhar-sar regiment: petition to Mon-chuñ."

*Mñal-hphan-gyi-sde* ("Fatigue-benefit" regiment)

86. M. Tāgh. b. i, 0075 (wood, c. 12 × 1.5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint).

፩ || Mñu . la [sic] . pam [sic] . sd[e] . thag . bar . Rtses . phyan.

"Mñal-hphan regiment: middle-rope Rtses-phyan."

On *thag-bar* see *supra*, p. 385.

Further mention in M. Tāgh. b. i, 0022, and c. ii, 0046 (quoted above).

*Mñal-pahi-sde* (possibly connected with the Gñal Thousand-district of S.E. Tibet; but see *supra*, pp. 385–6, and compare *mñald-pahi-khri-thag-bar*, 1930, pp. 93–4).

87. M. Tāgh. c. iii, 0017 (wood, c. 13 × 1.5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, rubbed and in part faint).

[A 1] ፩ || Skyi.stod.gyi.s[d]e.S-e-[tsh]al.[gzi ?] . . .

[A 2] rñi — .[ch ?]en (tshung ?) |

[B] ፩ | : | Mñal : pa . hi : ste :

"Upper Skyi regiment: S-e-.tshal land . . .

Mñal-pa regiment." Also in c. iii, 0078 (paper).

On the Upper Skyi regiment see *infra*, p. 566.

*Mthon-khyab-kyi-sde* ("Watch-tower" regiment; cf. *Nos-dpon-mthon-khyab-kyi-sde*)

Mentioned in M.I., Iviii, 001 (quoted *supra*) and xxv, 003.

\* *Myañ-rohi-sde* (Myañ-ro, a tribal district in S.E. Tibet).

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. b. i, 0095 (quoted *supra*).

*Nag-khrid-kyi-sde* (no doubt related to Nag-śod, in the Nob region)

88. M.I., xxviii, 0016 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 *recto* of cursive *dbu-can* script; *verso* traces of script).

[A 1] 𩫑 | . | Nag (b ?).khrid.gyi.sde.Rgyab.bzer.gyi.  
mchi . . . [A 2] gsol.bah |

“Nag-khrid regiment: petition of Rgyab-bzer.”

*Nag-sod-kyi-sde* (*Nag-sod*, a district in the Nob region).

89. M.I., xxviii, 0034 (wood, c. 7-7.5 × 1.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] 𩫑 | Nag | Ha.kog.Bor |

[2]      sod.sde |      rtsan |

“Nag-sod regiment: Ha-kog Bor-rtsan.”

Further mention in M.I., ii, 32; xiv, 76 and 124 and 129 (quoted *supra*). On the surname Ha-kog, see p. 561.

*Nag-tsvehi-sde*

90. M. Tāgh., 0573 (wood, c. 13.5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at l.; l. 1 of squarish *dbu-can* script).

𩫑 | : | Nag.[tshvehi]:sde:rñha:Hbur.lod |

“Nag-tshve regiment: rñha Hbur-lod.”

*Rñha* = “drum” or “camel”? Cf. p. 389.

91. H. 3 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete; ll. 2 *recto* of square *dbu-can* script; l. 1 *verso* in a somewhat different hand).

[A 1] 𩫑 || Nag.[tsh]vehi.sde.Skyar.Klu.gzigs | dañ.  
res.kyi.s[ña].thus [A 2] Lde . . . gyi.sña.thus.khyihi.lo.pā |  
[B] Šin.śan.

“Nag-tshve regiment: with Skyar Klu-gzigs in succession first called up Lde . . . the first called up of the Dog year. Šin-śan.”

*Nam-ru-pag-gi-sde* (*Nam-ru* district in Tibet?).

92. M. Tāgh. c. i, 007 (wood, c. 13.5-14 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

𩫑 | . | Nam.ru.pagi.sde.šeñu.Klu.brtan

“Nam-ru-pag regiment: šeñu Klu-brtan.”

On *šeñu* see *supra*, p. 389.

Further mention in 0263, 0522; i, 0015; a. v, 002 and 0031; c. ii, 0042; v, 0036 (quoted *supra*) and a. iv, 0033; b. ii, 0038; c. ii, 009; c. iii, 005; c. iv, 0040.

\* *Nen-kar-gyi-sde* (Gñen-dkar, a Thousand-district of Lāns, in N.E. Tibet).

93. M. Tāgh., 0193 (wood, c. 14.5 × 2 cm., complete; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] Nen.kar.gyi | kho.nam.Na.legs |

[A 2] sde |

[B 1] rtse.rje.chu.nuhi.sug.[rje]d.htshal.zin.khrom.du [B 2] mchis |

"Nen-kar regiment: *kho-nam* Na-legs, in the city desiring a commission as Under-Chief."

On *kho-nam(n)* and *sug-rjed* see pp. 390, 491.

94. M. Tāgh. a. vi, 0014 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of square *dbu-can* script).

¶ || Nen.kar.gyi.sde.Ldog.ge.Lha.skyes |

"Nen-kar regiment *Ldog-ge* Lha-skyes."

*Ld(Rt)og-ge* is a surname, recurring elsewhere.

95. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 0029 (wood, c. 12.5 × 2 cm., slightly broken away at bottom; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

¶ || Nen.kar.gi.sde.Dbah.Kha.myi |

"Nen-kar regiment *Dbah Kha-myi*."

On *Dbah*, a clan name, see *supra*.

Further mention in M. Tāgh. b. ii, 0044 (quoted *supra*).

### *Ni-mo-bag-gi-sde*

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. c. iii, 0019 (quoted *supra*).

*Nos-dpon-mthon-khyab-kyi-sde* ("Direction-commander Watch-tower regiment").

M.I., xiv, 0012 (quoted *supra*, p. 543).

\* *Phod-kar-gyi-sde* (Phod-dkar, a Thousand-district of the Pa-tshab, in N.E. Tibet).

Mentioned in M. Tāgh., 0291, and b. i, 0095 (quoted above); also (?) in 0302.

*Rgod-ldiñ-gi-sde* (Rgod-ldiñ district in the Nob region).

Mentioned in M.I., xiv, 41 and 135 (quoted *supra*) and 008.

*Rgod-tsañ-smad-gi-sde* (Lower Rgod-tsañ district in the Nob region).

Mentioned in M.I., xiv, 006, 39, 41; xxvii, 9; lviii, 004 (quoted *supra*).

*Rgod-tsañ-stod-kyi-sde* (Upper Rgod-tsañ district in the Nob region).

Mentioned in M.I., iv, 85; xiv, 108d; xliv, 7 (quoted *supra*).

*Rluñ-gi-sde*

Mentioned in M. Tagh. c. iv, 0035.

*Rtsal-mo-pag-gi-sde*

96. M. Tagh. c. i, 0013 (wood, c. 10.5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 (a different hand) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A]  | Rtshal.mo.pag.gi.sde | sñah.sur.Stag.la.re

[B] Pyi.rtse |

"Rtsal-mo-pag regiment: sñah.sur Stag-la-re. Pyi-rtse (a place-name)."

On *sñah.sur* see *supra*, p. 389.

Another mention in M. Tagh. b. i, 0095 (quoted *supra*, *Rtsal*°).

*Rtse-thon-gyi-sde* (Rtse-thon, in the Nob region).

97. M.I., xvi, 22 (paper, fol. No. 57 in vol., c. 26 × 4 cm., discoloured and irregularly torn away all round; ll. 4 (and some vowel signs of another) *recto* + 3 (and some lower parts of a preceding one) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint.

Rtse.hthon.gyi.sde.Tor.hgu.Mañ.skyes.la

"To Tor-hgu Mañ-skyes, of the Rtse-hthon regiment."

*Tor-hgu* is probably a surname.

Further mention in M.I., xv, 0012 (quoted 1928, p. 589).

*Šañ-sde* (named, perhaps, after the Lop-nor kingdom of Šañs or Mo-Šañs or the Tibetan Šañs Thousand-district).

98. M. Tagh., i, 0025 (wood, c. 12 × 2 cm. complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

¶ | Šāñ.sde.Dbah.Myes.tshab |

"Šāñ regiment : the Dbañ Myes-tshab."

Further mention in M. Tāgh. a. i, 0031, and c. ii, 0046 (quoted *supra*) and in c. i, 005; c. iii, 0044).

*Skyi-stod-kyi-sde* (possibly = Skyid-stod, a Thousand-district in Tibet; but see 1927, p. 816).

99. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 0027 (wood, c. 11 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

¶ : | . Sky[i].stod.gyi.sde.kho.nan.Chas.zigs<sup>1</sup>

"Upper Skyi regiment : *kho-nan Chas-zigs*."

On *kho-nan* see *supra*, p. 389.

Further mention in M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0078 (quoted *supra*).

\* *Ste-hjam-sde* (Ste-hjam, a Thousand-district in E. Tibet).

100. M. Tāgh. a. iii, 0026 (wood, c. 12 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of square *dbu-can* script).

[1] ¶ : | Ste.hjom.[sde ?].gšen.Phan.legs.gyi

[2] slag.pā.thum.po.bzag |

"Ste-hjom regiment : thick (*hthug-po*, or packed, *thum*) fur-coat of *gšen* Phan-legs delivered."

On *gšen* see pp. 389–90; on *bzag*, pp. 393, 559.

### *Spyiñ-rtsañ-gi-sde*

101. M. Tāgh. c. ii, 0016 (wood, c. 11–11·5 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

¶ | Spyi[n ?].rtsañ.gi.sde. | se.[G]u.btsan.ba

"Spyiñ-rtsañ regiment : *se Gu-btsan-ba* (or *se-gu Btsan-ba*?)."

On *se* see *supra*, p. 389.

### *Tshañ-mi-sde* (Perhaps = Rtsañ-mi, i.e. Chitrāl).

Mentioned in M. Tāgh., 0513 (quoted *supra*, 1930, p. 58).

### *Yañ-rtsañ-gi-sde*

102. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 002 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ¶ || Yañ.rtsañ.gi.sde : gu.rib.Nags.rye.sgor |

<sup>1</sup> s below line.

[2] had.ba.zi.pa |

" Yañ-rtsañ regiment: in the house of *gu-rib* (slave ?) Nags-rye . . . "

103. M. Tāgh., 0262 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 (in a different hand and for the most part erased) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] 𩫑 | : | Yañ.rtsañ.gi | hgor.Myes.slebs |

[A 2] sde

[B 1] 𩫑 | : | Yañ.[rtsa]ñ.gi.sde.-e...n.mchi . .

[B 2] nañ.rje.po<sup>1</sup> m[ch]id.gso(l)

" Yañ-rtsañ regiment: *hgor* Myes-slebs. Yañ-rtsañ regiment: letter petition of . . . [to the] Home Minister."

*Hgor* is probably a title: see p. 389.

Further mention in M. Tāgh., 0050, a. iv, 00121; b. i, 0095 (quoted *supra*); and a. iii, 0021.

*Yar-skyan-gi-sde* (" Yarkand regiment").

104. M. Tāgh., 0544 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

𩫑 || Yar.skyañ.gi.sde. | Pu.bag.yul.mthoñ. |

" Yar-skyan regiment: *Pu-bag*, local surveyor."

On *Pu-bag* see *supra*, p. 556. *Yul-mthoñ* is perhaps used as a surname, here and 1928, p. 585.

105. M. Tāgh., 0280 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., somewhat broken away at top l.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

𩫑 | . | Yar.skyañ.gi.sde.spun.drug.Legs.

" Yan-skyan regiment: six brothers Legs."

(So correct *Innermost Asia*, p. 1085).

\* *Yel-rab-kyi-sde* (Yel-rab, a Thousand-district in N.E. Tibet).

106. M. Tāgh., 1616 (wood, c. 13 × 1.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of squarish *dbu-can* script).

𩫑 | : | Ye[I].rab.gyi.sde. | Lo.Legs.sroñ.la (sroñs ?)

" Yel-rab regiment: (to) Lo Legs-sroñ[s]."

Further mention in M. Tāgh. c. ii, 0038.

<sup>1</sup> Three syllables apart and in a different hand.

\* *Zom-sde* (High Zom, a Thousand-district in N.E. Tibet).

107. M.I., xiv, 0061 (wood, c. 7.5 × 2 cm., broken away at r. and at top; remains of hole for string at r.; traces of l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script.)

[ || *Zom.sde.bl-n* | ?]

"Zom regiment . . ."

Note that Zom seems to be different from the *Hdzom* of the Nob region: see *Hdzom-smad(stod)-kyi-sde* (*supra*).

. . . *dañ-phyin-poñi-sde*

Mentioned in M. Tagh. a. ii, 0097.

. . . *mkhar-gyi-sde* (= *Mañ-khar-gyi-sde*?)

Mentioned in M. Tagh., 0289.

# The Origin of Banking in Mediaeval Islam : A contribution to the economic history of the Jews of Baghdad in the tenth century

BY WALTER FISCHEL

(Concluded from p. 352.)

## V. THE ACTIVITIES OF THE COURT BANKERS

If we describe as bankers persons whose profession it is to administer, procure, and supply money,<sup>1</sup> then we are indeed entitled to count Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram as bankers in a quite modern sense, and in view of their almost exclusive dealings with the Court and its officials, as Court Bankers in fact as well as in name.<sup>2</sup>

Their professional activities, to which we now turn, may be summed up under the following main categories :—

### A. Financial Transactions.

- (a) Administration of Funds.
- (b) Remittance of Funds.
- (c) Supplying of Funds.

### B. Mercantile Transactions.

#### A.

(a) *Administration of Funds.*—The Arab sources of the tenth century reveal a prodigious desire to accumulate money, a mad rush to get rich.<sup>3</sup> The appetite for money was only equalled by the fear of its loss.

<sup>1</sup> Max Weber, *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik II. Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Tübingen, 1922, pp. 92–3; cf. also the same author's valuable *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 1923, pp. 223–238.

<sup>2</sup> *Wuz.*, 158–9, جهاينة الحضرمة.

<sup>3</sup> The words of a high official are a typical expression of this: "Already when I was a little boy I used to hoard all the money I received at a green-grocer's" (*Tan.*, ii).

This phenomenon will be discussed fully in another connection. Here it may suffice to state that officials and merchants, who were the mainstays of this money economy,<sup>1</sup> were afraid of the interference of the State, which was able to gain possession of private property easily by the then so universal method of confiscation.<sup>2</sup>

This feeling of fear and uncertainty caused people to look for the safest place in which to keep their money. To this end the oddest ways and methods were invented. Gold and silver were hidden under the soil,<sup>3</sup> in wells,<sup>4</sup> in cisterns,<sup>5</sup> in barns,<sup>6</sup> among clothes, etc. Money was even invested in jewellery and trinkets, as well as other articles of luxury,<sup>7</sup> only in order to prevent the State from snatching away one's not always honestly gained lucre.<sup>8</sup> Real estate owners could

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* the sociologically instructive passage in *Tan.*, i, p. 243. Mez, loc., p. 442, says rightly: "Im 9/10 Jahrhundert ist der reiche Kaufmann gradezu der Träger der jetzt materiell anspruchsvoll gewordenen mohammedanischen Kultur."

<sup>2</sup> As to the meaning of this word and the evolution of its signification, *vide* Cl. Huart, *ZDMG.*, vol. Ixiii (1909), pp. 856-7, and A. Fischer, *ZDMG.*, vol. Ixiv (1910), pp. 481-4. I deal at length with the institution of a *dīwān al-muṣādara* in my *Beiträge*.

<sup>3</sup> *Misk.*, 416; *Misk.*, ii, 11-12, 74, 187. After the death of the Emir Abū'l Husain Bachkam a list was made of all the places where his money was hidden.

<sup>4</sup> *Tan.*, ii, 210, tells us that more than 80,000 dinārs were taken out of a well belonging to a merchant (رجل تاجر). Even the privy was used as a hiding-place for money, *vide* the detailed and amusing story in *Tan.*, i, 15-16. Other evidence in *Misk.*, 102, where the Vizier himself is said to have hidden in cesspools no less than half a million dinārs. *Vide* also *Tan.*, i, 272.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibn Sa'id*, ed. Tallquist, pp. 39-40.

<sup>6</sup> *Misk.*, 230; this method is still in use in Algeria. Cf. on this A. Ruehl, *Vom Wirtschaftsgeist im Orient*, Leipzig, 1925, p. 42.

<sup>7</sup> Tanūkhi, *Faraj ba'd ash-Shidda*, i, 113; ii, 17. Cf. C. H. Becker, *Agypten im Mittelalter, Islamstudien*, Leipzig, 1924, i, p. 183: "Ausserdem war eine grosse Garderobe eine nicht zu verachtende Geldanlage in einer Zeit, der noch die Thesaurierung der Wertobjekte für sicherer galt als das Arbeitenlassen des Kapitals."

<sup>8</sup> Naturally, immense fortunes simply disappeared because after their owners' death nobody knew where their treasures were hidden; and on the other hand, great treasures were often discovered by mere chance. *Vide Misk.*, 299.

protect themselves against the danger of loss by constituting their landed property a Waqf,<sup>1</sup> whereby they at least could enjoy the revenue derived therefrom without fear. But what could be done with money hoards?<sup>2</sup>

In addition to hiding their money in the ground and elsewhere, people began to deposit it with prominent persons,<sup>3</sup> merchants,<sup>4</sup> and above all with professional money-dealers or bankers. This way was chiefly used by the high officials themselves and the Viziers of the Caliphs. The bankers and money-changers, whose profession it was to engage in money transactions, were for that very reason considered to be the proper, safe, and reliable people to entrust with one's fortune.<sup>5</sup>

So the habit was adopted by every Vizier of the age of al-Muqtadir to have his own money-keeper, his own particular banker.<sup>6</sup> Naturally, care was taken not to have such deposits entered in books.<sup>7</sup> Thus b. al-Furāt is said to have deposited huge sums with merchants<sup>8</sup> and clerks, without letting it be known.<sup>9</sup> Another official, for reasons of security, deposited

<sup>1</sup> For the Waqf as a measure against confiscation *vide* von Kremer, *Einnahmebudget*, p. 16; Becker, *Beiträge*, p. 266 ff., and *Islamstudien*, Leipzig, 1924, i, p. 62; also W. Bjoerkman, "Kapitalentstehung und Anlage im Islam, Berlin," *MSOS.*, ii, 1930, pp. 80-98.

<sup>2</sup> When the chamberlain Naṣr heard that he was to be arrested, he first of all hastened to deposit his money with others (*Misk.*, 117).

<sup>3</sup> *Vide Misk.*, 102, 68; *Irshād*, i, 70; v, 350. *Ecl.*, iii, 262.

<sup>4</sup> *Misk.*, 44; *Wuz.*, 74.

<sup>5</sup> That they were by no means absolutely safe is evident from *Misk.*, 257. Baridi, the governor of Ahwāz, had the bankers' houses looted (دور الصيروف) and took all the money that was found there, the bankers' own as well as that of their clients. As to مختار cf. the lexica. Cf. also the story in Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, Cairo, 1308, i, 208.

<sup>6</sup> The banker of Ibn al-Furāt was Aaron b. Amram, as well as Joseph b. Phineas. Ibrāhīm is said to have been the banker of Hāmid b. 'Abbās (*Misk.*, 95; *Wuz.*, 62, 12; *Wuz.*, 225). 'Ali b. 'Isa also had his own دليل named b. Abi 'Isa (*Wuz.*, 291, and 224). A جهنة of the Vizier al-Khasibī is also mentioned in *Misk.*, 155.

<sup>7</sup> *Vide*, for instance, *Wuz.*, 33, also *Wuz.*, 79-80, and *Tan.*, ii, 83-5.

<sup>8</sup> These "merchants" mean the two Jewish court bankers, v.i., the section "Mercantile Transactions", p. 583.

<sup>9</sup> *Misk.*, 44.

a sum of 10,000 dīnārs at a banker's without having it entered either on the debit or on the credit page of his books.<sup>1</sup> The important revenue-farmer and later Vizier Hāmid b. 'Abbās deposited with the banker Ibrāhīm b. Yuhanna a sum of 100,000 gold dīnārs.<sup>2</sup> In the year 927, 10,000 dīnārs belonging to the Vizier al-Khasibī were found partly in strong boxes, partly in the custody of his *jahbadh*.<sup>3</sup>

It is only natural that our two Jewish bankers should also be charged with such deposits. As court bankers they must have been considered particularly reliable and safe. Their clients<sup>4</sup> were mostly Viziers, and particularly the Vizier b. al-Furāt, of whose deposits with the Jewish banking firm we hear many other interesting things.

Thus b. al-Furāt, after his fall as Vizier, was finally forced to confess that he had deposited a sum of 160,000 dīnārs (consisting of *māl al-muṣādara*) with Aaron b. Amram and his son.<sup>5</sup> The Caliph al-Muqtadir summoned these two bankers, who confirmed the existence of this deposit and, at the Caliph's order, conveyed the money to his privy purse.<sup>6</sup>

We hear of other deposits of Ibn al-Furāt with the Jewish bankers (الجُبَيْدِين الْيَهُودِين) which he had to confess in the course of the inquiry that was instituted against him. The Jews were obliged to convey the money to the public exchequer.<sup>7</sup>

Closely connected with their function of administering funds was the employment of this Jewish banking house as an address for certain illegal monies destined for the account of b. al-Furāt. Here, too, b. al-Furāt was the first to have

<sup>1</sup> *Tan.*, i, 103–4.

<sup>2</sup> *Misk.*, 95; *Wuz.*, 226.

<sup>3</sup> *Misk.*, 158. Here both methods of treasuring money had been used.

<sup>4</sup> From other money transactions it is clear that their clients were always courtiers, Viziers, high officials, etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Misk.*, 128. This is the only place that mentions Aaron b. Amram together with his son (v.s., p. 350, n. 1).

<sup>6</sup> *Wuz.*, 124. A parallel version in *Misk.*, 128, shows only slight variations.

<sup>7</sup> *Arib*, 74, 13 ff.

funds (so-called "bribery money")<sup>1</sup> remitted directly to Aaron b. Amram,<sup>2</sup> who credited them to the former's account. The Vizier, of course, avoided creating any evidence of the existence of such an account in the form of book-keeping entries.<sup>3</sup>

We also learn from *Wuz.*, 78–80, and *Tan.*, ii, 82–84,<sup>4</sup> that this greedy Vizier had yet another money transaction with the Jewish bankers Aaron b. Amram and Joseph b. Phineas, which even led to a sort of legal inquiry against them. Here we are told in a very detailed manner how the Vizier increased his wealth by transmitting confiscated funds (*māl al-muṣādara*) not to the Caliph's privy purse or to the public exchequer<sup>5</sup> as he should have done, but to his own secret account which he had opened with the Jewish banking firm. We owe to this passage not only further information on the bankers' function of administering funds,<sup>6</sup> but also rather an interesting insight into the way in which the *jahbadh* used to keep his accounts,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. F. Amedroz, "Abbasid Administration in its Decay," *JRAS.*, 1913, pp. 834–5. *Māl almarāfiq* was legitimate according to the financial morality of the time.

<sup>2</sup> *Wuz.*, 334.

<sup>3</sup> In view of the fact that the Hebrew characters were employed in the bulk of Jewish-Arabic writings of the Middle Ages, including Gaonic literature, it might not be out of place to consider whether the account-books of these court bankers were kept in the Hebrew or in the Arabic script. Jewish court bankers of mediaeval Europe, we are told, kept their books not only in the Hebrew script but sometimes in the Hebrew language, and then had them translated into Latin (cf. M. Hoffmann, *Der Geldhandel der deutschen Juden*, p. 117). There is an instance on record even from the sphere of modern Islam. Between the years 1825–7 Jews were engaged as bankers of the Pasha at Damascus. They had a monopoly of all government banking business. Upon their dismissal as the result of intrigues their successors were unable to carry on the Pasha's business because their books had been kept in the Hebrew script. *Vide Revue de l'Académie Arabe à Damas*, 1922, p. 600 ff., and my monograph based thereon, which will appear shortly.

<sup>4</sup> The differences between the two versions of the text need not be taken into consideration here, as they do not affect the substance.

<sup>5</sup> See on these two institutions my *Beiträge zur Geschichte der islamischen Finanzverwaltung*.

<sup>6</sup> This passage, too, gives us an idea of the very considerable sums that passed through their hands.

and how these accounts were controlled by the Government.<sup>1</sup> For these bankers had to furnish a detailed report and a statement of all the funds that had been entrusted to them in connection with the inquiry carried out against the Vizier b. al-Furāt.<sup>2</sup>

(b) *Remittance of Funds.*—Our bankers not only took charge of deposits and administered funds, but also transmitted money. We must remember that in these times the endorsement of bills was already coming into use. In the tenth century it was customary to pay debts not in cash only, but to settle them by means of letters of credit. For such letters of credit or cheques the expression *suftaja* (سُفْتاجة) was used.<sup>3</sup> The purpose of this *suftaja* was to convey money from place to place without incurring the risk of transport.<sup>4</sup> It was thus a means of avoiding payments in coin to distant places. By means of such a *suftaja*, whose very essence is transaction at a distance,<sup>5</sup> the tradesman was able to carry

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the control of the books of the *jahbadh* by the government implies the official character of this office.

<sup>2</sup> The text uses the expression خَاتَاتٍ for these reports. We find the same expression in connection with the activities of a *jahbadh* in *Misk.*, 155, 158, 164–6. It shows that these *khatamāt* were kept in the Vizier's *Diwān*. What is meant by خَاتَاتٍ is explained by the *Kitāb Mafātiḥ al-'Ulūm*, ed. Vloten, p. 54. *Vide* also *Tan.*, i, 42, 109, 176. The *jahbadh* had to write detailed receipts for all money matters (رِزْق).

<sup>3</sup> Wahrmund, *Handwörterbuch*, s.v., renders the expression with "Kreditbrief". Belot, *Vocab.*, with "lettre de change"; Amedroz (*Gloss.*, p. 62) with "bill of exchange". The economic and legal nature of the *suftaja* is the object of detailed explanations by the Arab lexicographers. *Vide Lisān al-'Arab*, iiiia, 123; *Tāj al-'Arūs*, ii, p. 59; *al-Qāmūs*, i, 299; *Mubīb al Muhib*, i, p. 962; Sprenger, *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, i, 636–7.

<sup>4</sup> For the whole question see R. Grasshoff, *Die suftaja und bawūla der Araber*, Göttingen, 1899, pp. 1–36. The language of to-day uses *bawūla*, not *suftaja*. In modern Arab commercial parlance the old Arab terms have been replaced by European loanwords, such as *bulīsa*, *kambiala*, *jird*, *brōtestō*, etc.

<sup>5</sup> According to L. Goldschmidt, *Universalgeschichte des Handelsrechts*, Stuttgart, 1891, pp. 403–4, the essence of a bill transaction is the real or ideal movement of sums of money. According to the conception of mediaeval law a difference of place between remitter and remittee is indispensable to a bill of charge.

larger amounts with him or to convey them without incurring the risk which in the case of cash was considerable in these days.<sup>1</sup> Thus we hear that a man made a long journey with two servants and a guide, while his earthly riches consisted only of *suftajas* for 5,000 dinārs.<sup>2</sup>

Money presents were brought from the Ahwāz province to the Caliph's mother in the form of a *suftaja* for the amount of 3,000 dinārs.<sup>3</sup> Even bribes were paid in this way.<sup>4</sup>

The new Arab sources show very clearly a widespread use of that easy and riskless method of payment,<sup>5</sup> which simplified the manifold mercantile relations of the 'Abbāsid empire of those times and was very useful for the rapid and safe settlement of business matters. R. Grasshoff's opinion, "Ganz versagen für die Erforschung der inneren Beschaffenheit des arabischen Handels und damit für die Erkenntnis der Funktionen der *suftaga* die Historiker des Islams," is therefore now out of date.<sup>6</sup>

But the contemporary Jewish sources, too, i.e. the Gaonic Responsa, throw light on the functions and scope of the *suftaja*.<sup>7</sup>

For instance, the money for the Babylonian academies was conveyed from Kairuwān<sup>8</sup> to Sura or Pumbadita by means of such letters of credit, and it can be assumed that other

<sup>1</sup> *Vide Misk.*, 219, where a ship (جُنْد, cf. Lane, *Dict.*, s.v.) carrying the revenues of Ahwāz to Baghdad is robbed (year 319/931).

<sup>2</sup> *Tan.*, i, 104, 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Tan.*, i, 105.

<sup>4</sup> *Tan.*, i, 103. Further proofs in our texts: *Tan.*, i, 90, 93; ii, 680, etc.; *Wuz.*, 93 ff.

<sup>5</sup> We learn the same thing from Arab papyrus fragments; cf. H. C. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhard*, Heidelberg, 1906, i, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. A. Harkavy, *Tekhuboth ha-Geonim: Studien und Mitteilungen*, Berlin, 1887, iv, No. 423 (pp. 216, 316), No. 548 (p. 209), No. 552 (pp. 273-4). All the responsa dealing with *suftaja* are written in Arabic and not in Hebrew. Harkavy renders the word *suftaja* by "Wechselschein" or "Anweisung", p. 316, No. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. now also J. Mann, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, Cincinnati, i, 1931, pp. 143-4.

far-off communities employed the same method.<sup>1</sup> This *sufṭaja*-system was a source of legal problems for the Jewish authorities, as, for instance, the question whether, according to Talmudic civil law, a legal claim was possible in case such a letter of credit was lost. The Gaon's answer was that the principles of Talmudic civil law did not admit the legality of a claim in case of loss. But as the Beth Din saw that such letters of credit continued to be used, it finally took up such claims in order not to hinder the commercial relations among merchants.<sup>2</sup>

This *sufṭaja*-system not only furthered private commerce and communication,<sup>3</sup> but also helped to simplify and to rationalize the financial administration of the government. For now these letters of credit also were used as a means of sending the taxes from the provinces of the 'Abbāsid empire to the public exchequer in Baghdad.<sup>4</sup> Our sources tell us that in 916 the public exchequer in Baghdad contained *amwāl safātij* that had come from Fars, Isfahān, and the Eastern provinces.<sup>5</sup> 'Ali b. 'Isa, who was then the financial inspector of Egypt and Syria, had 147,000 dīnārs of taxes sent by his chamberlain from Egypt to Baghdad by means of *sufṭajas*.<sup>6</sup>

The revenue farmers of Ahwāz,<sup>7</sup> of Isfahān,<sup>8</sup> and Fars also

<sup>1</sup> On *sufṭajas* from Basra to Baghdad, v. Harkavy, *ibid.*, Nos. 548, 552. On later conditions of trade and cheques in Basra, cf. the evidence of Nāṣir-i Khusrāu, ed. Schefer, p. 64. Cf. Mez, *ibid.*, 447 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Harkavy, *ibid.*, No. 423, apud J. Mann in *JQR.*, x, p. 324. For the illegality of the *sufṭaja* according to Islamic theory, cf. Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch d. islamischen Gesetzes*, 1910, p. 274. It was regarded as a kind of loan, which resulted in an illicit benefit to the parties.

<sup>3</sup> A typical piece of evidence for the flourishing state of commerce and the commonness of *sufṭajas* is *Ecl.*, iii, pp. 138–9, towards the end of the tenth century. "What a marvellous sight to see a bill of change (لْكَ) on a commercial enterprise drawn in the enemy's country! If this is a source of pride, then the merchants are more powerful than the Viziers in East and West, for the former draw bills on high amounts . . . that are accepted with more readiness than tribute and land-tax."

<sup>4</sup> *Misk.*, 43.

<sup>5</sup> *Misk.*, 187.

<sup>6</sup> *Wuz.*, 296; *Misk.*, 146; v. also *Ibn Sa'īd*, ed. Tallquist, p. 32.

made use of this *suftaja*-system and chose this way of sending their money to the public exchequer. It seems that there were special messengers (فِيْج) whose task it was to carry the letters with the *suftaja* to Baghdād.<sup>1</sup>

In any case, this system of payment seems to have been so common and familiar also in the accounting offices of the treasury department that the author of the work *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, in explaining the 'Abbāsid administrative terminology, has nothing to say to the word *suftaja* but مَعْرُوف "is well known."<sup>2</sup>

These letters of credit, that were sent to the public exchequer from various eastern and western provinces of the 'Abbāsid empire, had of course to be cashed and exchanged. It happened not unfrequently that *suftajas* were left uncashed in the public exchequer or in the Vizier's archives and were simply forgotten because of the responsible official's negligence. The Arab sources mention several cases of such a muddled management of the exchequer.<sup>3</sup>

It nevertheless can be assumed that they were cashed in most cases. Our texts do not tell us very much about the methods of cashing, neither do we learn how the governmental accounting offices dealt with the *suftaja* in their accounts. But it can hardly be doubted that the settlement of *suftaja* business was connected primarily with those officials who were employed as *jahbadh*. This may be inferred from the case of the kindred institution of *ṣakk* (صَك).<sup>4</sup>

The bankers were the natural money-changers and agents in such payments, and must have played an important part

<sup>1</sup> *Misk.*, 150.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. v. Vloten, Leyden, 1895, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Misk.*, 23; 262, 2; 350.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. primarily *Irāḍāt*, 385, 399; also *Wuz.*, 73, 77, 235; *Misk.*, 158, 6; ii, 80 (صَك عَلَى الْجَهْد); b. *Hauqal*, 42, 70. *Vide* G. Jacob, "Die ältesten Spuren des Wechsels," *MSOS.*, 1925, pp. 280-1; *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, pp. 56-7. Cf. *Diwān* of Ibn al Mu'tazz (*ZDMG.*, 40, p. 581; vol. xli, p. 250). *Tan.*, i, 109; *Ecl.*, iii, 46 ff., 119.

whenever such letters of credit were exchanged. Among others, our sources mention transactions of that kind by the Jewish bankers.<sup>1</sup> In reading the following lines we get the impression of a quite modern money order :—

"The Vizier b. al-Furāt then opened his ink-pot and wrote an order to his banker (*jahbadh*) Aaron b. Amram, telling him to pay from his account and without any further admonition 2,000 dinārs to Abu'l Hasan 'Ali b. 'Isa, as a subvention towards payment of a fine imposed upon him. Muḥassīn b. al-Furāt also ordered his banker to pay this 'Ali b. 'Isa 1,000 dinārs<sup>2</sup> from his account that was in Aaron b. Amram's bank."<sup>3</sup>

This money conveyance business, conducted in cash as well as by means of *sufṭajas*, must also have been a source of income to the bankers, and it may be supposed that they got a certain commission for cashing *sufṭaja* as we know them to have got one for cashing *sakk*.<sup>4</sup> The relationship between our court bankers and the *sufṭaja* system can also be inferred from the fact that the Vizier deposited unpaid *sufṭajas* with the Jewish bankers Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram as security for a considerable loan that the Vizier wanted to obtain from them. But this leads us already to another, to the most important of their business activities.

(c) *Supplying of Funds*.—As the money needs of the Caliph and the State became more and more considerable, the rapid supply of funds, especially for military purposes, became urgently necessary.

<sup>1</sup> *Misk.*, 112.

<sup>2</sup> In a parallel version in *Wuz.*, 306–307, which is characterized by a divergent terminology, the expression أخذ الدراء فوق إلی is nevertheless the same as in *Misk.*, 112, and seems to have been a fixed administrative phrase; we have it also in *Tan.*, i, 43.

<sup>3</sup> The newly appointed Vizier thus helps the fallen Vizier to bear his fine, which is rather a strange practice. It was probably the result of the Vizier's realization that the same fate might very soon be his own. Cf. C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i, p. 205.

<sup>4</sup> The usual rate seems to have been one dirham per dinār.

These extraordinary money needs gave birth to various methods of money supply. The method of revenue farming, of indirect levying of taxes was already employed as an excellent way of overcoming financial difficulties. The revenue farmer had to pay the Caliph a certain fixed lump sum, and he moreover undertook to pay the State partly in advance, thus enabling it to obtain cash quickly. But other ways were also used against financial crises. New departments and offices were created, the administration was divided and subdivided into numberless offices and functions, not from administrative, but from purely financial motives, i.e. in order to increase the revenue of the State by selling such posts. The selling of offices to the highest bidder was a frequent occurrence, as was also the sale of crown lands and the arbitrary confiscation of private fortunes. The Caliph's privy purse was squeezed to the last farthing, so that it could no longer be considered as a reserve fund against emergencies. The Viziers, the responsible chancellors of the empire's exchequer, could hardly find any way out; for even the systematic economies of 'Ali b. 'Isa, which reduced salaries, pensions, and other expenses, were not able to balance the budget.

It probably was in this situation that the idea arose of calling in the aid of the Jewish bankers in consolidating the finances of the State. We are entitled to infer from the picture the sources present of Aaron b. Amram and Joseph b. Phineas, that their importance for the financial economy of al-Muqtadir's empire lay in their capacity as privileged money-suppliers and money-lenders. This was really the centre of gravity of their business activity, far surpassing in significance all the other financial activities discussed above.

We are able to reconstruct their functions as money suppliers in many of their details, with the help of our Arab sources.

We know of three instances of credits being extended to the State by these financiers.

(1) In *Wuz.*, 178 <sub>12-20</sub>, we hear that the Vizier b. al-Furāt,

during his first vizierate,<sup>1</sup> called the Jewish banker (*al-jahbadh al-yahūdī*) Joseph b. Phineas,<sup>2</sup> who is designated as جهيد الأهواز, and asked him for an advance of money in order to cover expenditure on the officials of Ahwāz for two months (*māl shahrain*). It was indicated that as official tax-collector of the province of Ahwāz he had sufficient guarantees in the form of later taxes.<sup>3</sup> But Joseph b. Phineas was not so readily induced to grant the loan. Nevertheless, as the report continues, b. al-Furāt did not stop arguing with him until he finally assented and granted on the self-same day a loan for a month. Of course, b. al-Furāt without delay ordered his servant to fetch the amount from Joseph b. Phineas.

(2) The Vizier 'Ali b. 'Isa, too, was obliged to ask the Jewish bankers for a loan in order to consolidate the public budget. He addressed them as follows<sup>4</sup> :—

“ Do you want to avoid my inflicting penalties on you<sup>5</sup> that may affect you and your heirs (عليكما وعلى ورثتك) for ever?<sup>6</sup> I shall only refrain from it in consideration of a matter that will cause you no damage whatever. At the beginning of each month I need an amount of 30,000 dīnārs, which must be paid within the first six days to the infantry troops.<sup>7</sup> However,

<sup>1</sup> Probably about the year 311.

<sup>2</sup> The text reads يوسف بن فحاس.

<sup>3</sup> Only Joseph b. Phineas is mentioned here as جهيد الأهواز. Cf., however, *Wuz.*, 81, 4, and *Tan.*, ii, where both Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram are referred to as connected with جهيدة الأهواز.

<sup>4</sup> This and the following passage exist in two versions, but they do not show any important changes (*Wuz.*, 80<sup>21</sup>-81<sup>10</sup>; *Tan.*, ii, 84<sup>10</sup>-85<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>5</sup> The Vizier merely used this threat in order to force the Jewish bankers to comply his aim. For that they were not culpable is evident from the whole course of events (which cannot be reviewed here owing to considerations of space), v.s., p. 573.

<sup>6</sup> The expression “you and your heirs” permits of inferences being drawn as to the organization of the banking firm (v.s., p. 350).

<sup>7</sup> Loans were usually occasioned by urgent expenditure for military purposes. That it was just military expenditure that rendered a loan necessary is not accidental. The need of capital for army purposes weighed

I am usually not in possession of such a sum, neither on the first nor on the second day of the month. I want you, therefore, to advance on the first of each month a loan of 150,000 dirhams, an amount that you, as you know, will get back in the course of the month from the Ahwāz revenue. For the administration of the Ahwāz revenue belongs to you (جَهْنَدَةُ الْأَهْوَازِ الْكَبِيرَةِ), and these moneys (from Ahwāz) are a permanent advance of money to you, to which I am going to add (as security) the amount of 20,000 dīnārs that are payable every month by Hāmid b. 'Abbās.<sup>1</sup> This will be the compensation for the first instalment [and I shall be relieved of a heavy burden]."<sup>2</sup>

The two bankers, so we hear, made at first difficulties and intended to refuse,<sup>3</sup> but the Vizier did not stop urging them until they gave their consent.

(3) In his request to this banking firm to give him a loan, the Vizier 'Ali b. 'Isa could offer the future revenue from the province of Ahwāz and other sources of income as securities and guarantees. But we also hear about another application for a loan by this Vizier—probably during his first vizierate, in the year 913—to the same banking firm, in which a fiscal method appears that had probably not been used by anyone before in the course of 'Abbāsid financial policy.

"When the Vizier 'Ali b. 'Isa had to make payments for which he had no funds, he would take from the merchants<sup>4</sup>

most heavily on the budget. So that it was just in the financing of the army that the credit system developed entirely new methods. The influence of the troops, mostly Turkish mercenaries, on the administration as a whole kept steadily increasing.

<sup>1</sup> Here the *musidara* of this dismissed Vizier is referred to. Cf. on him, *Encyclopædia of Islam*, s.v.

<sup>2</sup> The words in brackets are only to be found in at-Tanūkhi.

<sup>3</sup> The difficulties at first made by the two bankers here, too, show that they did not have at that time much faith in the solvency of the State. The refusal of merchants or bankers to give money to the State often led, however, to deeds of violence. Cf. for a later instance, *Ecl.*, iii, p. 282.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* above, p. 348, on the name of "merchants" by which the two Jewish bankers were designated.

(*at-tujjār*) a loan (استلف) of 10,000 dinārs, the security for which consisted of letters of credit (*sufṭaja*) which had come in from the provinces, but were not yet due, and by giving interest at the rate of 1½ silver dānaqs on the dinār, which made the amount of 2,500 dirhams a month. This arrangement was made with Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram and their successors (ومن قام مقامهما)<sup>1</sup> for the period of sixteen years [and after their death].”<sup>2</sup>

In this agreement we have no less than the taking of a well-covered long-term loan by the government from the Jewish bankers, that was carried out with all the elements of an almost modern banking technique, and this—more than a full millennium ago! Without going into details about this document, attention must be called to some particulars that are of importance for the history of finance generally, not only for that of the ‘Abbāsid state, namely:—

- (a) The negotiation of a state loan as such.<sup>3</sup>
- (b) The payment of interest.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Note this expression and the already mentioned “heirs”.

<sup>2</sup> *Wuz.*, 81, 8–13; *Tan.*, ii, 85, 4–8. Cf. v. Kremer, *Einnahmebudget*, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> The method of avoiding a financial crisis by taking up a loan seems to have become usual only at this period. A history of government loans in ‘Abbāsid times, which ought to be written, would comprise all the methods of getting money (على مسیل القرض); cf. *Misk.*, 164, 213, 220; *Ecl.*, iii, 159, 259 ff.). This method was also employed later on in the reign of the Caliph ar-Rāḍī by the Vizier b. Muqla (on this Vizier, v. the study of A. H. Harley in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, 1923–5, iii, p. 213 ff.), who obtained a loan (قرض) from the merchants, but was not able to pay it back, so that he had to give them bills on certain revenues and sell them crown lands (*Misk.*, 329; cf. *Misk.*, 299). This is the origin of Islamic feudalism, as will be shown in detail later on. For loans in Egypt of that period, cf. C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, Strassburg, 1900, pp. 38–9, 56; Mez, *ibid.*, 123, 450.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Ali b. ‘Isa was probably the first to obtain a loan by paying interest. Cf. v. Kremer, *Einnahmebudget*, pp. 7, 24, 63. The usual interest rate was a dirham for each dinār, at which rate Abu Bekr b. Qarāba granted a loan to the Vizier (*Misk.*, 213, 220). According to *Tan.*, i, 204, a money-changer (صيروف) charges a commission rate of 1 dirham per dinār. In our

- (c) The pledging of uncashed letters of credit as security.
- (d) The state's entering into an agreement with a Jewish banking house.

### B. *Mercantile Transactions*

In reviewing the financial transactions of these court bankers generally, as our sources represent them, it must occur to one to ask: How were they enabled to meet the very considerable money requirements of the State? For even if we admit that the guarantees and securities they received, as, for instance, the revenues of Ahwāz, were cashed in due course, we still must wonder whence they derived such immense money reserves of liquid cash. What, then, were the sources of their wealth?

Their various kinds of business, such as administration, remittance, and supplying of funds, must certainly be considered as a more or less important source of profit.<sup>1</sup> We may suppose that, first and foremost, the amounts deposited with them by court officials and Viziers (as we have seen, they were no small sums)<sup>2</sup> were not only hoarded, i.e. kept in the strict sense of the word. In all probability they were made productive, i.e. utilized as "capital" that "worked" for them.<sup>3</sup>

We must, however, take another source of their money into consideration, namely, the trade in goods carried on by case the rate of interest is nearly 30 per cent. About the relation between dirham and dinār, cf. K. W. Hofmeyer, "Beiträge zur arabischen Papyrusforschung," *Islam*, iv, 1913, p. 100 ff.; further instances in the books of the Arab geographers; cf. also *Misk*, 398, 3: 417, 5.

<sup>1</sup> It is likewise a matter of controversy whence the Jewish capitalists of mediaeval Europe derived their fortunes. Cf. for the various theories on this, accumulated ground-rent, the profit on landed property or commercial undertakings—the work of M. Hoffmann, *Der Geldhandel der deutschen Juden*, Leipzig, 1910, and W. Sombart, *Die Juden und d. Wirtschaftsleben*, Leipzig, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> The sums of deposits only given by the Vizier b. al-Furūt amounted to millions of dinārs. Cf. *Tan.*, ii, 82-4; *Wuz.*, 79-80, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Thus, at a time when the unproductive treasuring of precious metals was widespread, certain circles were already using money not only as a means of storing wealth.

these "bankers". It must be remembered here that Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram are also expressly called "merchants" (*at-tujjār*).<sup>1</sup> Our sources often use the expression when they mean our *jahābidhat*. It can hardly be supposed that the authors, high administrative officials, whose profession developed the ability to distinguish sharply between departments, denominations, and titles, should simply have used the expression "*at-tujjār*" instead of *jahābidhat* for no reason. It is improbable that this is merely a case of terminological looseness; on the contrary, we are bound to infer from this difference of expression that these Jews actually dealt in merchandise as well, although it is only their financial dealings that the Arab sources show us, in all their variety and many-sidedness. However, our assumption of their having engaged in mercantile transactions is not based on terminological evidence alone, but is also justified by historical reflection. Business in money and business in goods were always closely connected, all through the Middle Ages.<sup>2</sup> According to W. Sombart,<sup>3</sup> money-lending

<sup>1</sup> *Wuz.*, 81, 8 ff.; *Tan.*, ii, 85, 5 ff. In the work of Miskawaih the name of Joseph b. Phineas does not appear at all. *Misk.* also avoids the expression *al jahbadhān al-yahūdiyyān* in contrast to *Wuz.*, *Tan.*, and *'Arib*. He refers to the two bankers with the more general denomination *at-tujjār*. There is no doubt, for instance, that with this word *Misk.*, 44, 66, and other passages can only mean our two bankers. This is clearly proved by a parallel version in *'Arib*, 74, where the same fact is related with the identical details, except that جبید is used instead of تاجر. We have, therefore, reason for regarding the words عبد جماعة من التجار in *Misk.*, 44 (the Vizier b. al-Furāt had deposited considerable sums there), as well as the words in *Misk.*, 129, as referring to the Jewish banking firm with which the Vizier, as we saw above, used to deposit large amounts of money.

<sup>2</sup> In the Middle Ages, financial affairs were conducted by merchants. The founder of the Rothschild banking firm, too, was at first a wholesale trader. Cf. R. Ehrenberg, *Das Zeitalter der Fugger*, i, Jena, 1922. J. Kulischer, *Warenhändler und Geldausleiher im Mittelalter*, p. 254, says: "Warenhandel und Geldhandel der verschiedensten Art, insbesondere das verzinsliche Darlehensgeschäft, sind im Mittelalter aufs engste miteinander verbunden. Der Kaufmann, der mit Waren handelt, ist zu gleicher Zeit auch Geldhändler, insbesondere Geldausleiher und umgekehrt."

<sup>3</sup> *Vide Der Bourgeois*, p. 436; *ibid.*, *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben*, p. 222. Note Sombart's saying: "Aus der Geldleihe ist der Kapitalismus geboren."

is only an evolution of trade, and the economic history of the Middle Ages furnishes many instances of the fact that finance originates in commerce. The latter created the capital for money dealings of larger scope. This process was also deeply rooted in the economic structure of the epoch in which these Court-Jews lived and worked. They probably began as merchants in the proper sense of the word, who prospered and finally turned to money affairs on a large scale. Their firm, probably at first a trading house, thus developed into a banking firm, and their purely financial undertakings gradually pushed all other commercial activities into the background.<sup>1</sup>

## VI. THE SOURCES OF THEIR FINANCIAL CAPACITY

But that these Jewish bankers, in their function of money suppliers, were not only dependent on their own capital, on the amounts deposited with them, and on the profits derived from their mercantile activities, can be seen from an Arab historical source that has only recently been made accessible to us, containing perhaps the most enlightening information on these persons and the secret of their position. In at-Tanūkhi's *Nishwār al-Muḥādara* (second volume), edited by Margoliouth<sup>2</sup>—and only there—we read in connection with the loan agreement made with 'Ali b. 'Isa (cf. p. 580) the following statement about these bankers:—

"For they were never dismissed until their death; and they were appointed in the days of 'Ubaidallāh b. Yahyā al-Khāqānī.<sup>3</sup> The Sultan did not want to dismiss them, in order to uphold the dignity (*sīra*)<sup>4</sup> of the office of *jahbadh*

<sup>1</sup> Their trade probably comprised the same articles of Oriental commerce as are mentioned in the report on the "Radanites". *Vide* J. Mann, *JQR.*, x, p. 330; A. Mez, s.v. Handel.

<sup>2</sup> Published in *Revue de l'Académie Arabe à Damas*, 1930.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* my proposed emendation of this statement, p. 351.

<sup>4</sup> This Persian word is very much used in 'Abbāsid terminology; cf. *Tan.*, i, 25, 2; 26, 12, etc.

in the eyes of the merchants (التجار), so that the merchants might be ready to lend their money through the *jahbadh* if necessary. Were a *jahbadh* to be dismissed and another appointed in his place, with whom the merchants had not yet had any dealings, the business of the Caliph would come to a standstill."<sup>1</sup>

That it was possible to speak about the Jewish court bankers in such a way is itself sufficient to show how much they were honoured and trusted by the Caliph, and what is more important still, how indispensable they seem to have been to the Court. The part they played must really have been a very considerable one, for though the Caliph in the twenty-five years of his reign changed his Vizier no less than fifteen times, though during that period the whole administrative apparatus was subject to constant changes and the general situation was less stable than it had ever been, he did not want to dismiss them and kept them in office for life.<sup>2</sup>

But we owe to this passage more than this evidence alone. We could hardly have hoped for a more enlightening answer as to the *sources of their financial capacity*, their activity as creditors, and the nature of their banking business generally. For we see now that they could rely for their money-supplying on sources of capital perhaps no less important than their own fortune or the deposits they administered: the credit and confidence of other rich merchants of their time. The secret of their privileged position at Court is to be

<sup>1</sup> While all the passages from *Tan.* ii containing evidence about the Jewish bankers are also to be found in a parallel version, this particular statement is only to be found here.

<sup>2</sup> *Wuz.*, 224-7, furnishes a detailed list containing the names of all the high officials and personalities who were condemned to pay a fine (*muṣādara*), including names of Viziers, governors, Diwān heads, revenue farmers, etc. It is significant that Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram are not mentioned, though the black list contains several persons that bore the title of *jahbadh*. This, too, can be used as an argument in favour of their privileged position at Court.

explained by their—and apparently only their—ability, by virtue of their office, their reputation, the esteem and trust they commanded, as well as their manifold connections with commercial circles—to secure from the merchants the sums of liquid money necessary for meeting the needs of the State and the Court.

What concrete details may we assume about these "merchants", the *jahābidhat's* connection with whom the Government valued so highly? The commercial activities of that time were not limited to any particular section of the population, so that, *a priori*, non-Jews are by no means excluded. Everybody was caught by the tidal wave of commercial prosperity with its chances of gain. Christians as well as Jews were bankers (جېند), money-changers (صرف), and merchants (جور), and so were, especially as regards the two last-mentioned classes, Mohammedans.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless it is probably primarily co-religionists of Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram that are meant. This view is favoured not least by the reference in our passage to the feelings of solidarity and personal confidence by which those "merchants" are connected with the two court bankers. It was just for this psychologically important reason that the Caliph never dismissed them. For only by keeping them in office, as the text informs us, could he "uphold the dignity of their office" in the merchants' eyes and get money through them.

The factor of solidarity, which economic historians have long ago recognized as a characteristic feature of Jewish participation in economic life,<sup>2</sup> was here, too, a factor of

<sup>1</sup> Mohammedans as money-changers are mentioned i.a. in 'Arib, 135<sup>2</sup>, *Tan.*, i, 272; *Ecl.*, ii, 307, and in many other passages. That Mohammedans, despite the Quranic prohibition, engaged in money-lending, and in a considerable amount of speculation, particularly on crops, can be proved from numerous instances.

<sup>2</sup> M. Hoffmann, *Der Geldhandel der deutschen Juden im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, p. 7; W. Roscher, *Die Stellung der Juden im Mittelalter*, p. 506; Kiesselbach, *Der Gang des Welthandels im Mittelalter*, p. 45; Caro, *Sozial-*

eminent importance. In the tenth century this Jewish solidarity was especially strongly developed because of the peculiar cultural and religious organization of mediaeval Jewry. We know that at this period—known in Jewish history as the Gaonic era<sup>1</sup>—Babylonian Jewry was in active contact with all parts of the Jewish Diaspora (Khorasan, Persia, Palestine, Egypt, North Africa, Spain, etc.). This close connection was due to the position of the Babylonian academies of Sura and Pumbadita, that were regarded by all these Jewish communities as their cultural centre. These relations took the form not only of a voluminous correspondence on questions of religious law between communities desirous of guidance and the spiritual head, the Gaon, but also of money contributions from abroad for the upkeep of these academies.<sup>2</sup> This cultural and religious hegemony of Babylonian Jewry was partly the cause and partly the result of an economic hegemony, parallel to the general economic and political supremacy of Baghdad as capital of the 'Abbásid Caliphate.

The merchants, connected with our court Jews, very probably included not only residents of Baghdad, or Babylonia, but also persons living in the more remote provinces of the Islamic empire. Relations with *Egypt* evidently existed.

Egypt and Babylonia were closely connected in those times, spiritually as well as economically. "Egyptian Jewry," says Mann, "no doubt received spiritual guidance

*und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1908; W. Sombart, *Die Juden u. d. Wirtschaftsleben*, p. 200 ff. J. Mann, i.e., p. 325, justly remarks: "Of great furtherance for the expansion of the Jewish trade must have been the solidarity that existed among Jews all over the Diaspora." The Hebrew language also seems to have played herein an important unifying part.

<sup>1</sup> For the general understanding of this historical period, v. the general well-known histories of the Jews by Grätz, Dubnow, Dinaburg, Marx-Margolis, etc.

<sup>2</sup> "The Jews of all countries contributed generously and freely to the upkeep of the seats of learning in Babylon and in Palestine" (Mann, *JQR.*, x, p. 39).

from the Babylonian Gaons and their academies . . . on the other hand, the Babylonian schools in their turn obtained a good deal of material support, especially from the numerous Babylonian co-religionists that resided in Egypt.”<sup>1</sup>

That relations with the province of *Ahwāz* must have existed is evident not only from the fact that Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram were called the bankers of that province جهند الاهواز (Jahbadh al-Ahwāz),<sup>2</sup> but also from the circumstance that this province was the stronghold of commercial and Jewish commercial activity.<sup>3</sup> *Ahwāz* was already in the ninth century a station and a commercial point *d'appui* for the Jewish merchants known as the “Radanites”.<sup>4</sup> In its principal towns lived large Jewish communities which occupied an important economic position. The leading merchants

<sup>1</sup> J. Mann, *JQR.*, x, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide Wuz.*, 81, 178; *Tan.*, ii, 84. Was the title of “jahbadh al-Ahwāz” bestowed upon them in virtue of their money affairs with the court or as a reward for them? The sources at any rate show them already advancing money to the State in their capacity as “jahbadh al-Ahwāz”.

<sup>3</sup> *Ahwāz* was one of the most lucrative provinces of the ‘Abbāsid empire; cf. *Misk.*, 335, where it is said: “When the revenue of *Ahwāz* will stop, the empire will cease to exist.” Cf. also *Misk.*, 349–50.

<sup>4</sup> b. Chordadhbah, ed. de Goeje, *BGA.*, vi, p. 153; b. Fakih, ed. de Goeje, *BGA.*, p. 270. There is already a considerable literature on the Radanites. However, no satisfactory explanation of the name has yet been given. One of the recent conjectures is that of Simonsen, who considers them to have been traders from the Rhone valley, i.e. “Rhodanici”: “Il ne me paraît pas invraisemblable que les Radanites . . . sont des ‘Rhodanici’ c'est à dire des marchands et des navigateurs du pays du Rhône,” *REJ.*, 1907 (54), pp. 141–2. *Vide*—to cite a few names taken from the literature on the subject—J. Schipper, *Der Anteil der Juden am europäischen Grosshandel mit dem Orient in “Heimkehr”*, ed. v. Kellner, 1912, pp. 138–172; Scheffer-Boichorst, *Zur Geschichte der Syrer im Abendlande: Mitteilungen des Institutes für öesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, vi, p. 544; de Goeje, *Internationaal Handelsverkeer in de Middeleeuwen in Opuscula*, iv, Amsterdam, 1908; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, Leipzig, 1923, i, p. 125 ff. Whether there existed any relations between these Jewish merchants of the ninth century coming from the West and the predecessors of our banking firm of the tenth century, we are not able to elicit from the sources.

(معظم التجار) of Tustar,<sup>1</sup> we are explicitly told, were Jews. In Isfahān, whose economic importance won for it the title of "the second Baghdad", the so-called Yahūdiyya quarter had long been known as a great centre of trade and commerce.<sup>2</sup> In Ahwāz<sup>3</sup> city, whose economic leadership is celebrated by all the Arab geographers, the Arab sources mention at that time a Jewish money-changer named Ja'qūb<sup>4</sup> —no doubt by reason of his prominent position—and an Isrā'il b. Ṣalih<sup>5</sup> and a Sahl b. Nazīr<sup>6</sup> as the bankers (*jahbadh*) of the Governor al-Barīdī. Sirāf, in the tenth century a world-port and a clearing-house for trade between Yemen-Persia and China, had then a Jewish Governor by the name of "Ruzbah" (Roz-bih), the Persian equivalent of the Hebrew "Yom-tob".<sup>7</sup>

These few data<sup>8</sup> alone justify the inference of a widespread international Jewish economic activity in the province of Ahwāz and other parts of the 'Abbāsid empire, and it is at least not unreasonable to seek here some of the "merchants"

<sup>1</sup> *Misk.*, 257. The Jewish business men of Tustar are regarded as bankers, not as manufacturers; cf. also W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, Leipzig, 1923, i, pp. 29 ff., 34 ff. It will be recalled that the "Banu Sahl", the celebrated bankers and merchants of Egypt at the court of az-Zāhir and al-Mustansir in the eleventh century, were originally of Tustar. Cf. J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphate*, i-ii, 1920-2, i, 76-83, and Index.

<sup>2</sup> *Mugadd.*, 388, 400; *b. al Fakīh*, 254<sup>1</sup>, 267<sup>15</sup>; *Istakhri*, 182<sup>8</sup>, 199<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen*, Leipzig, 1896 ff., v. Index. The existence of Jewish merchants in Ahwāz is also attested by a Jewish-Persian document of the year 1020; see W. Fischel in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Berlin, 1932, vol. ix, s.v. *Jüdisch-Persisch*, p. 557 ff. Cf. D. S. Margoliouth, *JQR.*, xi, pp. 671-5.

<sup>4</sup> *Misk.*, 350.

<sup>5</sup> *Misk.*, 349; *Misk.*, ii, 52.

<sup>6</sup> *Misk.*, 349, 379. About a Sahl b. Nagīr of the third century cf. *Tan.*, ii; *Islamic Culture*, 1930, p. 181.

<sup>7</sup> *Misk.*, ii, 218, 301; *Ecl.*, iii, 150. Cf. there Margoliouth's note to this passage.

<sup>8</sup> These quotations, given above, merely represent a few gleanings from Arab sources regarding Jewish commercial activity in the 'Abbāsid Caliphate. A further and systematic investigation on the subject is indeed one of the desiderata of Jewish historical research.

upon whom the court bankers drew for funds to finance the administration of the State.

In any case, the material we have presented clearly shows that a commercial and banking organization was in existence at the beginning of the tenth century; its centre lay in Baghdad,<sup>1</sup> its heads were Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram, the two Jews who acted as court bankers, and who had close business connections with rich merchants—Jews or non-Jews—of Baghdad, Ahwāz, and other provinces of the Islamic empire. These all fulfilled an important function in the economic life of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate, and by repeatedly supplying the indeed desperate money needs of the State, helped to stave off its ruin.

### The Jewish Court Bankers in the Light of Gaonic Literature

#### I

With the help of these Arab sources and in the light of the data they furnish, we shall now proceed to demonstrate in a particular instance how the Arab sources may contribute to the elucidation of concrete problems of Jewish history and how a knowledge and understanding of events in Jewish history, which is based on Hebrew sources only, may be supplemented by contemporary Arab chronicles.

<sup>1</sup> That the Jews of Baghdad and Babylonia continued to engage in financial operations at a later period is also attested by our sources. This material, however, is reserved for another study. I only want to point out here a passage from the MS. al-Hamadhāni: *Takmilat Ta'rikh at-Tabari* (cited by Amedroz in *Misk.*, ii, pp. 8-9), where a Jewish banker Aaron is mentioned in the year 941 as the *jahbadh* of b. Shirzād (هرون اليهودي). *Vide* also *Ecl.*, iii, p. 282, where a Jewish banker named Abu Ali b. Fadlān (اليهودي) in Baghdad (998) refused to grant a loan (فرض) to the Emīr Baha ad-Daulah, which led to an attack on Jews in order to get money out of them.

In 1910 L. Ginzberg published from the Oxford collection of manuscripts a Geniza fragment<sup>1</sup> from which we quote the following<sup>2</sup> :—

וכן כל חפין וישאלת אישר יודה לכם מצד  
המלחכות הנדר תנידוחו לפנינו כי או נזהה  
את בעלי בתים חשובים אשר בבעדר אישר  
אנחנו יושבים בינויהם בני מ"ר נתירא ובני  
מ"ר אהרון זכר הנאספים לברכה וחכמתם פליטיהם  
דקימה ואנו ישיבו לכם מאת המלך כאישר  
יספיק יי"ז מעוננו בידם בן העשו ולא תמשו.

Ginzberg's rendering of the passage is :—

" And thus whenever you have transactions with the Government, I admonish you to let us know about them, that we may consult with the prominent members of the Baghdad community in the midst of which we dwell, namely, the sons of R. Netira and the sons of R. Aaron . . . and then the Government<sup>3</sup> will deal with you according as the Lord will aid your helpers. Thus do ye and not otherwise."

The task set by the publication of this fragment was to find out the author and thereby the historical position of that document and to identify the prominent Jewish personalities named in it, so far as the available data permitted.

## II

The problem of the authorship gave rise to numerous suppositions. L. Ginzberg<sup>4</sup> himself thought that R. Joseph, R. Saadya's opponent, was the author ; J. Mann<sup>5</sup> attributed

<sup>1</sup> *Geonica* (Geniza-Studies), New York, 1910, ii, pp. 87-8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *Iggeret R. Scherira Gaon*, ed. by B. Lewin, Haifa, 1921, p. xxv, with slight emendations.

<sup>3</sup> Egypt was then still a province of the 'Abbāsid empire, and thus subject to the central government in Baghdad.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, pp. 422-3.

<sup>5</sup> *JQR.*, vii (1916-17), p. 467.

the fragment to R. Nehemia, the Gaon of Pumbadita. On the other hand, H. Malter<sup>1</sup> attributed it to R. Dosa, the son of R. Saadya Gaon. Finally, J. N. Epstein<sup>2</sup> recognized, in the light of another document (published by D. Revel)<sup>3</sup> in 1923 under the title *Iggeret Rab Saadja Gaon*, that the author of Ginzberg's Geniza fragment was no other than R. Saadya Gaon al-Fayyumi, who must have sent this letter shortly after his assumption of the Gaonate, i.e. in 928, from Baghdād to Egypt.<sup>4</sup>

In effect, this opinion of Epstein was brilliantly confirmed by another Geniza fragment, published in the following year (1924) by B. Lewin<sup>5</sup> from the collection of manuscripts of Isr. Lévi (Paris). The identity of handwriting and number of lines to the page (nineteen), as well as linguistic and stylistic reasons,<sup>6</sup> alone sufficed to indicate that this fragment ("L") and "G" were from one and the same manuscript. But in addition the following Arabic words were to be found at the beginning of "L" as heading:—

... בחתאב ראם אלמתיביה אלפיומי ז"ל  
וכתבה בבנגראד פי וכת אן ולי אלראסה (אלריאסה?)  
رساء؟ אלה אליו אהל מצה.

("Letter of Fayyumi, of blessed memory, Head of the Academy (i.e. Gaon), written by him in Baghda'd at the time of his appointment to the Headship as an epistle unto the people of Misr (i.e. Fustat).)"<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *R. Saadia Gaon, his Life and his Works*, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> *Debir* (דבר), a Hebrew quarterly of Jewish science, ed. I. Elbogen, J. N. Epstein, and H. Torczyner, Berlin, 1923, i, p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> *Debir*, ibid., i, pp. 180–8.

<sup>4</sup> *Debir*, ibid., p. 190.

<sup>5</sup> *Ginze Kedem* (גנזי קדם), ed. B. Lewin, Haifa, 1923, ii, p. 34.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, p. 33, line 17, like the Ginzberg fragment, makes mention of **בעל בתי חשבון זכברים אשר בבנגד**, which is a further evidence for the homogeneousness of "G" and "L".

<sup>7</sup> J. N. Epstein in *Debir*, 1924, ii, p. 325; cf. also B. Lewin in *Ginze Kedem*, ii, p. 34, and now J. Mann, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, i, Cincinnati, 1931, p. 67.

Thus sender, time, place, and addressee were defined in all their particulars, and the question as to the authorship of Ginzberg's Geniza fragment was solved.

### III

Ever since the publication of "G" the specialists have laboured to find an answer to the other question too, namely: Who were these "prominent members of the Baghdād community", those "Bne Netira" and "Bne Aaron" that were able to make representations to the Court and to intercede on behalf of their co-religionists?<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the "Bne Netira" we possess information from other Jewish sources. In a Geniza fragment published by Harkavy,<sup>2</sup> as well as in the Hebrew<sup>3</sup> and Arabic<sup>4</sup> report of Nathan Hababli, *Netira*, the father, appears as one of the leading Jewish notables<sup>5</sup> of Baghdad towards the end of

<sup>1</sup> S. Assaf (*Encyclop. Judaica*, vol. vii, p. 275, s.v. Geonim) says: "Die Geonim bemühten sich auch durch Vermittlung hoffähiger Juden Bagdads wie Netira und seine Söhne auf die Judenpolitik des Chalifenhofes Einfluss zu gewinnen." He does not, however, mention the "Bne Aaron". On the other hand, see D. S. Sassoon (*Encyclop. Judaica*, vol. iii, p. 957), s.v. Bagdad: "Unter den Juden in Bagdad zeichneten sich in der gaonäischen Zeit die Familien Mar Netira und Mar Aaron aus, die der Regierung nahe standen und um das Wohl der Juden in Bagdad und in anderen Provinzen bemüht waren."

<sup>2</sup> Published under the title *Netira und seine Söhne: eine angesehene jüdische Familie in Bagdad im Anfang des 10 Jahrhunderts* (Festschrift für A. Berliner, 1903, Hebrew part, pp. 34–43). Cf. hereto the additions and emendations of S. Fraenkel, *JQR.*, xvii (1905), pp. 386–8. Regarding J. Friedländer's hypothesis about the identity of the author of this Harkavy fragment with the Arabic report of Nathan Hababli and his opinion about both fragments being parts of a lost History of Baghdad (*JQR.*, xvii, 1905, pp. 747–760), cf. A. Marx, "Der arabische Bustanai Bericht und Nathan Hababli," in *Livre d'Hommage à la mémoire de S. Poznanski*, Warsaw, 1927, pp. 76–81.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. A. Neubauer, *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, Oxford, 1895, ii, p. 78, line 5, last; p. 79, line 11. About Nathan Hababli, cf. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, i, 22–36.

<sup>4</sup> J. Friedländer, "The Arabic Original of the Report of R. Nathan Hababli," *JQR.*, xvii (1905), pp. 747–761.

<sup>5</sup> Both reports of Nathan Hababli mention also a Joseph b. Phineas as one of the Baghdād notables who acted together with Netira. For the personality of the former see above, p. 348.

the ninth century (the reign of al-Mu'tadid and his successors), who was in a position to influence the Caliph's decisions<sup>1</sup> in favour of his party in an internal dispute in the Jewish community.<sup>2</sup> The same sources, especially Harkavy's fragment, also give us particulars about the "Bne Netira", the sons, who are called Sahl and Izchak. Sahl the elder succeeded to his father in business, and occupied together with his brother Izchak<sup>3</sup> the same social and political position as he had. Like their father, the Bne Netira are represented as influential personalities, who in an internal quarrel of the Jewish community secured a decision of the Caliph in favour of their candidate for the Gaonate.<sup>4</sup>

In any case, the "Bne Netira" of these sources certainly answer to the description "of prominent members of the Baghda'd community" which is applied to them in Saadya's fragment and possession of the influence in court circles which that document ascribes to them.

We do not, however, find in these Jewish sources any mention of persons whom we could equate with the "Bne Aaron". Regarding their identity the most divergent views

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Neubauer, ii, 79-80; Friedländer, *ibid.*, ii, 1, 13; for details thereon v. Graetz, *Geschichte*, vol. v, 4th edition, pp. 281, 446-559; Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte*, vol. iii, p. 474; A. Marx and L. Margolis, *History of the Jewish People*, p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> To what Netira's influence was due, we know from the extremely enlightening Geniza fragment published by Harkavy which gives us an interesting insight into the inner life of the Jewish community of Baghda'd in general. One should, however, beware of relying on Harkavy's Hebrew translation which is inaccurate in many particulars.

It seems that al-Mu'tadid appointed Netira to be collector of the Jews' poll-tax (Harkavy, *ibid.*, p. 36). Opinions differ as to the official position in virtue of which the poll-tax was collected. Cf. Graetz, *Geschichte*, v, pp. 131, 435; cf., however, J. Mann, *JQR.*, x, 1919, p. 123 ff. Perhaps he was a *jahbadh*, an office which was, according to b. Taghribardi, ii, 174, as we have seen, the one which the Jews might occupy.

<sup>3</sup> The Harkavy fragment ends just where one hoped to find details about the nature of their joint business.

<sup>4</sup> The candidate of the Bne Netira was R. Saadya. Nathan Hababli states expressly that Saadya was victorious because those Bne Netira and other rich Jews of Baghda'd were on his side and influenced the Caliph al-Muqtadir (ed. Neubauer, ii, 79).

have been expressed. L. Ginzberg<sup>1</sup> and so also H. Malter<sup>2</sup> thought that in this fragment Aaron b. Sarjado was Mar Aaron, the father of the Bne Aaron. Whilst, however, Aaron b. Sarjado was a very prominent and influential personality, and Gaon of Pumbadita<sup>3</sup> (943–960), this identification is precluded by chronological circumstances of which Ginzberg could not know at the time, namely that, as we have seen, the document which presupposes the death of Mar Aaron was sent by R. Saadya Gaon in the year 928, whereas this Aaron lived until 960.

J. Mann was especially zealous in his endeavours to identify the "Bne Aaron" on the basis of data furnished by further Geniza material. This zeal, however, carried him too far; for whenever he came across the name of "Aaron" or "Bne Aaron"—for the most part such as flourished between 945 and 960 C.E.—or whenever he found a prominent personality of the same period mentioned, he thought he had come upon the trail of the Aaron family of our Saadya fragment. This led to rather contradictory theories that did not advance the cause.<sup>4</sup>

Now that it has been established that the Saadya letter, in which the "Bne Aaron" are mentioned, was written in 928, all the conjectures connecting the "Bne Aaron" with persons that lived so much later are disposed of. The question

<sup>1</sup> *Geonica*, ii, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> *R. Saadia Gaon, his Life and his Works*, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 133 n.

<sup>3</sup> About him, v. Graetz, v, 4 ed., p. 293, and H. Malter, *ibid.*, *Encycl. Judaica*, s.v. He was one of the sharpest opponents of R. Saadya Gaon, and already, therefore, it would be very improbable to think of his sons, who, by the way, are nowhere mentioned, as of people who would have been helpful to the Egyptian friends of R. Saadya. J. Mann has also other reasons for rejecting Ginzberg's explanation. Cf. *REJ.*, 73 (1921), p. 109; *JQR.*, viii (1917–18), p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. J. Mann, *JQR.*, viii (1917–18), pp. 342 ff., 346, 347, "probably identical with the Bne Aaron, the influential grandees of Baghdad"; *Geonic Studies*, Hebrew Union College Jubilee volume, Cincinnati, 1925, p. 231; cf. *JQR.*, ix (1918–19), p. 156; *Texts and Studies*, p. 78. In view of the frequency of the name Aaron in Babylonian Jewry of this period, chronology is just the determining factor.

as to the identity of the "Bne Aaron" must be therefore taken up anew, but this I shall endeavour to do from an entirely new approach.

#### IV

As neither the hitherto published Geniza fragments nor any other Hebrew sources<sup>1</sup> could help us further in our search for the "Bne Aaron" or their father, it is necessary to turn to contemporary Arab sources. It has been long justly recognized<sup>2</sup> that references to Jews and Jewish events that are scattered throughout the rich treasures of Arab literature have not yet been fully utilized by Jewish historical research. The Arab historical sources in particular have not yet been subjected to a systematic investigation from this point of view, although many problems of interest to Jewish historians could thus have been advanced, if not solved. For methodological reasons alone the Arab sources ought not to be neglected by Jewish historians, even if the results prove scanty.<sup>3</sup>

This requirement is all the more reasonable as applied to Arab sources dealing with events that took place in Baghdād

<sup>1</sup> It must be remarked that J. Mann, in his recent monumental work (*Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, Cincinnati, 1931), does not offer any new opinion relative to the "Bne Aaron" problem. He only remarks on our Saadya letter: "Interesting is his promise to his correspondents in Egypt that their political requests would be taken care of in Baghdad by the influential sons of Netira and of Aaron who would intervene on their behalf at the seat of the government" (p. 70). Cf., however, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Cyrus Adler, "Jewish History in Arabian Historians," *JQR.*, ii (1890), p. 196; J. Mann, *JQR.*, vii, n.s., p. 458; J. Finkel, "An Eleventh Century Source for the History of Jewish Scientists in Mohammedan Countries," *JQR.*, xviii (1927), p. 45 ff. Finkel justly observes: "The numerous branches of the immense Arabic literature contain so many data on Jewish faith and culture that were this material gathered, it would reach the magnitude of a considerable 'Bibliotheca'."

<sup>3</sup> Vide E. Fagnan, *Arabo-Judaica*, in *Mélanges H. Derenbourg*, Paris, 1909, pp. 103-120, an endeavour that, however, was not carried further. On the other hand, I. Friedländer, I. Goldziher, A. Harkavy, S. Poznanski, J. Mann, and others have shown in their works over and over again that the Arab sources can be exceedingly helpful to the Jewish historian.

and in the eastern provinces of the 'Abbāsid Empire, and that in an age of such importance as that of the Gaonate.

Why should not persons like the "Bne Aaron" and "Bne Netira", who are expressly stated to have had access to the Court, have left some record of their names and activities in the Arab chronicles of that period? In effect, as we shall see, the solution to our problem lies just here. The **מלך** (king) of Saadya's letter, who reigned at the time of these "Bne Aaron" and "Bne Netira" and who maintained relations with them, was no other than the Caliph al-Muqtadir.

Now the Arab sources with which we have been dealing all along all embrace just the reign of this sovereign; that they tell of some influential Jews we have already seen. I now wish to make the assertion that the two bankers and "Hofjuden", Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram, are closely connected with the "prominent members of the Baghdād community" of whom Saadya speaks; and more particularly, that Aaron b. Amram—to start with him—is no other than the long-sought father of the "Bne Aaron".

In order to achieve a demonstration which can claim methodical correctness, I shall briefly recapitulate what conditions of time, place, social status, etc., must be satisfied by those whose identity with the "prominent members of the Baghdād community" in the Saadya fragment is alleged.

(1) They must have resided in Baghdād.<sup>1</sup>

(2) They must have been in direct relations with Baghdād governmental circles, which enabled them to intervene on behalf of their brethren (even those from other provinces) before the Caliph.

(3) They must already have held an influential position in 928, at the time of the Caliph al-Muqtadir.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This feature precludes any attempt to identify them with personalities residing elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> The letter of R. Saadya was written in 928.

(4) They must have been indebted to their fathers<sup>1</sup> for their high office.<sup>2</sup>

(5) At the time when this letter was written, i.e. in 928, their fathers, Mar Netira and Mar Aaron, could not have been alive any more.<sup>3</sup>

(6) "Bne Netira" and "Bne Aaron" must have been contemporaries.<sup>4</sup>

(7) They must also have been partisans of R. Saadya.<sup>5</sup>

That the Aaron b. Amram of the Arab writings with which we have been dealing satisfies all the conditions for the father of the "Bne Aaron" can be seen at a glance. He lived in Baghdād. He had close relations with the highest Government circles. He was Court Banker for many years between 908 and 924 (he is not heard of at any later date). He was obviously the right man to intercede before the Caliph on behalf of his co-religionists. It is true that only one son of his receives mention in Arabic sources as having appeared at Court in connection with his father's functions as *jahbadh*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The "Bne Netira" and "Bne Aaron" seem to have been influential only in virtue of their being heirs of a position held by their fathers. They were just the "sons of their fathers" and are therefore called "Bne Netira" and "Bne Aaron" without further specification.

<sup>2</sup> The text gives the impression that we have here to do with purely mundane personalities, prominent in politics or business, and not with Talmudic celebrities.

<sup>3</sup> Note the phrase *זכר הננספים לברכה*.

<sup>4</sup> The fact that the two families are mentioned together as they are, is an important chronological indication that has hitherto not been taken into account. It teaches us that only contemporaries of the "Bne Netira" can be identified with the "Bne Aaron".

<sup>5</sup> Apart from the fact that R. Saadya was obviously on cordial terms with them, we have direct evidence that Sahl b. Netira was a pupil of his. Cf. Harkavy, *ibid.*, pp. 38, 40.

<sup>6</sup> A comparison between *Misk.*, 112, and *Misk.*, 128, shows that this "Ben Aaron" was probably called Bishr. About the name Bishr b. Aaron there is a lack of clarity in the Arab sources. There is an *Abū Naṣr Bishr b. Aaron*, who is expressly called "the Christian secretary" (*al-kātib an-naṣrāniyy*) (cf. e.g. *Tabarī*, 1511, 1524; *Tan.*, i, 52; *Wuz.*, 33, 159, 243), and a *Bishr b. Aaron* without any qualification, who is probably the son of our *Aaron b. Amram*. The index to the *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, s.v. *Bishr*, does not clear the matter up. The *jahbadh* of the Vizier b. al-Furāt was *Aaron b. Amram*; the index, however, attributes the same function also to

But all the sons and some other members of the families of Joseph b. Phineas and Aaron b. Amram were collectively included under the designation "successors" and "heirs".

There remains, therefore, only the requirement of synchronism: Were this Aaron b. Amram's children contemporary with the "Bne Netira"?

## V

We have already seen from the report of Nathan Hababli that the "Bne Netira" lived at the time of the Caliph al-Muqtadir and played an important part at his court. But at the very same time, as the Arab sources show us, Aaron b. Amram and his sons occupied a similar position. We should therefore have expected to find in the Arab sources, that have proved so rich in data on Aaron b. Amram, some particulars about his contemporaries, the Netira family. However, the Arab sources accessible to-day do not mention any Netira, and only in another connection a "Ben Netira".<sup>1</sup>

a Bishr b. Aaron. This is hardly to be explained otherwise than by assuming that this Bishr is a son of Aaron b. Amram, who, as we have seen, appears at court on business with his father in *Misk.*, 128.

If this is so, then there exists a considerable amount of probability in favour of further identifying him with Bishr b. Aaron, the son-in-law of Aaron b. Joseph Sarjado, who, according to Jewish sources, subsequently undertook to play the part of mediator between the Saadyan party, to whom in that case his own family the "Bne Aaron" belonged, and their bitter opponents, of whom his father-in-law was the most influential and wealthy. This probability is certainly not weakened by the description of Bishr b. Aaron in the Jewish sources as an exceedingly rich and prominent member.

Cf. Neubauer, *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, ii, p. 80 ff.; J. Mann, *JQR.*, xi, n.s., p. 426; ix, p. 156 n.; *Encycl. Judaica*, i, p. 56, s.v. Aaron b. Joseph ha-Kohen Sarjado.

<sup>1</sup> The Sahl b. Nazir, mentioned in *Misk.*, 349 and 379, who acted as *jahbadh* to the governor Baridi in Ahwaz (936), is perhaps identical with our Sahl b. Netira of Bagdad. The Harkavy fragment tells us that Sahl b. Netira had in Fars a bazar or market that yielded him 2,000 dirham a day; this might be taken as an indication of some connection between them. It is not unlikely that after the Caliph al-Muqtadir's death business interests led him to Ahwaz where he became *jahbadh* to Baridi. The story of his cruel death at the hand of Baridi is related in *Misk.*, 379. On a Sahl b. Nazir of the ninth century cf. *Islamic Culture*, 1930, p. 181.

On the other hand, as has been shown, another Jewish personality is constantly mentioned together with Aaron b. Amram, namely, Joseph b. Phineas. The latter also bore the title of *jahbadh*, held the same privileged position at the court of the Caliph al-Muqtadir, and helped, together with Aaron b. Amram, to supply the Caliph's pecuniary needs. Might this Joseph b. Phineas perhaps have had something to do with the "Bne Netira"?

This question can now be answered with the help of our Jewish sources in an unequivocally affirmative sense. For these sources, which just on that point supplement the Arab ones, likewise mention our Joseph b. Phineas as an important and influential personality, but moreover furnish us with the further information that he used his influence with the Caliph on behalf of Babylonian Jewry, *together with one Netira*: the very same Netira of whose activities I have already spoken and whose sons the "Bne Netira" are mentioned by Saadya. But not only this. Furthermore, the Jewish sources state explicitly the relationship that existed between Joseph b. Phineas and Netira. In the Hebrew report<sup>1</sup> of Nathan Hababli we hear of יוסף בן פינחס וחתת נטירה "Joseph b. Phineas and his son-in-law Netira", and in the Arabic report<sup>2</sup> more detailed יוסוף בן פינחס וברתנה צין "Abnatah Netira Abu Sahl wa Asch'athah" "Joseph b. Phineas and his son-in-law, the husband of his daughter, Netira and father of Sahl and Isaac".

Thus we see that Joseph b. Phineas was Netira's father-in-law, and so the grandfather of the "Bne Netira".

This important statement about the kinship between Netira and Joseph b. Phineas allows us to recognize a remarkable correspondence of personalities between the Arab and Hebrew literary sources of the tenth century.

Just as the Arab sources represent Joseph b. Phineas and

<sup>1</sup> *Nathan Hababli*, ed. Neubauer, ii, 78.

<sup>2</sup> J. Friedländer, *JQR.*, xvii (1905), p. 747, text recto i, l. 9-10.

Aaron b. Amram<sup>1</sup> as joint holders of one and the same high office, so, on the other hand, the Saadya letter speaks of the "Bne Netira" and "Bne Aaron" as of contemporaries who acted together in virtue of one and the same high degree of influence at court.<sup>2</sup> The parallel is too obvious to leave any room for doubt; the Arab sources speak of the father and the grandfather, the Hebrew ones of the sons and the grandsons!

The parallel would of course have been more striking still if the Arab sources had named "Netira" instead of Joseph b. Phineas.<sup>3</sup> It seems, however, that Joseph b. Phineas outlived his son-in-law Netira, and continued the latter's business together with his grandsons, the "Bne Netira". It is not impossible that it was just Netira's death that induced his father-in-law, Joseph b. Phineas, to go into

<sup>1</sup> Having established that the father of the "Bne Aaron" of the Hebrew sources was in all probability Aaron b. Amram, one naturally asks whether the Jewish sources of that period make any mention of an "Aaron b. Amram" with whom he might be identified. As a matter of fact, the name of a highly respected Aaron b. Amram does occur in an epistle of the Palestinian Ben Meir of the year 921. Cf. *Encycl. Judaica*, iv, pp. 64–70, s.v. Ben Meir. Cf. Eppenstein, "Beiträge zur gaonäischen Literatur," *MGWJ.*, 1913, pp. 455–6; Graetz, vol. v, 4th ed., p. 447, n. 1; S. Schechter, *Saadyana*, Cambridge, 1903, p. 20, and above all, J. Ch. Bornstein in *Sefer ha-jobel likebod N. Sokolow*, Warsaw, 1904, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> The connection between the Court-Jews of the Arab sources and the **בעלי בתי חסובים** of the Saadya letter gives us an answer to the question that was asked above as to the concrete position which the "Bne Netira" and "Bne Aaron" might have held at court. Apparently they held the office of *jabbadh*, working in the banking firm founded by their father and their grandfather. They were considered as their legal heirs, to whom the Vizier 'Ali b. 'Isa alludes as the "successors" and "heirs". The family connections of prominent Jews in that age suggest the supposition that the family of the "Bne Netira" and the "Bne Aaron" were later on also allied by marriage.

<sup>3</sup> The chronology in the Harkavy fragment is not clear. The Arab text of the fragment says that Mu'tajid's son, al-Muqtadir, succeeded to his father. But we know that al-Muqtadir was preceded by Muktafi (902–8). Though Harkavy (*ibid.*, p. 39) has already corrected this, his statement about Netira's time of office does not seem to be correct. The sources report that Netira remained in office eight years after Mu'tajid's death, i.e. until 910, and not as Harkavy says until 916.

partnership with the merchant and banker Aaron b. Amram, whose social and communal position was similar to his own, in order the more easily to carry on the business of his family.

If, therefore, Saadya found the heirs of these magnates the most suitable intercessors in Jewish causes at the Royal Court, it was thanks to their position and functions, of which, with the help of contemporary Arab sources, we have been able to reconstruct, we hope, an essentially accurate picture.

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## The *Pand-Nāmah* of Subuktigīn

By M. NAZIM

THE *Pand-Nāmah* or the "Counsel" of Subuktigīn to his son Maḥmūd is the earliest work of its kind in the Persian language. It not only formulates some important principles of administration, but also furnishes valuable information about an obscure period of history, viz. the early life of Subuktigīn and the origin of his family.

When Alptigīn died, his slave named Tughāntigīn assumed independence in the province of Bust. About A.H. 366 (A.D. 976) Pāitūz defeated him and took possession of Ghazna. Tughāntigīn appealed for help to Subuktigīn, who agreed to reinstate him on condition that he recognized him as his overlord and paid annual tribute. Accordingly, Subuktigīn marched to Bust in A.H. 367 (A.D. 977-8), defeated Pāitūz, and reinstated Tughāntigīn. Tughāntigīn, however, refused to pay the promised tribute, and even tried to put Subuktigīn to death treacherously. Subuktigīn therefore turned his arms against Tughāntigīn and made preparations to punish him, but Tughāntigīn fled to Kirmān, and Subuktigīn annexed Bust to his kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Before proceeding to Bust Subuktigīn appointed Maḥmūd, who was then only about 7 years of age, as his deputy at Ghazna, with Bū 'Alī of Kirmān as his wazir. It was at this time that he wrote the *Pand-Nāmah* for the guidance of the young prince in the work of administration.

The earliest work in which there is a reference to this *Pand-Nāmah* is the *Jawāmi'u'l-Hikāyat* of Sadīdu'd-Dīn Muḥammad al-'Awfi. On f. 142a (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, persan, 75) al-'Awfi says :—

آورده اند که در آن وقت که امیر سبکتگین رحمة الله عليه برای معاونت طفانتگین بطرف بست حرکت

<sup>1</sup> These events are given in detail by al-'Utbī in his *Kitābu'l-Yamīnī* (Lahore ed.), pp. 17-19.

فرمود و بجهت مناصرت و معاونت او لشکر کشید  
 فرزند خود محمود را رحمة الله عليه در قلعه غزنه بنشاند  
 و او را به نیابت خود نصب فرمود و وزارت به بو علی  
 کرمانی تفویض فرمود و او را وصیت‌ها کرد یکی از ان  
 جمله آن بود که اصحاب حاجات را پیش خوانی و انصاف  
 مظلومین از ظالمان بستانی و هرجه که من روانداشته ام  
 اگر پسرم خواهد که از راه کودکی آن بر دست گیرد  
 باید که به پیغام و نبشته مرا ازان اعلام دهی و رضای  
 او در آنج فرماید بجواری و پیادگان و تقییان را در قلعه  
 یکدیگر سپاری و هیچکس را بی حاجت و ضرورت  
 بیرون نگذاری - پس محمود را گفت ای پسر ما را تو  
 عزیز تر از هر دو جهانی لakan که تا مرد بحد  
 مردی نرسد و رفع نکشد از مقام یک سواری بدرجت  
 امیری و سپاه داری نرسد و خطر و خوف جهان معلوم  
 وی نگردد و من که پدر تو ام منازل و مراحل جهان بسیار  
 دیدم تا بدین بارگاه رسیدم - باید که سخنان من یادگیری  
 و پند من بپذیری که من رفتم و گفتنی گفتم - اگر

سلامت آیم عذر باز خواهم و اگر رقتم اجل را تدبیری  
نیست بدانک بادشاهی نکو خواهی است و طریق  
جهانداری بر دباری -

چیز بخشیدن و کم آزاری  
هست آئین مملکت داری  
و بزرگان گفته اند که او درین پندها تمامت قانون  
سیاست و ریاست را درج کرد ست -

It is stated that when Amīr Subuktigīn (the mercy of God be upon him !) went to Bust to help Tughāntigīn and led an army to assist him, he installed his son Maḥmūd (the mercy of God be upon him !) in the fort of Ghazmīn, made him his deputy, and entrusted the duties of wazir to Bū 'Alī of Kirmān and gave him many instructions, one of which was this : You should encourage needy persons to approach you, and avenge the oppressed on their oppressors. (He also said to him) : If my son, by reason of his childishness, wants to do that which I have disapproved, you should seek his pleasure in whatever he commands, but should communicate it to me by oral message as well as by written word. You should place the fort in charge of foot-soldiers and leaders . . . (?) and should prevent all egress without business or necessity. Then he said to Maḥmūd : O son, you are dearer to me than both the worlds, but know that until a person attains to manhood and suffers hardships, he cannot rise to the rank of Amīr and commander from the position of a one horse trooper and become aware of the risks and dangers of this world. I, your father, have passed through several

stages of this world before attaining to this position. You should remember my words and take my exhortation to heart, for I am saying what is worth saying before I go away. If I return, I shall offer excuses for this trouble, but if I die, doom cannot be averted by prudence. Know that kingship is benevolence and the method of holding the world is forbearance.

Bestowing rewards and doing little injury,  
Is the way of keeping an empire.

Wise men have said that in those counsels he has collected all the principles of good Administration.

On f. 391b (or 236 Br. Museum) al-'Awfi again makes a passing reference to this *Pand-Nāmah*, in his account of the expedition of Subuktigin to Bust, in the following words :—

سبکتگین بطرف بست رفت و امیر یعنی الدولة  
 محمود را به نیابت خود در قلعه غزنی بنشاند و او را  
 وصیهای خوب کرد و پندهای پدرانه داد —

Subuktigin went to Bust and left Amīr Yaminu'd-Dawlah Maḥmūd as his deputy in the fort of Ghaznī. He gave him very useful counsels and paternal admonition.

The only other work in which the *Pand-Nāmah* is mentioned is the *Āthāru'l-Wuzarā* of Saifu'd-Dīn Ḥajjī b. Niẓām al-Faḍlī, a work of the middle of the ninth century A.H. On f. 88a (India Office MS. No. 1569), in the account of Abu'l Fath of Bust, it is said :—

پندنامه که امیر سبکتگین به پسر خود سلطان  
 محمود نوشته است بخط او است و بنایت فائده مند است

درین کتاب نوشتن آن به تطویل می انجامید مشروع  
در تاریخ مجمع الانساب مذکور است.

The *Pand-Namāh*, which Amīr Subuktigīn wrote for his son Sultān Mahmūd, was in his (Abu'l Fath's) handwriting. It is extremely useful. Copying it in extenso in this book would have tended to lengthen this account. It is given in detail in the history named *Majma'u'l-Ansāb*.

The *Majma'u'l-Ansāb* referred to by al-Faḍlī was written by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Alī b. ash-Shaikh Mahmūd b. Husain b. Abū Bakr in the year A.H. 733 (A.D. 1332–3), which was the sixteenth regnal year of Sultān Abū Sa‘id, a great-grandson of Hulāgū Khān. Several manuscripts of this book are extant in the Oriental libraries of Europe and India, but the portion dealing with the Ghaznavids is omitted from all those which the writer was able to consult except the one in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Supplément Persan 1278). The text of the *Pand-Nāmah* given below is therefore based on that manuscript only.

### پندنامه

واین پندنامه امیر سبکتگین املا  
کرد و ابو الفتح بستی بخط خود نوشت و امیر محمود بعد  
از پدر آنرا در غلاف گرفته بود و هر روز مطالع کردی  
تا کارش بسلطنت رسید. اول گفت ای پسر بدانکه  
من احوال خود با تو بگویم تا تو بدانی که خدای تعالیٰ  
در هر ذاتی خاصیتی نهاد که آن خاصیت در آن آدمی البته

پیدا شود و بدانکه نخ من از ترکستان از قبیله ایست  
 که آنرا بر سخان گویند و این نام بر آن قبیله ازان افتاد  
 که گویند بروزگار قدیم یکی از ملوك ایران زمین  
 بترکستان شد و ملک ترکستان گشت و او را پارسی  
 خوان گفتهندی و بکثرت استعمال بر سخان شد و پدرم  
 را نام جوق بود و لقب بر سخان - و بر سخان بلفظ ترکان  
 زور آور باشد و پدرم چندان زور داشت که استخوان پای  
 اسب بدست بشکستی و نامی داشت از زه کان  
 گسیختن و کشتن گرفتن و سواری وغیره - و رسم  
 او آن بود که به تنها سلاح بر گرفتی و به پایگاه  
 بیگانگان زدی و غارت و کشتن کردی و برده آوردی  
 و رسم ترکان هم چنین است که بر یکدیگر تاختن  
 کنند - و او را فرزندان بسیار بودند و پسر سیو مش  
 من بودم و او مهانرا (f. 227a) دوست داشتی و همه روز  
 مهانان بخانه او آمدندی - روزی مهانان رسیدند و در میان  
 ایشان پیر مردی بود کاهن و من با دیگر طفلان در  
 گوشة خانه خرگاه نشسته بودم - پیر مردی چون بدید

پیش خود خواند و بکف دست من نگاه کرد و  
 گفت ای بسا شگفتی که بر سر این کودک خواهد  
 گذشت و او بامیری رسد و نسل او پادشاهان باشند.  
 من آن سخن را در دل گرفتم و امر وز هرجه مرا  
 پیش آمد سخن آن پیر مرا یاد آید. و قضا چنان افتاد  
 که در آن هفته قومی از ترکان که ایشان را بختیان گویند  
 بر قبیله ما تاختن کردند و پدر ما بشکار رفته بود.  
 ایشان بنگاه ما را غارت کردند و مرا به برده‌گی برداشتند  
 و آن روز مرادوازده سال بود. و از ما تا زمین آن  
 بختیان مسافتی دور بود و پدر مرا ممکن نشد بطلب من  
 آمدن و مرا بقبیله بختیان برداشتند. و ایشان بت پرستیدندی  
 و در صحرا یک سنگ به شکل آدمی تراشیده بودند و  
 گفتدی خود رسته است و همه وقت پیش آن سنگ  
 سجده کردندی و آنجا زیارت گاهی بود ایشانرا و مرا  
 بگوستند چرانیدن مشغول کردند و بصرها بودمی و  
 هر روز لگدر من بر این بت بودمی و مرا خدای بدل  
 افگند که این بختیان بدجنت قومی اند که هر روز پیش

سنگی سجده می کنند - روزی گفتم من با این بت  
 گستاخی کنم به بینم که مر امکافانی می شود - پس بدیدم  
 و ازان نجاسات و پلیدیها که ازان قربانها که از برای آن  
 بت کرده بودند افتاده بود بر سر چوبی کردم و بر روی و  
 بر تن آن صورت اندودم - روز دیگر مر ا هیچ آسیبی  
 نرسید و خود چه رسیدی از سنگ جاد بر من - پس هر  
 روز چنین کردی و یقین من در خدا شناسی زیاده شدی -  
 و من چهار سال در میان آن قوم بودم - پس مر ا با چند  
 غلام دیگر بشهرهای ماوراء النهر آوروند و بفروختند و  
 مر ا خواجه بخیرید از شهر چاج نام او نصر حاجی - و  
 نصر مر ا با چند غلام دیگر بشهر نخشب آورد و من  
 آنجا رنجور شدم و مر ا بدهست پیر زنی سپرد و زری  
 چند داد و گفت این را خرج میکن تابه شود و من سه  
 سال (f. 227b) در آن رنجوری بیاندم و نصر هر سال  
 بیامدی به برده خریدن و من همچنان رنجور بودم و مر ا  
 بگذاشت - و آن زن مر ا بغیر از مداوات طبیب هیچ  
 ندادی و من ضعیف شده بودم و هر چند گفتم مر ا

نان و گوشت دهید ندادندی - روزی خفته بودم - از  
 دور کاغذی پیچیده دیدم بستدم و باز کردم - پر از  
 نقره شکسته بود - صبر کردم تا آن زن از خانه بیرون  
 رفت - و آن زن را پسری بود جوانی نیکو سیرت و بامن  
 دوست بود - آن نقره بوی دادم و گفتم از برای من  
 قدری گوشت و قدری جفرات بیاور - رفت و بیاورد و  
 دیگ بر نهاد و بپخت و من نجوردم و آن شب خوش  
 بخفتم و تا سه روز آن جوان به پنهان مادر آن گوشت و  
 جفرات می داد تا به شدم - باز حال بزن بگفتم و او نیز  
 از همان طعام بن می داد - بقرب یک ماه چنان شدم که  
 بحد اول باز رفتم - و مر اهوس سلیح گری و سواری  
 بود و آن پسر مردی بود که در سلاح گری استاد بود  
 و همه اهل نخشب پس از اپیش او آوردندی و سلاح  
 و آداب سواری بیاموختی - پس مر ا به برادری قبول  
 کرده بود و دقایق تیراندازی و اسب دوانیدن و نیزه  
 و شمشیر بیاموخت و نصر آن سال باز آمد و مر ا  
 بر گرفت و به بخارا آورد و مر ا بر سر همه غلامان امیر

کرد و اعتقاد تمام بر من داشت و حال من به پیش امیر  
 الپتگین بگفتند و امیر الپتگین یگانه سامانیان بود.  
 مر از نصر بخواست و نصر را میسر نه شد که ندهد  
 مر ا با ده غلام باو فروخت و امیر الپتگین مر ا بر سر  
 آن ده غلام امیر کرد و حال من بدین رسید که مر ا  
 امر وزی یعنی و مر ا خدای تعالی امیری داد و بر سر  
 بندگان خود حاکم گردانید. این است احوال من.

اکنون آگاه باش ای پسر که اگر ترا خدای  
 تعالی همچون من امیری روزی گرداند بدانکه حکم بر  
 بندگان خدای تعالی کردن کوچک کاری نیست و  
 پادشاهی کاری با خطر است و در دنیا خطر جاه هست و  
 در آخرت خطر دین. باید که از خدای بترسی - چون  
 تو از خدای ترسان باشی بندگان خدای تعالی نیز از تو  
 بترسند. و باید که پارسا باشی که ملک نپارسا را حرمت  
 نباشد (f. 228a) و اول کاری آن که خزانه را و بیت  
 الال را آبادان داری که ملک را عال توان داشتن و اگر  
 ترا مال و زر و نعمت نباشد هیچ کس فرمان تو نبرد و

مال حاصل نشود الا بامارت و تدبیر عقل و امارت میسر  
 نشود الا بعدل و راستی و جهد کن تا همه مردمان را  
 مشفق خود گردانی بدانک دل ایشان باحسان و بذل مال  
 بدست آری و هیچ خلقی مطیع چون خودی نشود الا  
 بدانک او را نباشد و تو بدهی و باید که بلند همت باشی  
 و همت در آدمی همچون آتش است که بلندی جوید و  
 لهو و بازی و لذت و شهوة مزاج خاک دارد همه میل  
 پستی کند و باید که جمع مال از وجهی باشد که جیل باشد  
 و من ترانی گویم که مال از رعایا بستان که هر کس که  
 مال نواجب از رعایا بستاند آن مال عنقریب و بال او  
 باشد و رعایا گنج پادشاه اند چون گنج تهی باشد  
 پادشاهی بجه کار آید و نیز نی گویم که چنان نرم شو  
 که مال حق از رعایا نستانی - باید که حق خدای تعالیٰ  
 بیش هیچ آفریده نگذاری و هر کرا حقی واجب باشد  
 بلطف از وی بستانی و بدان مصرف که خدای تعالیٰ و  
 رسول علیه السلام فرموده است نگاه داری - و جای  
 که شمشیر بکار آید تازیانه را کار نفرمای و نیز جای که

تازیانه باید شمشیر نزی - و غافل مباش از کسانی که سالها  
 عاملی کرده باشند و مالهای که بعدتھا توفیر کرده باشند  
 نواب و کسان تو خرج کنند تا تو ایشان را باز عمل  
 فرستی پس باید که عاملی که دو سه سال در موضوعی یا  
 شهری یا دهی بوده باشد از حال او با خبر باشی و حساب  
 او برگیری و آگر محقق شود که غیر راستی از کسی  
 چیزی بستده باشد آن مال را باز ستانی و او را تادیب  
 کرده باز سر عمل خود فرستی تا آگر مرد عاقل است  
 ازین یک نوبت بیدار شود و من بعد خیانت نکند و  
 آگر دیگر بار خیانت کند او را معزول کنی - و مهم تر  
 کاری آنست که از کار لشکر و مواجب و روزیهای  
 ایشان باخبر باشی و باید که حال ایشان چنان معلوم تو  
 باشد که هر روز همچون قل هو الله می خوانی و ایشانرا  
 چنان آماده و مطیع داری که آگر کاری افتد (f. 228b)  
 آگر صباح گوی چون چاشتگاه باشد همه لشکر تو با  
 جملگی سلاح و عدت بر نشته باشند - و مردمان مستعد  
 را نیکو دار و کسانی که سست باشند و ایشان را رگ

مردی کارها نباشد پیش خود مدار - و مگوی که فلان  
 پسر فلان است و از برای پدری مال خدای تعالیٰ 'ضایع  
 مکن و حق مستحق ده مثلاً کسی را اقطاع بوده باشد  
 و آنکس مرد و او را پسری ناخلف هست یا مال خود  
 دارد و محتاج اقطاع سلطان نیست و چند کس دیگر  
 محتاج باشند تو آن اقطاع را برای روان پدر او همچنان  
 بدان ناخلف دهی مال خدای تعالیٰ 'ضایع کرده باشی -  
 مال بدان کس ده که از برای مصلحت ملک تو کاری  
 کند و راهها این دارد و پیوسته مشغول این باش - و  
 اگر عیاداً بالله کالای بازرگانی در راهی ببرند تو چنان  
 دانی که مال از خزانه تو برده اند و چنان سعی کن که  
 دزد را بگیری و مال بستانی و حد خدای بر وی برانی  
 و الا مال از خاصة خود با صاحب کالا دهی والا روز  
 شمار خدای تعالیٰ 'ترا ازان بپرسد تا دانی - و باید که  
 کریم باشی و رحیم و عفو تو از خشم تو زیاده باشد تا  
 مردمان بتور غبت کنند اما در دو گناه هرگز عفو کار  
 نفرمایی یکی آنکه در مملکت شرکت جوید و یکی که

بال مسلمانان دست دراز کند و این دو قوم را زنده  
 نگذاری باق گناهگاران هر کسی بر حسب گناه تادیب  
 و عفو می کنی و بخشنده و سخنی باشی اما مسرف و مختلف  
 نه - و مردمان لاف زن و گزاف گوی پیش خود راه  
 ندهی و زنهار تا بسخن ایشان التفات نکنی که پیشتر  
 اسرار پادشاه از مردمان هزار و سهل گیر بدر رود و  
 دشمنان بر اسرار ملک واقف شوند و ازان قبح های قوی  
 خیزد - و کار هر کس پدید کنی که خدای تعالی' در هر  
 ذاتی صفاتی و خاصیتی آفریده است و این مرتبه نیکو  
 بشناسی زیرا کار وزارت از ستوربان نیاید اگرچه  
 ستوربان را آلت و عدت باشد و هرگز درین کار تقصیر  
 مکن و کار دیگر بدیگری مفرمای و اگر ده روز  
 فراش حاضر نباشد شراب دار را مفرمای که این فرش  
 بیفگن کسی را از اهل و بیت او بگوی تا آن کار کند  
 که خلل ممالک ازین سهو است که از طبع خیزد - و  
 باید که دوست و دشمن خود را (f. 229a) بشناسی و این  
 را کیاستی تمام باید و علمی کامل تا بر طبع مردمان واقف

شود و این معنی با متحان میدسر شود خانکه در جزا و  
 سزا بحال هر کس واقف شوی - و بدانکه دشمن بزرگ  
 پادشاه خود رای است و استبداد و باید که در هر کاری  
 با مردمان مشفق که دوستی ایشان آزموده باشد مشوره  
 کنی و بعقل خود در آن تصرف نمای و با دشمنان که  
 با تو در یک مرتبه باشند با ایشان لطف و مدارا کنی و  
 اگر ازان مرتبه بگذرد در آن کار جز شمشیر چاره  
 نباشد - و در کار حربها و کارزارها تأمل بسیار واجب  
 داری که کار جنگ همچو بازدگانیست یا برآید یا فرد  
 شود باید که در اول اندیشه کنی و تا صلاح پذیر  
 باشد میل حرب نکنی الا در جنگ کردن با کافران - و  
 بدترین دشمنان ایشان باشند که ملک از ایشان شده باشد  
 زیرا که هرگز دل ایشان دوست نشود و اگرچه سبب  
 نکبت دولت ایشان نه تو باشی چون ملک در دست تو  
 بینند حسد برند - با ایشان حاضر و بیدار باید بودن و  
 پیوسته ایشان را دلتگ باشد داشت و سر خود ازین  
 طایفه نهان باید کرد - و بدانکه وقت باشد که دوست

دشمن گردد اما هرگز دشمن دوست نشود— و باید که  
 خویشان و اقربا دوست داری و باکمتران شفقت ورزی  
 و با مهتران حرمت نگاه داری الا با کسی که در ملک  
 تو طمع کند او را محابا نکنی و شکسته و مالیده داری و  
 تا بند و زندان بر ایشان کفایت شود شمشیر کار نفرمای  
 و آگر دانی که بند سودی نکند آنگاه معذور شوی—  
 و باید که پیوسته جاسوسان را برگاری تا احوال  
 مملکتها و لشکرهای بیگانه و شهرهای دور بتو آرنده و  
 در شهر و مملکت خود صاحب بریدان امین داری تا ترا  
 از کار رعیت و عدل و انصاف عمال خبر دهنده— و باید  
 که هر روز چون نماز خفتگ کرده باشی مجموع احوال  
 ممالک خود مفصلًا معلوم کرده باشی تا کار ترا رونقی  
 باشد— و باید که از دخل و خرج ملک واقف باشی و  
 از دبیران و وزیران غافل نباشی که وقت باشد که  
 دبیران خائن شوند و با عامل راست شوند و مال ببرند  
 و گاه گاه بر سر ایشان زمام داری— و باید که این  
 سخنان که من ترا گفتم همه را یاد داری و بر دل منتش

کنی تا از روز بهان باشی - این است نصیحت و وصیت  
 من پرتو و من از گردن خود بیرون کردم - و الله  
 اعلم و احکم.

(F. 226b) . . . Amīr Subuktīgīn dictated this *Pand-Nāmah* and Abu'l-Fath of Bust wrote it in his own hand-writing.<sup>1</sup> After the death of his father, Amīr Maḥmūd had it encased in a cover and used to read it every day until he attained to sovereignty.

Firstly, he said : O son, know that I am going to tell you the story of my life so that you may understand that God has endowed every being with special characteristics which inevitably manifest themselves in that being. Know that my origin is from Turkistān from a clan called Barskhān. That clan was so called because it is said that in olden days one of the rulers of Irān went to Turkistān and became king there. He was called Pārsī-Khwān<sup>2</sup> which by frequent usage became (contracted into) Buruskhān. My father's name was Jūq and his title was Buruskhān,<sup>3</sup> which means "powerful" in the Turkish language. My father was so strong that he used to break the shanks of a horse with his hands. He was renowned for snapping the bow by pulling the bow-strings, wrestling, riding, etc. His practice was to put on armour, attack the stronghold of an enemy single-handed, kill and plunder, and bring captives as slaves. It is customary with the Turks to attack one another.

He had many children, and I was his third son. He loved

<sup>1</sup> According to *Kitābu'l-Yamīnī* of al-'Utbī, Subuktīgīn took Abu'l-Fath of Bust into his service after the conquest of Bust. The *Pand-Nāmah* therefore could not have been dictated to him.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. one who reads Persian.

<sup>3</sup> Buruskhān (or Parskhān) is the Barsinjān or Bam-sinjān, son of Yazdagird (the last Sāsānid monarch of Persia), of the *Tabaqat-i-Nāṣiri*, Raverty's translation, p. 70.

hospitality (f. 227a) and every day guests used to come to his house. One day some guests arrived, and among them there was an old soothsayer. At that time, I was sitting in a corner of the tent with other children. When the old man saw me he called me to his presence, looked at the palm of my hand, and said : "How many wonders shall pass over this child ! He shall attain to sovereignty and his progeny shall be kings." I took these words to heart, and all that has befallen me since reminds me of the saying of that old man. It so happened that the same week, a tribe of the Turks called Bakhtiyān carried out a raid on our clan while my father was out a-hunting. They plundered our cottage and carried me away as a slave. I was 12 years old at that time. The land of the Bakhtiyāns was a long way off from our place and hence it was not possible for my father to come in quest of me. I was taken to the tribe of the Bakhtiyāns. They were idol-worshippers and had, in the plain, carved out a stone in human form which they said had grown of itself on the spot. They used to prostrate themselves before this stone at all times, and it was a place of pilgrimage for them. They had set me to tend their sheep, and I used to remain in the plain where I passed that idol every day. God put it into my heart that those Bakhtiyāns were a miserable people who prostrated themselves every day before a stone. One day I said to myself that I should offend against that idol in order to see if I was punished. I looked about me and finding nearby filth and droppings of animals which were sacrificed to that idol, I placed them on a piece of wood and daubed them on the face and body of that image. I came to no harm on the following day, and in fact what harm could come from inert stone ? I did this every day, and my belief in the existence of God increased.

I lived for four years amongst that tribe. Then they took me and some other slaves to the towns of Transoxiana and sold us. I was purchased by a merchant of Chāch, named Hājjī Naṣr, who brought me with his other slaves to Nakhshab

where I was taken ill. He left me in charge of an old woman, and gave her a sum of money to keep me till I should get well. I was ill for three years (f. 227b). *Nasr* used to come every year to buy slaves, but as I was ill, he used to leave me. That woman gave me nothing except drugs prescribed by the physician, and I became very weak. However much I asked for bread and meat, she would not consent to give it to me. One day as I lay on my bed, I saw nearby a twisted piece of paper. I picked it up and, on unfolding it, I found that it was full of silver coins. I waited till that old woman went out. She had a son who was a good-natured young man and was friendly to me. I gave him the silver and requested him to bring some meat and curds for me. He went and bought the things, set the pot over the fire, and cooked them for me. I ate them and that very night I slept soundly. For three days that young man, without the knowledge of his mother, brought me meat and curds to eat, and I got well. Then I told the woman and she too gave me the same food, until, in the space of a month, I became so well that I attained my former health.

It was my ambition to learn the use of arms and riding, and that young man was a master of these arts. The people of *Nakhshab* used to bring their sons to him to learn the management of arms and rules of horsemanship. Since he had accepted me as a brother, he taught me the fine points of archery and horsemanship, and the use of the spear and the sword. That year *Nasr* came again, and took me to *Bukhārā*, and put me at the head of his other slaves, reposing complete trust in me. My story was related to *Amīr Alptigin* who was a favourite of the *Sāmānid* house. He demanded me from *Nasr* and, as *Nasr* could not possibly decline, he sold me with ten other slaves to *Alptigin*, who put me at their head until I attained to the position in which you see me now. God has made me king and given me authority over His creatures. This is the story of my life.

Now my son, bear in mind, that if one day God makes

you a king like me, you should not consider it a light task to rule over His creatures. Kingship is full of perils—perils to power in this world and perils to faith in the hereafter. You should fear God ; for if you fear God, His creatures will also fear you. You should be pious ; for an impious ruler commands no respect (f. 228a). The first thing you should do is to keep the private and public treasuries in a prosperous condition ; for a kingdom can only be retained by wealth. If you do not possess money, gold, or wealth, nobody will obey you. Wealth cannot be acquired except by good government and wise statesmanship, and good government cannot be achieved except through justice and righteousness. Try hard to make all people your well-wishers, and win their hearts by kindness and generosity. No person will ever obey another one like himself, except when he is in want and you provide for him. You should have a lofty ambition ; for ambition is like fire which seeks height ; and pleasure and merry-making, lust and lewdness, are of the nature of dust which inclines to the ground.

Money should be accumulated only in a creditable manner. I do not advise you to extort money from your subjects ; for whoever does so (finds that) that money soon becomes his bane. The subjects are to a king like his treasury ; when the treasury is empty of what use is kingship ? At the same time I do not advise you to be lenient so as not to demand your legitimate dues from your subjects. You should not leave unrecovered from any living being what is enjoined by God, but should realize all such dues in a gentle manner and assign them to the items of expenditure which God and His Prophet (peace be upon Him !) have commanded.

Where the use of sword is called for, you should not exercise the whip ; and where the whip would serve the purpose, you should not strike with the sword. Do not be unmindful of those who have been revenue collectors ('Amils) for several years. They will spend the money which they have been saving for years to influence the governors and your servants,

so that you may renew their appointment. Hence it is necessary that you should keep yourself acquainted with the condition of every revenue collector who has been in a village, town, or city, for two or three years, and get his accounts checked. If it is proved that he has extorted anything from a person unfairly, recover it from him, and having chastised him send him back to his post so that if he is wise he may learn by that one experience and cease to be dishonest. If he proves dishonest again, you should dismiss him.

It is most important that you should keep yourself well-informed about the condition of the army, their pay and daily allowances. Their condition should be as well known to you as the recitation of *Qul huwa'llah* every day. They should be so willing and obedient that if in times of need you issue the command (f. 228b) in the morning, they should be ready with their arms and equipments by breakfast time.

Treat those men well who are capable and smart, and do not keep near yourself those who are slothful and lacking in nerve for heroic actions. Do not say that so and so is the son of such and such, and do not waste God's money (that is, public money) for the sake of one's father, and give the rightful dues to the deserving. For instance, if a person has landed property and he dies leaving an undeserving son, or if a person is rich and does not stand in need of a grant of land from the Sultan, while there are many other needy persons, then you will be wasting God's riches if you bestow property on that undeserving son for the sake of the soul of his departed father. Bestow wealth on him who does something for the benefit of your kingdom, and keeps the highways safe; and always keep this in mind.

If, God forbid, the merchandise of a trader be plundered on the way, you should consider as though your own treasury had been robbed, and exert all your efforts to have the highwayman apprehended and punished in accordance with the divine law, and the merchandise recovered from him, failing which you should recompense the merchant from

your private property, otherwise know that God will call you to account for it on the Day of Reckoning.

You should be generous and merciful. Your forgiveness should exceed your wrath, so that people may be drawn towards you. You should not, however, be forgiving in two offences: firstly, in the case of one who seeks to be your rival in kingship, and secondly, in the case of one who despoils the property of Muslims. You should not leave these two classes of offenders alive. With regard to other offenders, you should punish or pardon them according to the nature of their guilt. You should be charitable and generous but not wasteful and extravagant.

You should not allow boastful people and braggarts into your presence and should not pay heed to their words; for it is mostly through flippant and light-hearted companions that a king's secrets leak out and enemies come to know of confidential matters of State, and this results in great evils.

You should define everybody's particular duties; for God has created special attributes and characteristics in every person. You should recognize this distinction carefully, because a groom cannot carry out the work of a wazīr, even if he were to have the requisite equipment. Never make a mistake in this matter, and do not entrust one man's work to another. If the carpet-spreader is absent for ten days, do not order the wine-keeper to spread the carpet. Tell a member of his family to do that work; for it is due to such intentional mistakes that disturbance is caused in kingdoms. You should distinguish between your friends and foes (f. 229a). It requires perfect intelligence and complete knowledge to comprehend human nature. This object can be achieved only by trial, in the same way as you can understand the character of persons when meting out rewards and punishments to them. Know that the greatest enemies of a king are despotism and self-will. In every matter you should take the advice of devoted persons of

tested friendliness and then decide it in accordance with your own judgment. You should be kind and courteous to those of your enemies who are your equals in rank, but if they over-top you, then the only remedy left to you is an appeal to the sword. You should engage in wars and battles only after long deliberation ; for war is like trade which either succeeds or fails. Hence prior to the commencement of hostilities, you should weigh the matter carefully, and if an amicable settlement is possible, you should not incline to war, except in the case of war against infidels.

Your worst enemies are those who have lost their kingdom ; for in their heart, they will never be your friends even if you were not the cause of the downfall of their kingdom. They will feel envious when they see the kingdom in your hands. You should be alert and vigilant with them, and should always keep them downhearted. You should hide your secrets from such people. Know that it sometimes happens that a friend turns an enemy, but an enemy will never become a friend. You should befriend your relatives and kinsmen, and be gracious to the young and respectful to the elders, but you should not tolerate anyone who covets your kingdom. You should keep him depressed and down-trodden, and as long as custody and imprisonment are sufficient, you should refrain from the use of the sword ; but if you find that imprisonment is of no avail, then you are excused (if you use the sword).

You should always keep spies to bring you news of foreign kingdoms and armies and of distant cities. In your own kingdom and cities, you should keep honest *Barids* (couriers or news-writers) so that they may keep you acquainted with the condition of the people, and of the justice and righteousness of your '*Āmils*'. Every night before you have said your night prayer, you should have obtained detailed information about your country, so that your affairs should prosper. You should know the revenue and expenditure of your kingdom, and should not be negligent of your secretaries and

wazirs; for sometimes the secretaries become dishonest, make common cause with the 'Amils, and embezzle public money. You should pull in their reins from time to time. You should remember all that I have said to you and engrave it on your heart so that you may be among the fortunate ones.

This is my counsel and injunction to you, (by offering which) I have removed the responsibility from off my shoulders. AND GOD IS THE BEST KNOWER AND JUDGE.

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## Some Developments in the use of Latin Character for the Writing of Kurdish

BY C. J. EDMONDS

IN the *JRAS.* of January, 1931, I offered some " Suggestions for the Use of Latin Character in the Writing of Kurdish ". A certain number of changes in these first proposals subsequently appeared desirable in the light of criticism and of further experiment and experience. In the meantime Tewfiq Wehbi Beg, on whose modified Arabic alphabet my suggestions had been based, finding that his new system made little appeal to his compatriots, decided to abandon it, for the purposes of his future work, in favour of Latin. European students of Iranian philology will welcome the appearance in Latin character of the work of an accomplished native Kurdish scholar ; how far the books now in the press and under preparation will appeal to other Kurds remains to be seen.

The following modifications of the first system have recommended themselves :—

- (1) The distinction between *d* and *dh*, *t* and *th*, described as being restricted to part of the Sulaimani *liwa* only, has been abandoned, with a view to making the system as widely acceptable as possible.
- (2) The preservation of the distinction between the two *h*'s for the sake of three or four native Kurdish words (only the sophisticated mark the distinction in Arabic borrowings) appeared hardly justified, and has been abandoned.
- (3) The letter *x* is thus released to replace *kh*.
- (4) The adoption of the letter *j* with the German value proved most unpopular not only with English but also with Kurdish critics ; the difficulty has been met by using *y* both with its English consonantal value and also for pure short *i*, a comparatively rare sound in Kurdish.

(5) The letter *i* now represents the neutral vowel (except as provided by rules (8) and (13) below); to use a letter with a diacritical mark would have been out of the question owing to the high frequency of this sound.

(6) The letter *j* is thus released for use with its Turkish, i.e. the French, value; this may be distasteful to English readers but is liked by Kurds.

(7) The sound for which the rather clumsy digraph *uy* was first suggested is now represented by *ö*, and since the sound is rare little violence is done to the principle of avoiding diacritical marks; it is not spoken alike by all Kurds; the majority seem to pronounce it like French *ué*, but with the two vowel sounds run more together; it is not *wé*.

(8) Long *i* is now written *iy* (instead of *ii*) except after a vowel when it is written *yi*; since the combination of the neutral vowel and pure short *i* must form long *i* (see rule (e) at p. 34 of the "Suggestions") no difficulty arises; thus: *bi-xo* "eat!" makes *bi-y xo*, i.e. *biy xo* "eat it!"

(9) Similarly long *u* is now written *uw* instead of *uu*; after a vowel it is *wu*.

(10) Hemze is no longer represented since it appears, except as the initial soft breathing, in no native Kurdish words, and in Arabic borrowings merely has the effect of lengthening the adjacent vowel. Vowels found in juxtaposition are pronounced separately.

(11) Similarly 'for 'ain is no longer considered as a letter of the alphabet; it is detected as an initial sound in a very few native Kurdish words; in Arabic borrowings it generally, like hemze, lengthens the adjacent vowel, and sometimes, at the beginning of a word, aspirates it: thus عَسَى makes Hebbas, عمر makes Homer; in his recent work كَرْد وَ كَرْدِسْتَان (Dar-ul-Islam Press, Baghdad, 1931)

Amin Zaki Bey, recently Minister of Economics and Communications in the Iraqi Cabinet, who seldom spells Arabic words otherwise than in the correct Arabic way, writes on

p. 2 مَوْتَلَه for مَطَالِعَه ; where it is desired to represent the ئ in a borrowed word the symbol ' can nevertheless be used unobjectionably.

(12) In consequence of (10) the apostrophe becomes available for its natural function of representing an elided vowel : *l'êrewe* for *le êrewe* "from here".

(13) Since a syllable cannot begin with the neutral vowel, initial pure short *i* is written *i* and not *y*.

These modifications, which all arise out of the abandonment of the superfluous symbols *dh*, *th*, *x* (for ح), ' and ' (for hemze), and the adoption of *i* for the neutral vowel, have been achieved without violence to the fundamental principles (1) that diacritical marks must be reduced to a minimum, and (2) that the system must be adequate to reproduce the nicest subtleties of Kurdish grammar.

A restatement of the five rules given in the " Suggestions " (p. 34 of the JOURNAL, January, 1931) now becomes necessary.

(a) This rule must be worded as follows : "The vowel *u*, if brought into juxtaposition with another vowel, is changed into *w*, e.g. *keuti-bu* "he had fallen", makes the subjunctive *keuti-bw-aye*; other vowels in juxtaposition are pronounced separately.<sup>1</sup>

(b) This rule holds *mutatis mutandis* and might read : The combination *iyg* is not possible and is shortened to *iy*, the suppressed letter being represented by apostrophe; thus, *tanciy* "gazelle-hound" makes *tanci'yan* "their gazelle-hound", not *tanciyyan*, and *tanciy' Puusho* "Pūsho's hound", not *tanciy y Puusho*.

(c) The rule holds *mutatis mutandis*, but further experience has suggested that the fall of the accent in some measure limits freedom in the dropping of the neutral vowel; e.g. *leshkir* "army" makes *leshkreke* "the army"

<sup>1</sup> Such juxtaposition occurs as a result of dropping the symbol for hemze in pure Kurdish words only when the present tense particle *de-* is prefixed to a verb beginning with a vowel.

(since the definite article *-eke* takes the accent), but *leshkirêk* "an army" (since the indefinite article *êk* does not take the accent).

(d) With the dropping of the hemze the need for this statement disappears: A word like *serêshe* "headache" is simply written as one word; a new convention regarding the preposition *e*, "to" is referred to below.

(e) The new orthography represents this change of sound automatically and no statement of rule is necessary (see modification No. 8 above).

The alphabet now being used by the leading native Kurdish philologist thus contains thirty-three letters (instead of the thirty-eight of the original "Suggestions"); these are the ordinary twenty-six letters, with two vowels having diacritical marks *ê* and *ö*, and five digraph consonants, *ch*, *gh*, *lh*, *rh*, *sh*.

#### TABLE

- a* always long as in father.
- b* as in English.
- c* with Turkish value, English *j*.
- ch* as in English church.
- d* as in English.
- e* short *a* as in English bat.
- ê* the open sound, not the diphthong which is *ey*.
- f* as in English.
- g* as in English.
- gh* as in Arabic *ghain*.
- h* as in English.
- i* the neutral vowel.
- j* with Turkish value, French *j*.
- k* as in English.
- l* as in English.
- lh* velar *l*.
- m* as in English.
- n* as in English.
- o* always long.
- ö* like French *ué*.
- p* as in English.

- q guttural k.  
 r as in English.  
 rh rolled r.  
 s always sibilant.  
 sh as in English.  
 t as in English.  
 u always short.  
 v as in English.  
 w bilabial.  
 x as Arabic  $\dot{\zeta}$ .  
 y consonant as in English and also short pure i.  
 z as in English.

The following examples are appended to illustrate the modified system :—

- I. "The Adventure of the Goat-herd," with translation.
- II. Kurdish translation of an extract from the Simon report.

No. II is something of a *tour de force* done for me by a group of Kurdish friends. The intention of the inclusion of this is to suggest that the Kurdish language is so rich as to be capable of expressing any normal conception of the European mind almost without recourse to borrowing.

For greater clearness the izafe *y*, the preposition *e* "to" (with its compounds *enaw* "into the middle of", *eser* "to the top of", etc., which are easily recognizable in that they are not followed by izafe), and the conjunction *u* "and" (except in compounds) are written separately; they must, however, be pronounced in liaison with the preceding word. Kurdish is particularly rich in compounds in every part of speech, and it is not always easy to judge how far the component parts should be written together or separately, or how far the aid of hyphens should be resorted to. In the examples I have endeavoured to follow consistently a set of experimental conventional rules, but it would be premature to state them at this stage.

## EXAMPLE I

*Beser Hat y Xawensabrén*

Piyawék y ladéyi buw; sabrénék hebu: zory xosh dewyst; herchiy xwardinék y chaky des bikewtaye, derxward y ewy deda. Jinekey lesér eme rhiqy lêy helh sa we éwaréyék legelh sabrènekey, l'em dê bo ew dê, dery kirdin. Kabra rhêy lê helhe buw; her derhoyi w negeyisht e dêyék. Sabrènekey leber birsêtiy w manduwiy desy kird be harhjin. Kabra dilhy pêy suwta we be giryanewe desy kird e mily, we wuty; "Xozge bimirdmaye w tom wa nediyaye."

L'ew demeda le nziykewe deng y segwerhék hat; eme dêyê bu; rhuwy tê kird. Ke geyisht, chuw e berdem y malh y köxa; le dergay da. Jin y köxa hat episht dergake we pirsiy: "Ewe kêye?" Kabra pêy wut: "Biy kerewe, miywanim." Jine lêy gérhayewe: "Köxa le ashe; derga nakemewe." Kabra göy neda yê; sabrènekey xist eser shany w be serbanda ser kewt we chuw e xwarewe; legelh sabrènekeyda chuwn e kayénekewe.

Buw be niyweshew; le dergayan da; köxajin chuw, kirdyewe. Xawensabrén chawy pê kewt ke ewa köxajin legelh kabrayékda des lemil yek, be machu muwch gerhanewe w chuwn e juwrewe. Lepash nexték le derga drayewe. Xawensabrén temashay kird ke ew kabraye y legelh jine bu hat, xoy kuta ye kayénekewe. Köxajinysh chuw, dergay kirdewe we diysanewe legelh kabrayék y tazehatuw be machu muwch gerhayewe, we chuwn e juwrewe.

Hemdiysan le derga drayewe; kabra y duwemysh xoy kuta ye kayénekewe. Xawensabrén rhuwy tê kirdin: "Bragel, pê nenên we sabrènekema." Kabrakan, ke em dengeyan byst le tariyakiyekeda, pêyda helh shaxiyn: "Wis, deng meke."

Jine chuwbu be deng y dergawe; tumez eme mérdekey bu ke le ash ard y aléstay des kewtibu, legelh genimekeyda gorhiybuyewe w be pêchewane y hiywa y köxajin zuw gerhabwewe. Jine dergakey lê kirdewe, we pêkewe hatin e hewshê. L'ewéwe köxa piyawekey, ke leber derga westabu,

we nawy Cherkesiy bu, bang kird : "Cherkesiy !" Xawensabrén le kayênekewe qiyrandy : "Sê kes u sabrênêkyn." Köxa l'em denge sery suwrh ma ; diysanewe bangy kird : "Cherkesiy !" we gôy girt. Xawensabrén be mirqe mirq hawary kird : "Sê kes u sabrênêkyn ; eyhawar ! kushtyanim." Duw kabrake y dyke desyan kirdibu be siyxurme têwejandiny, belham, ke zaniyan ewa köxa berew kayên d'êt, boy der chun. Köxa chuw e juwrewe ; xawensabrény be diz zaniy w desy kird be tê helhdany we lêy helh kësha ye xencer ke biy kujêt. Kabra y tayen, ke chawy be xencer kewt, sabrénu mabrénny becê hësht u der perhiy w rhuwy kird e déyék y dyke.

Weku cardy le derga y malh y köxay da. Köxajin pirsiy "Ewe kîye ?" Xawensabrén wuty : "Miywanim, biy kerewe." Köxajin wuty : "Köxa le ashe ; nay kemewe." Kabra y xawensabréni weku car y péshuw gôy neda yê we be serbanda chuw e xwarewe w l'ewêwe bonaw kayêneke.

Le prhéka le derga dra. Xawensabréni dilhy da xurpa ; wuty : "Hemysan tê helhdan nebêt ?" Köxajin dergakey kirdewe w babayêky kird e juwrewe. Kayêneke beramber be hodew heywaneke bu ; xawensabréni l'ewêwe chawy lê bu ke jineke kabray le hodeke da na, xoy hat e derewe ; le heywaneke agirêky kirdewe, taweyêky xist eser, shtêky lê na w day girt ke sard bêtewe ; we chuwe we juwrê. Xawensabréni y le birsda mirduw helh sa, be penapena chuw eser taweke ; gezow rhony têda bu ; desy kird be xwardiny. Ke be layen y xoyda wurd bwewe le heywanekeda beranêk y dabestrâwy diy. Chuw, beranekey kirdewe w hênay, ewe y lebery mabwewe suwy le demu lmoz u sim y beraneke. Beranysh ney kird e namerdiy ; le nakawda qochêky le pishtewe lê da, lepew rhuw frhêy da yenaw derk y juwrekewe. Xawensabréni hawarêky kird : "Eyhawar ! Bawke rho ! Pishtim shka." Kabra w köxajin l'em denge rha perhiyn we pirsiyan : "To kîyt, krambawgaw ?" we pelamaryan da yê w desyan kird be tê helhdany. Duwbare le derga dra. Be herduwkyan xawensabrényan helh girt u xistyan e

kenduweke y ardewe ; we jine'sh kabrakey na yenaw tenguwrekewe w pneyêky xist eser, we chuw dergakey kirdewe.

Tumez em köxaye'sh ard y alêstay des kewtibu, genimekey pê gorhiybewewe w be bedbextiy' köxajin xêra gerhabwewe. Köxa be barashewe hat e juwrê, we be jiney wut : "Ard y nawhorheke biker e kenduwekewe." Jine wuty : "Pele pely chiye ? Beyaniy." Köxa péy lê da girt, wuty : "Her debêt ésta horheke betalh keyt." Jine her xoy lê la deda ; köxa pelamar y horhy da, birdy eser kenduw y xawensabrên, we desy kird be ard rhjandin e nawyewe. Hêshtha horheke niywéy mabu, kenduw pirh buw. Köxa pirsiy : "Afret, xo to wutit ardman nemawe ?" Jine y zerd helhgerhaw wuty : "Lepash to biyrim kewtewe ke ardman mawe."

Köxa neqiyzyeyêky girt be desewe we peyta peyta kirdy be kenduwekeda ke ardeke chak bichêt e xwarewe. Em neqiyzane dekewtin le seru gölak y xawensabrên, ke le tawana xoy rha piskand, kenduw y kird be duw kertewe w der perhiy. Köxa, ke chawy b'em kabra ardawiye w seru chaw xönawiye kewt, be cnokey zaniy, da chlhekiy we hawary kird : "Naw y Xwa ! A ! Afret, ew tfengem bo b'ène."

Xawensabrên y zaretrek desy kird be lalhanewe : "Boch dem kujyt ? Min her gezow rhonekem xwardibu ; sza y xom diy ; belham herchiy kirdy Agha y nawtenguwr kirdy ; emca nore y ew bêt." Kabra y nawtenduwr, ke emey byst, der perhiy e derewe ; xeriyk bu boy der chê, köxa qiyrh girty. Be Xwa, legelh köxada kewtn e seru gölhak y yekintir. L'em helhkewteda xawensabrên perhiy e serban ; l'ewê temashay kird ke leshy be dwayda nayêt ; wuty : "Xo, emane minyan kusht ; ba tolheyen lê bikemewe."

Gerha bo berdê, pêyanda bikêshêt ; kurtanêky le serbaneke doziyewe ; xisty eser sery we hat egeragh serbaneke ke biy kêshêt beser herduw kabrada ke le hewshê le yek ber buwbun. Ney zaniy ke qushqun y kurtaneke kewtuwet episht mily ; hézy da ye xoy ke biy da be seryanda ; qushqun ewyshy rhabêch kird ; kabra girmha be xoy u kurtanewe

kewt e xwarewe; nqeyêky lê'we der hat: "Bawke rho! Psam."

Sherhkerekan desyan lêk ber bu, we kabra y dosteyan boy der chu. Köxa emca pelamar y xawensabrêny da w desy kird be tê helhdany. Xawensabrêny wutu: "Besye; mem kuje; rhastiyeke pê bêjim." Köxa desy lê ber da; xawensabrênysh ew shewe chiy' beser hatibu boy gêrhayewe. Lesereme köxa jinekey der kird we kerék u tuwrekeyê ardy da be xawensabrêny we nardyewe dêyeke y xoy.

Minysh hatmewe w hychyan nedam ê.

#### TRANSLATION

##### *The Adventure of the Goatherd*

There was a villager; he had a billy-goat; he was very fond (of it); whatever good food came to hand he used to give it to it to eat. His wife thereupon got annoyed and one evening turned them, him with his billy-goat, right out of the village. The fellow lost his way; he kept going on and not arriving at any village. His billy-goat began to whimper with hunger and fatigue. The fellow's heart burned for it and he tearfully put his arms round its neck and said: "Would that I might die and not see thee thus."

At that moment there came a sound of barking from nearby; this was a village; he turned towards (it). When he arrived he went to the front of the headman's house; he knocked on the door. The headman's wife came to behind the door and asked: "Who is that?" The fellow said to (her): "Open it, I am a guest." The woman answered (him): "The headman is at the mill; I shall not open the door." The fellow did not listen to (her); he hoisted the billy-goat on his shoulder and climbed up on the roof and went down; they went, he with the billy-goat, to the straw-store.

Midnight came; someone knocked on the door; the headman's wife went and opened (it). The goat-herd saw that, lo, the headman's wife and a fellow came back, arms round

each other's necks, kissing and bussing, and went into the room. After a little there was a knock on the door. The goat-herd saw that that fellow who was with the woman came and thrust himself into the straw-store. The headman's wife also went, opened the door, and again came back with a new-comer, kissing and bussing, and they went into the room.

Yet again there was a knock on the door; the second fellow also thrust himself into the straw-store. The goat-herd turned towards them: "Don't tread atop o' my billy-goat, mates." The fellows, when they heard this sound in the darkness, scolded him: "Sh-sh, don't make a noise."

The woman had gone to investigate the noise at the door; but this was her husband, who had found flour ready at the mill, had exchanged (it) for his wheat and returned early, contrary to the expectation of the headman's wife. The woman opened the door to (him) and together they came into the courtyard. From there the headman called his man who was standing in front of the door and whose name was Homany: "Homany!" The goat-herd bawled from the straw-store: "We are three men and a billy-goat!" The headman was astonished at this sound; again he called: "Homany!" and listened. The goat-herd yelled plaintively: "We are three men and a billy-goat. . . . Help! They have killed me." The two other fellows had begun to punch him, but when they realized that, lo, the headman is coming towards the straw-store they decamped. The headman went into the room; he took the goat-herd for a thief and began to thrash him, and threatened him with a dagger, to kill him. The poor fellow, when he saw the dagger, abandoned billy-goat and all and fled and made towards another village.

Like last time he knocked at the door of the headman. The headman's wife asked: "Who is that?" The goat-herd said: "I am a guest, open it." The headman's wife said: "The headman is at the mill; I shall not open it." The goat-herd fellow, as the time before, did not listen to (her)

and by the roof went down and from there inside the straw-store.

At once there was a knock on the door ; the goat-herd's heart beat fast ; he said : " I hope there will be no thrashing again." The headman's wife opened the door and let an individual into her room. The straw-store was opposite the room with the verandah ; from there the goat-herd could see that the woman put the man in the room and herself came outside ; she made a fire on the verandah, put on a frying-pan, cooked something and took it off to cool ; and she went into the room. The famished goat-herd got up and went stealthily up to the frying-pan ; it had manna and butter-sauce in it ; he began to eat it. When he had taken in what was around him he saw a ram tied up on the verandah. He went and untied the ram and proceeded to wipe his leavings over the muzzle and feet of the ram. The ram did not fail to play the man. Unexpectedly he gave him a butt behind and threw him sprawling into the doorway of the room. The goat-herd gave a yell : " Help ! Mercy on an orphan ! My back is broken." The fellow and the headman's wife started at this sound and asked : " Who are you, son of sin ? " And they attacked (him) and began to thrash him. A second time there was a knock on the door. The two of them picked up the goat-herd and put him into the flour-jar ; and the woman too put the fellow into the oven and set the pastry-board on top, and went and opened the door.

But this headman too had found ready-milled flour, had exchanged the wheat for (it) and, unfortunately for the headman's wife, had come back quickly. The headman came into the room with the mill-load and said to the wife : " Put the sackful of flour into the jar." The wife said : " What's the hurry ? To-morrow." The headman insisted and said : " All the same you must empty the sack now." The wife kept trying to avoid it ; the headman rushed at the sack, carried it on to the goat-herd's jar, and began to pour flour into it. Half the sack was still left when the jar was

full. The headman asked : "Woman, you said, didn't you, that we had no flour left." The wife, coming over all pale, said : "After you (had gone) I remembered that we had some flour left."

The headman took up a goad and pushed it into the jar so that the flour should go well down. These prods kept coming down on the goat-herd's cranium so that in consequence he struggled with his elbows, broke the jar in two pieces, and jumped out. The headman, when he saw this fellow all covered with flour and with his head bleeding, took (him) for a demon, started up and yelled : "'S truth ! Ho ! Woman ! bring me that gun."

The terrified goat-herd began to implore : "Why will you kill me ? I had only eaten the manna and butter-sauce ; I have had my punishment ; whatever anyone has done the gent in the oven did ; so let it be his turn." The fellow in the oven, when he heard this, jumped out ; he was about to decamp, the headman gripped him. Then, by God, he and the headman fell to scrapping each other. At this juncture the goat-herd fled to the roof ; there he saw that he can hardly drag himself along ; he said : "Well, they knocked me about ; let me have my revenge on them."

He looked about for a stone to throw at them ; he found a pack-saddle on the roof ; he put (it) on his head and came to the edge of the roof to throw it at the two fellows who had set about each other in the court-yard. He did not know that the crupper of the pack-saddle has fallen behind his neck ; he braced himself to throw it on to their heads ; the crupper dragged him along, too ; the fellow bumped and fell down below, (himself), pack-saddle, and all ; a gasp escaped from him : "Mercy on an orphan ! I'm bust."

The combatants broke apart and the lover fellow decamped. Then the headman rushed at the goat-herd and began to thrash him. The goat-herd said : "That's enough ; don't kill me. Let me tell you the truth." The headman took his hands off him ; the goat-herd, too, that night related

to (him) what had happened to him. Thereupon the headman expelled (his) wife and gave the goat-herd a donkey and a bag of flour and sent (him) back to his own village.

I too have come back and they gave me nothing.

### EXAMPLE II

#### *Kurdish Translation of an extract from the Simon Report*

15. Komelhe gewre y nawcheyî' Asiya, bo la y rhojawa, b'ew diyw Uralekan-da, ew kerte kyshwerer frhê dawe ke pêy delhêyn Ewruwpa, we bo la y niywe rho, b'ew diyw qorte here berzeke y Hymalaye-yshda, ew kerte kyshwerer frhê dawe ke pêy delhêyn Hyndistan. Gelê rheg y cöcheshn, ke hemuw le yek rhechelhak y Ariy buwn we ke, rhenge, le serdemêk y zor konda her le nawcheyêkewe kochyan kirdibêt, xoyan l'em duw kerte kyshwereda da mezranduwe. Cêga y hatinyan, we besh y têkelhawi'yan legelh rhegekan y tir we legelh rhege kontrekan, babet y gumane, we zor qse helh degrêt. Herchy Hyndistane, l'ewêda, her chonê bê, weku le dwayida hel y lêy dwanman des dekewêt, jmareyêk y zor gewre, ke birhwa dekrêt ke wêne y danyshtuwekan y ber le Ariyekan bin, we gelêk y tir, ke le serchawe y tirewe tê rhjawin, legelh netewe y Ariye dagiyr kerekanda, be têkelhawiyê mawnetewe. Gelê sharistanêtiy heye, ke legelh hiy Hyndistan le konyida hawtan, we ke be tewawiy beser chuwn; belham le zor y Hyndistan-da temashayêk y negorhaw bo jiyan, bastanêk y yekbiyneyî' komelhiy, we feylesuwfiyêk y taybetiy' payedar heye. Yasayî' Hynduw êstaysh firmanber y l'êk danewe y nawerok y Vêdakane. Ew cheshne pezyshkiyane, ke legelh Hypopokrates-da hawdem buwn, êsta'sh bekar hên u pêwe nuwsawayan heye. Legelh ew arezuwe gewreye'shda, ke Hyndistan y siyasiy pêyewe biyre bawekan y dewlhetgêriy des lemil dekat, terze kon y komelhiy' Hynduwayetiy, ke, her le Bramen-ewe biy gre heta dét eser Glhawekan, têkelhawiyêk y chiynchiyn y hozêk y bêjmarey da hênewe, ke beser jiyan u biyr y le duw sed milwên ptir y danyshtuwekan y sê sed u biyst milwêniy' Hyndistan-da be rhiq we deselhatêk

y ewtowe le zalhiyda payedare, ke le ḡetiy' rhojawada be xew nebiynrawe.

*Original English*

The central mass of Asia throws out to the west, beyond the Urals, the sub-continent which we call Europe, and to the south, beyond the higher barrier of the Himalayas, the sub-continent which we call India. Various races of the same Aryan stock, presumably migrating from some common centre in distant ages, have established themselves in both these sub-continents. Whence they came, and what proportions they bear to other and earlier races, are matters of doubt and controversy. In the case of India, at any rate, there remain intermingled with the descendants of Aryan invaders, as we shall have occasion to point out later on, very large numbers who are believed to represent pre-Aryan inhabitants, as well as considerable infiltrations from other sources. There are civilizations of equal antiquity with that of India which have passed completely away; but in much of India there is an unchanged outlook on life, a continuing social tradition, and a characteristic philosophy that endures. Hindu orthodoxy is still governed by interpretations of the contents of the Vedas. Systems of medicine which are coeval with Hippocrates still have their exponents and their adherents. In spite of the eagerness with which political India is embracing modern ideas of government, the ancient social system of Hinduism, which has evolved a rigid complication of innumerable castes, from the Brahmin at the top to the pariah at the bottom, continues to control the lives and thoughts of more than two hundred out of the three hundred and twenty millions of the population of India with a persistence and authority undreamed of in the Western world.

## Remarks on the Romanized Kurdish Alphabet

By V. MINORSKY

M<sup>R.</sup> C. J. EDMONDS'S "Suggestions for the use of Latin characters in the writing of Kurdish" merit the attention of all those interested practically and theoretically in Kurdish, for no one probably has had better opportunities for studying the practical side of the question than Mr. Edmonds in his surrounding of Kurdish intelligentsia.

The inconvenient side of all Semitic alphabets is their disregard of vowels (not only short ones, but some of the long ones and the diphthongs). Those alphabets are sufficiently adapted to the languages for which they were invented and in which the consonantic frame (cf. Arabic, mostly triliteral, roots) forms the real backbone of the word of which the basic sense is more or less recognizable from the consonantic symbols.

This system is entirely unsuitable for languages with a developed vocalic system where vowels are not accessories of the consonantic frame but integral parts of the stem. In Kurdish *dār* "tree" and *dūr* "far" have nothing to do with each other in spite of their similar consonantic frame (*d.r*). Here the vowels make all the difference of the basic meaning, whereas the vocalic system itself is considerably complicated by the existence of *ē*, *ō* (> *üē*) which the Arabs in their own terminology call *majhūl*, i.e. "unknown" to themselves.

The Arabic script has been occasionally used for writing many different languages (Albanian, Turkish, Malay, numerous Caucasian, African, and Indian idioms and occasionally even Spanish and Serbian), but whenever the considerations of direct convenience of the writing were no more obscured by any reflexions of political and religious order, phonetic alphabets have triumphed all along the line.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We leave for the moment out of the question such languages with developed literatures closely associated with Muslim (Arabic) culture, as Persian, for instance.

Nothing can be said against the special phonetic alphabets of long standing, such as Greek, Russian, Armenian, Georgian, well adapted to their object, but as the Latin script is the most widespread in the world and has reached the highest technical perfection in its printed form (artistic consistency of the outer form of the whole scale of signs, lack of confusion in characters, existence of different varieties of type), only Latin script comes into question when a new form of phonetic script is under consideration for a language just acquiring a literary importance.

For the success of the reform in Kurdish it is essential that the Latin alphabet should be utilized in its most simple form with as few additions of conventional signs as possible. In this respect Mr. Edmonds's effort to remain within the possibilities of the ordinary type seems quite comprehensible and well founded. The Kurdish alphabet as a practical instrument need not aim at an absolutely rigorous application of the principles : "Each sound to have a single and non-compound sign, each sound to be pronounced only in one way." For example, there is no practical inconvenience of writing *sh* (ش) instead of the Czecho-Slovakian *š* (whatever its well-known scientific convenience in connection with the other special signs), or the Turkish *ş* (borrowed obviously from Rumanian).

I should formulate the principles underlying Mr. Edmonds's scheme as follows :—

- (1) Avoidance of any unusual signs which would embarrass the Kurdish presses.
- (2) Use of double signs for "long" vowels [only in Mr. Edmonds's first article !].
- (3) Use of *h* after some consonants to connote some aberrant use of these characters.
- (4) To these points I should add the desideratum of the slightest possible variance from the established use of the original Latin script. All alphabets are conventional and even if instead of *a*, *b*, *c* we write respectively *k*, *l*, *m* (as in

some unsophisticated schoolboys' cipher) it can be learnt after some practice, yet any queer functions of the familiar signs are apt to mislead the Kurds in the scientific study of their language in comparison with the other Iranian languages. In this respect the new Turkish alphabet, which gives a practical solution for local use, is certainly inconvenient for comparative purposes, such words as *gelecek* necessitating their retranscription into *gelejek*, etc. It is likewise undesirable to introduce new peculiar spellings for the words belonging to international scientific vocabulary.

The following are my more detailed observations on, and suggestions in regard to, the systems proposed by Mr. Edmonds in his two articles which hereafter will be respectively referred to as E 1 and E 2.

As regards the "long" vowels their exact duration as compared to that of the "short" ones may need some further investigation, but there is no doubt that the respective sounds of the two classes—*ā*, *ī*, *ū* and *a*, *i*, *u*—are felt as distinct phonemes, and, in the case of *ā* and *a*, differ in timbre; *ē* (closed sound palatalizing the preceding consonant) has no corresponding short sound; and *o* in *dost* and *xosh* (*xwosh*?) (though entirely of distinct origin) seems to be confused in Kurdish while the typical treatment of the original long *ō* in Kurdish is the diphthong *üē* (with palatalization of the preceding consonant), e.g. *k'üēr* (< *kōr*) "blind", *g'üēz* < *gōz* "nut". There is consequently no practical need for introducing a distinction of *ō* and *o* but the sign *ō* (E 2) will be quite welcome as a comparatively simple conventional expression for *üē*, and find its justification in the etymological origin of this sound (from *ō*).

Following the principle of reduplication of the characters in order to express the length of a vowel, I should write *aa* for Kurdish long *ā* and leave simple *a* for its corresponding short sound. Such a system is one of the practical characteristics of the Dutch script. As a matter of fact, short Kurdish *a* sounds like *ā* (cf. English "man"), or even

as a real short *ă*, while with the use of *e* (E 1 and E 2) we are distinctly drifting to a different class of sounds. The proposed use of *aa* and *a* will allow us to restrict the use of *e* to the real *e* (see above). This unique *e* will be written without any diacritical sign (as against E 1 and E 2: *ē*), just as in Sanskrit transcriptions *e* stands exclusively for a long *ē*.

The signs *ii* and *i* are quite natural, but there exists in Kurdish a characteristic sound of an extra-short *i* perfectly distinguishable on account of its dull timbre. It somewhat reminds one of Russian *ы* (Polish *y*) and Turkish *ı* (*i*) in *aldi* (الدى), but is a furtive intermediate sound which for an untrained English ear would perhaps resemble the vowel in "but". In E 1 and E 2 it is conveniently expressed by *y* (cf. Polish *y*!), but it would be very desirable to reserve to *y* the obvious function of *ى* (English and French *y*). One could think then of the new Turkish *ı* (without dot), but even the Turks admit now that this sign is conducive to confusion and seem disposed to replace it by *i*. As we have obtained the elimination of one character with diacritic sign (*ē*) by a simple one, we could afford to introduce in the present case *i*<sup>1</sup>, but perhaps it would be more advantageous to adopt for our case *ı* (with a dot underneath) which would be better distinguishable from both *ii* and *i* and in case of emergency could be easily improvised by the printers; it would suffice for them to place an ordinary *i* upside down.

I should rather not follow E 2 in transcribing *ū* by *uu* and *î* by *iy* for the "Dutch" principle of doubling letters of the long sounds seems to me to possess all the advantages of clearness,<sup>2</sup> but I should admit the use of *uu-* and *iy-* in the cases when the long *ū-* and *î-*, being followed by a vowel, phonetically become a group composed respectively of

<sup>1</sup> The special signs in our alphabet would consequently remain restricted to two: *i* and *ō*.

<sup>2</sup> In E 2 *y* has a threefold use for expressing consonantic *y*, short *t*, and the length of *i* (*iy*).

*u + w* or *i + y*. This orthographical rule would be conditioned in this special case by the phonetic modification.

Coming to the consonants I should reserve simple *j* and *c* respectively for *ج* and *چ*, in conformity with the very clearly established use (see the hallowed Sanskrit transcription) and the historical tradition of *c* which in all the systems derived from Latin stands for voiceless *k*, *č*, or *ts*. The only exception is the new Turkish alphabet, but we have mentioned its philological inadequacy for scientific purposes.

*Zh* and *sh* seem to be quite suitable expressions of *ژ* and *ش* logically consistent with *z* and *s* for *ژ* and *ش*.

The use of *h* as an auxiliary sign in *lh* and *rh* as differentiated from *l* and *r* is a happy idea already realized in Albanian script. Kurdish *lh* is a hard cerebral *l* pronounced with the tip of the tongue upturned (a characteristic very distinct from Turkish and Russian hard *l* (*ل*)); *rh* is the rolled *r* pronounced with the tip of the tongue (a similar distinction between *r* and *r* exists in Armenian and Albanian).

As regards the harsh guttural sounds, the use of *x* for *خ* (as in Spanish, Greek, Russian) would be consistent with the general scientific practice. As we connote the corresponding voiced *خ* by *gh*, it was first suggested (E 1) to express this sound with *xh*, but as *خ* is frequent in Kurdish the new simplification (E 2) will be very welcome. On the other hand, Mr. Edmonds feels inclined to disregard the *خ* sound, occurring in Kurdish, and not only in Arabic loan-words, but also in some purely Iranian words as حوت *hawt* "seven". This sound, though rare, is very characteristic of Kurdish and I should allot to it precisely the conventional *xh*, where *-h*, following our practice, will indicate an aberrant use of the original symbol *x*.

Contrary to the Turks and Persians, the Kurds very naturally pronounce *خ* (and prefix it even to such an

Iranian word as *asp* "horse" which in Kurdish sounds عسب). It would be helpful to express ع with an apostrophe whenever the Kurds pronounce it: 'ajbat حجت but there is of course no question of simply reproducing Arabic forms: if عباس and عثمان are pronounced Habbās and Watmān they will be spelt accordingly.<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, there is no need to transcribe the Arabic *hamza* in the beginning and at the end of words (أنس رجاء), though in the middle of words it would be helpful to express it by a hyphen هیئت *hay-at*.

Likewise no special mark of elision seems to be necessary in such words as *lērā* < *lērā*, any more than in separating the locative ending *-da*, but, if so desired, the same hyphen could be used for such purposes as well.

We need not be more precise about Kurdish sounds, as time will show what particular nuances and *sandhi* phenomena will be discovered by specialists in phonetics. Under this ruling come the Sulēmānī spirants δ (ذ) and θ (ڏ), which can hardly be considered as real phonemes and do not represent a general phenomenon even in southern Kurdish.

It must be finally well understood that the suggested Kurdish alphabet has in view principally the convenience and development of printing. As regards the writing in Kurdish considerable simplifications will be introduced in due course: for instance, double vowels *aa*, *ii*, *uu* will be easily replaced by some signs like ā, ī, ū or ā, ī, ū. Many people in Europe instead of double consonants still write only one with a dash over it (as a substitute for an Arabic *tashdīd*). Kurdish orthography and calligraphy will follow their own ways, while we are trying to find some practical and simple solution of the fundamental problem of the basic alphabet.

<sup>1</sup> In handwriting ع could be expressed still better by *spiritus asper*.

The following is the comparative table of Kurdish sounds as figured in Mr. Edmonds's two articles and in my additional remarks :—

## A. VOWELS

	E 1.	E 2.	M.
<i>ā</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>aa</i>
<i>ă (ă)</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>
<i>ē</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>e</i>
<i>î</i>	<i>ii</i>	<i>iy</i>	<i>ii</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>ĭ (dull)</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ĭ (or i)</i>
<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>ūē</i>	<i>uy</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i>
<i>ū</i>	<i>uu</i>	<i>uw</i>	<i>uu</i>
<i>ŭ</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>

B. CONSONANTS (disposed by groups)<sup>1</sup>

<i>b</i>	—	—	—
<i>p</i>	—	—	—
<i>v</i>	—	—	—
<i>f</i>	—	—	—
<i>w</i>	—	—	—
<i>d</i>	—	—	—
<i>t</i>	—	—	—
<i>δ (ձ)</i>	<i>dh</i>	?	?
<i>θ (څ)</i>	<i>th</i>	?	?
<i>ʃ (ڙ)</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>
<i>č (ڙ)</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>c</i>
<i>k</i>	—	—	—
<i>g</i>	—	—	—
<i>ڦ</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>q</i>
<i>h</i>	—	—	—

<sup>1</sup> — means "no change", and ? "not expressed".

غ	<i>gh</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>gh</i>
خ	<i>xh</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>x</i>
ع	'	?	' or '
ح	<i>x</i>	?	<i>xh</i>
ل	-	-	-
ل	<i>lh</i>	<i>lh</i>	<i>lh</i>
ر	-	-	-
ر	<i>rh</i>	<i>rh</i>	<i>rh</i>
م	-	-	-
ن	-	-	-
ز	<i>z</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>z</i>
س	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>
ژ (ج)	<i>zh</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>zh</i>
ش (ش)	<i>sh</i>	<i>sh</i>	<i>sh</i>
ي (ى)	<i>y</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>y</i>

P.S.—The above suggestions are based on the assumption that, for the facility of Kurdish printing, signs with diacritical points must be avoided as far as possible. On the other hand, as shown by the latest experiments in Erivan and Damascus, this practical consideration need not be overestimated. Under such conditions, a more liberal use of diacritical points would very likely represent a further convenience and simplification in Kurdish writing.—V. M.





## COINS OF THE ZANJ

*Paris* : 1 Obverse. 2 Reverse.

*London* : 3 Obverse. 4 Reverse.

## A Rare Coin of the Zanj

BY J. WALKER

(PLATE V)

IN the British Museum there is a gold coin issued by the Zanj rebels, hitherto inedited, and consequently of sufficient historical importance to warrant special publication. There is, so far as the present writer is aware, only one other coin (also in gold) surviving as a witness of that disastrous Slave Revolt which is estimated to have cost over 1,000,000 lives. This latter coin was published by Casanova in the *Revue Numismatique* (1893, pp. 510-516) and is now in the Paris Cabinet. By kind permission of the *Conservateur* I have been enabled to have it photographed. The mint in both instances is the same, but the specimen in the British Museum is three years earlier in date, and preserves for us a more complete portion of the peculiar reverse marginal legend, that enables us to emend to a great extent the conjectural rendering suggested by Casanova in his article above mentioned.

The coin, which has been somewhat spoiled by having been mounted as a pendant, measures .8 inches and weighs 65·5 grains. The inscriptions are as follows:—

*Obverse.*

Centre (in five lines).

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ | لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ | امِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

*Inner Margin.*

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ صُرِبَ هَذَا الدِّيْنُ بِالْمَدْنَةِ (sic) الْخَتَارَةُ سَنَةُ أَحَدِي وَسَيِّنَ  
وَمَاتِينَ

*Outer Margin.*

إِنَّ اللَّهَ أَشْتَرِى مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَفْسَهُمْ وَأَمْوَالَهُمْ بِأَنَّ لَهُمُ الْجَنَّةَ يَقَاتِلُونَ  
بِسْمِ اللَّهِ

*Reverse.*

*Centre* (in five lines).

عَلَى | مُحَمَّد | رَسُول | اللَّه | الْمَهْدِي عَلَى بْنِ مُحَمَّد

*Margin.*

<sup>١</sup> وَمَنْ لَمْ يَحْكُمْ بِمَا أَنزَلَ [الله] فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْكَافِرُونَ  
أَلَا لَمْ يَحْكُمْ إِلَّا لِلَّهِ وَلَا طَاعَةَ لِمَنْ [عَدَ] اللَّهَ

*Translation :—*

*Obverse.*

*Centre* : “*There is no God but God Alone. He has no partner. Muhammad* <sup>2</sup> *the son of the Commander of the Faithful.”*

*Inner Margin* : In the name of God this dinār was minted in Al-Madīna al-Mukhtāra in the year 261 (= A.D. 874).

*Outer Margin* : “*Verily God has bought from the Faithful their persons and their goods at this price, that theirs is Paradise who fight in the Path of God.”* <sup>3</sup>

*Reverse.*

*Centre* : ‘Ali. *Muhammad is the Apostle of God. The Mahdi ‘Ali the son of Muhammad.*

*Margin* : “*And whoso will not decide by what God has sent down (i.e. by the divinely revealed Koran), these are the Infidels.*” Is it not the case that there is no decision (or jurisdiction) except God’s, and no obedience to (be given to) any except God ?

The first half of this marginal legend is a direct quotation from the Koran (v. 48). It is a statement that occurs three times in this same sūra, in verses 48, 49, and 51, the only difference in each case being in the final word *الكافرون*.

<sup>1</sup> In the Paris specimen the legend begins at the bottom.

<sup>2</sup> This is no doubt the father of the false Mahdi, the Zanj leader, whose own name occurs on the reverse of the coin. This is in agreement with the statement of Tabarī that the rebel put his own and his father’s name on his banner.

<sup>3</sup> Koran, ix, 112.

(Infidels), **الظالمون** (Transgressors) and **الفاسقون** (Perverts). Casanova was uncertain which verse of the three was actually inscribed on the coin he described, since the legend was defective at this point. The present specimen, however, decisively indicates the ending of **أَكْفَرُونَ** of verse 48.

It will be recalled that the leader of the Zanj Insurrection, 'Alī b. Muḥammad, in whose name this coin was issued, was a Persian who claimed to be a direct descendant of 'Alī and of Fāṭima, the Prophet's daughter. On the strength of this he asserted that he was the *Mahdī*, the long-awaited spiritual Guide and hope of the 'Alid party. His cause won the fanatic adherence of large gangs of black slaves, or *Zanj*, who were originally from East Africa and Zanzibar, and were at that period engaged chiefly in saltpetre extraction in the marsh lands of the lower Tigris and Euphrates. The year A.H. 255 (A.D. 869) saw the rebels begin their campaign of terror and devastation throughout the land, until in 257 Baṣra itself was captured, pillaged, and its inhabitants, regardless of age and sex, ruthlessly exterminated.

A new town was founded by the *Zanj* somewhat below Baṣra and given the title of "The Elect City" (*Al-Madīna al-Mukhtāra*). As the negro headquarters it remained until the 'Abbāsid Caliph's brother Al-Muwaaffak, after several years of warfare, finally quelled the outlaws and put an end to the city's ephemeral existence in A.H. 270. Its exact location is nowadays quite uncertain, so completely was it wiped out. The coin is, therefore, all the more valuable as a relic of its short-lived importance.

We know from Tabarī (III, vi, 1748-9) that on his banner the "Mahdī" flourished the Koranic verse (IX, 112) part of which, as we have seen above, also appeared on the obverse of his coins. This seems to have been a clever stroke of policy on his part, for the verse could be interpreted to his slave adherents to signify their redemption from slavery and equality with their masters, provided they took up arms

against all corrupt Moslems and uncompromising infidels. On the other hand, the verse had for long been a favourite text of the Khārijites, or "Separatists", the anti-'Alid party of primitive Islam, who professed to have sold themselves to God on the terms specified—the reward of Paradise. They had for many decades gloried in the title of Shurāt or "Sellers".<sup>1</sup>

It seems strange, indeed, that this self-styled descendant of 'Alī, who is even referred to in the annals as the 'Alid (العلوي), should adopt as his guiding principle a Koranic text that had been for generations the watchword of the bigoted opponents of 'Alī and his faction ever since the eventful decision of the umpires in A.H. 37. Let the Koran settle the issue, had then been the proposed basis of reconciliation. To this, after reflection, the Khawārij had advanced the non-Koranic formula, لا حُكْمَ لِلرَّجُالِ وَلَا حُكْمٌ لِلرَّجُالِ "There is no jurisdiction except God's, and no jurisdiction (belongs) to men".<sup>2</sup> That is, let the sword of Allah bring victory to all true believers. Their intention was to overthrow the Caliphate and all idea of allegiance to princes and potentates, and to introduce an ideal theocratic state. It was a conception that, as can be imagined, found a ready acceptance among the servile and down-trodden.

Rumour had it that the "Mahdī" was secretly a Khārijite. Mas'ūdi [*Muřij al-Dhabab*, viii, p. 31] records that his atrocious acts of indiscriminate slaughter and vandalism were in the best traditions of the Azārika, the extreme Khārijite sectarians. He is also credited with employing that sect's war-cry, mentioned above, لَا حُكْمٌ لِلرَّجُالِ Nöldeke [*Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 151] emphatically considered him a Khārijite. "We should naturally," he writes, "have

<sup>1</sup> Based on Koran, iv, 76: "Let those then fight in the Path of God who sell this present life for the next world."

<sup>2</sup> Usually curtailed to the first clause لَا حُكْمٌ لِلرَّجُالِ.

expected to find him, like other 'Alids, appealing to the divine right of his house. But instead of this he declared himself for the doctrine of those most decided enemies of Shi'ite legitimism, the Khārijites or Zealots."

If the decipherment of the reverse legend, which I here tentatively propose, is correct, the coin supplies us with corroboration of the statement of contemporary historians, who might have been considered biased in their judgment of one who claimed to be the "Mahdī", but whom they called Al-Khabīth, the Reprobate. The Sāhib al-Zanj *did* subscribe to the Khārijite formula and this rare coin, issued in his name and from his newly-founded capital, bears evidence to that fact.



# The Shang-Yin Dynasty and the An-yang Finds

BY W. PERCEVAL YETTS

(PLATES VI-IX)

THE fact seems strange that thirty years elapsed between the known discovery of inscribed bones and tortoise shells near An-yang and the first systematic exploration of the site. Towards the end of 1928 digging was begun by an expedition sent by the National Research Institute of History and Philology, and partly financed by the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution. The work suffered from obstruction owing to the prevailing unrest; but several times it has been resumed, and three volumes have appeared under the title *Preliminary Reports of Excavations at An-yang*.<sup>1</sup> These give interim accounts of the varied results which provide important contributions to history and archaeology.

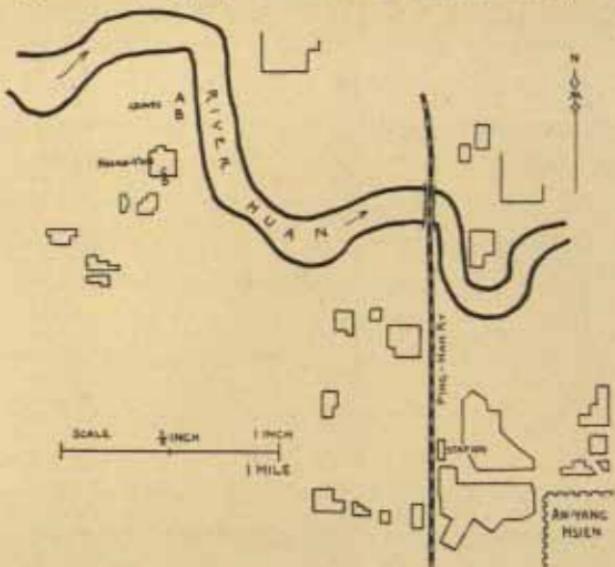
## THE SITE

Hsiao-t'un 小屯 is a village in the north of Ho-nan lying about 2 miles north-west of the city which under the Republic has reverted to its ancient name of An-yang Hsien, the former name Chang-tê Fu 彰德府 being discarded. As may be

<sup>1</sup> 安陽發掘報告, written in Chinese and published in Pei-p'ing by the Academia Sinica: pts. i and ii, 1929; pt. iii, 1931. Notices of the finds have appeared in the *Ill. London News*, 21st June, 1930, 1142-3, and 8th August, 1931, 222-3, 236; the *North-China Sunday News*, 26th July, 1931, 5, 12, and 2nd August, 1931, 3, 10, the last three articles being by H. J. Timperley. A general review by W. Eberhard, entitled *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen bei An-yang (Honan)*, appeared in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1932, 1-15. The official Reports will be referred to as PREA in this article. Other abbreviations used are ASB for *Academia Sinica: Bulletin of the National Research Institute of History and Philology*; CC for Legge's *Chinese Classics*; JRAS for the *Jour. of the Roy. Asiatic Soc.*; KS for the *Yin-hsü shu ch'i k'ao shih* 般虛書契考釋, revised edition of 1927, by Lo Chén-yū 羅振玉; and MH for Chavannes' *Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*. I take this opportunity gratefully to acknowledge help from Mr. L. C. Hopkins, Prof. B. Karlgren and Prof. A. C. Moule.

seen from the accompanying sketch-map,<sup>1</sup> the village is within a sharp bend of the tortuous Huan River 淄水<sup>2</sup> which flows in an easterly direction to the north of it.

Until recently little has been published concerning the Hsiao-t'un site. Probably the first Western observer was J. M. Menzies, who early in 1914 found potsherds and inscribed bone fragments lying upon the fields and a sandy waste to



the north of the village.<sup>3</sup> That year the place was visited by the noted archaeologist Lo Chén-yü, who has published an account in a diary of his travels.<sup>4</sup> He found numerous uninscribed fragments of bones and tortoise shells and the shells of a large bivalve lying upon the fields over an area of about 7 acres. He says that, between the crops, the villagers in

<sup>1</sup> Based on the map in *PREA*, i, which includes a scale showing Hsiao-t'un to be 6 kilometres from An-yang. It is corrected here to half that distance.

<sup>2</sup> The seventh-century commentator Yen Shih-ku 彥師古 notes that the name should be pronounced thus, the vulgar version Yüan not being correct. v. *Ch'ien Han shu*, xxxi, 10.

<sup>3</sup> v. *Oracle Records from the Waste of Yin* (Shanghai, 1917), pp. 1 and 2, by this author.

<sup>4</sup> *Wu shih jih mèng hén lu* 五十日夢痕錄, ff. 20 seq., included in the miscellany *Hsüeh tang ts'ung k'o* 雪堂叢刻, undated.

search of objects dig pits in their fields, sometimes to the depth of 20 feet, and fill them in again.

A complete account of the general appearance of the land within the loop of the Huan is given by O. Karlbeck, who visited the site in 1929.<sup>1</sup> He says that this area appears to be quite flat. "The north bank of the stream has a very gentle slope, an indication that the bed of the stream was once further north. In places the south bank, on the other hand, is quite steep, almost sheer in fact, and is therefore, in times of exceptionally heavy rains, subject to slips and erosion. It was probably owing to some such slip that the inscribed bones were first discovered. This, I was told, occurred north of the village." The slope of the southern bank is slight up to the right-angled bend to the east of the village. Here it becomes almost vertical and its height is from 10 to 14 feet. Searchers for relics had dug into this bank, starting at points between 6 and 7 feet from the top and cutting obliquely to levels below the foot. Visible in all the pits was a layer of "wood ash mixed with earth" at a depth of about 10 feet below the ground level. Above this layer no remains were visible except potsherds and human and animal bones close to the top of the bank. Below the ash layer were fragments of grey and red pottery, decorated with cord impressions. At one spot Karlbeck noticed a higher ash layer, about 5 feet below the surface. The fact that all the pits were carried down well below the foot of the bank indicates that here was a stratum in which objects were found.

Four sites, marked A, B, C, and D in the sketch-map, have been excavated by the aforesaid Chinese expedition, which was led by Li Chi 李濟 and Tung Tso-pin 董作賓. A and B are within the area which is believed to have been occupied by a Shang-Yin capital. The extent of this area has not yet been traced ; much of the original site may have been washed

<sup>1</sup> v. *Notes on the Archaeology of China* in the *Bull. of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, No. 2 (1930), pp. 193 seq.

away through changes in the course of the Huan. A study of the strata by Chang Wei-jan 張蔚然<sup>1</sup> shows that the oldest level of habitation was several inches above the loess, into which the foundations of buildings were sunk. The building material was stamped earth and, of course, wood, now perished; neither bricks nor tiles have been found. Above the loess are alluvial layers, containing remains, alternating with cultural layers. There is evidence here of at least four floods which may have overwhelmed the dwellers—a fate common to all cities on the plain of the Yellow River. A point to be remembered is that before 602 B.C. the Yellow River turned northward at a point some 65 miles to the west of the present bend which is 20 miles east of K'ai-fêng. Thence it ran north-east in the direction of Tientsin, and thus passed some 15 miles east of An-yang. Therefore the city on this site at the time of the Shang-Yin dynasty was much more liable to invasion by the periodic floods of the river than would appear from present-day conditions. The Huan entered the Yellow River in its old course, and so provided a channel for inundations.

Sites C and D, in the village of Hsiao-t'un, differ from the two to the north. Dated tombs, opened by the expedition, prove that it was a burial ground about the beginning of the seventh century. The village itself is no older than the Ming dynasty.<sup>2</sup> On this site the ancient cultural remains were evidently deposited by a great flood which carried material thither from the direction of the Huan River. Perhaps it was a sudden catastrophe which destroyed the supposed Shang-Yin capital at a time when it was flourishing. Such an event would explain the presence of the vast quantity of inscribed tortoise shells and bones which surely were imperial archives, and were thus preserved by the mud from destruction which ordinarily would have overtaken them through war or other causes. It would explain, too, the fragmentary state

<sup>1</sup> *PREA*, ii, pp. 253-285.

<sup>2</sup> v. Li Chi, *PREA*, i, 38.

of these fragile archives, violently swept away from the place of storage. The main deposit of the Shang-Yin remains is below the seventh century tombs ; but there is another layer above them, evidently due to a later flood.

Enough has been said to indicate that the problem of stratification at the An-yang site is extremely complex. There is evidence that the place has been inhabited more or less continuously from neolithic times. The number of cultural phases represented by remains and the confusion caused through redeposits by floods renders the task of the archaeologist most difficult. All sorts of factors have to be taken into account. For instance, the level of the deposit left by the major inundation varies greatly according to the surface contours at the time of the event, and also as regards different kinds of objects in relation to their weight. Sherds and bronzes, being heavy, sank more quickly and became embedded in a deeper layer, while the shells and bones were left lying near the top.<sup>1</sup>

Conditions near An-yang contrast with those obtaining where cities have suffered a sudden catastrophe resulting in the place being so deeply buried that everything has remained undisturbed *in situ*. Herculaneum and Pompeii naturally occur to one's mind, and there is a well-known Chinese example. In A.D. 1108 the town of Chü-lu 鉅鹿 was overwhelmed by a flood which left it under 20 feet of mud.<sup>2</sup> The town is in southern Ho-pei, 90 miles north of An-yang, and at that time the Yellow River ran some 50 miles to the east of it. Chance circumstances led to digging for objects of value in Chü-lu ; but there must be many other buried towns, around the lower course of the River, awaiting exploration.

#### CAPITALS OF THE DYNASTY

Before attempting a brief survey of the finds, it seems fitting to inquire whether written tradition connects the An-yang

<sup>1</sup> v. Li Chi, *PREA*, i, 44 seq.

<sup>2</sup> v. Pelliot, *La date des "Céramiques de Kiu-lou"*, in *T'oung Pao*, xxii (1923), 377-382.

site with a capital of the Shang-Yin dynasty. First I take the *Shih chi* 史記, by Ssü-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷, which, since it was written about the beginning of the first century B.C., has been accepted as a standard history of ancient China. The following outline is derived from Chavannes' translation of the text and commentators' notes on the place-names.<sup>1</sup>

The ultimate ancestor of the House of Shang is said to have been Hsieh 契, who was enfeoffed by the legendary Emperor Shun 舜 towards the end of the third millennium B.C. The fief of Shang 商, from which the dynasty took their name, is located in Shensi about 50 miles south of the right-angled bend of the Yellow River. During a stretch of some 500 years, until the reign of the first sovereign of the dynasty, the Shang chieftains are supposed to have changed their headquarters eight times, but always within the same region. The first sovereign, T'ang 湯, moved eastward and established his capital at Po 壢. Three different places are identified with the name Po. Southern and Northern Po were in the neighbourhood of Kuei-tê 歸德 in eastern Ho-nan; Western Po was about 160 miles to the west, at the confluence of the Rivers Lo and I 洛伊. T'ang is said to have lived first in Southern Po, then to have moved to Western Po, which in the dim past had been the headquarters of the legendary Emperor Kao Hsin 高辛, father of his ancestor Hsieh. The tenth sovereign<sup>2</sup> moved the capital to Ao 敝, which may have been some 50 miles to the north-east, not far south of the Yellow River, in the vicinity of the present-day Jung-tsê 荆澤. Thence the twelfth sovereign moved to Hsiang 相, some 30 miles south-east of An-yang. His successor went 230 miles almost due west, and set up the capital in Kêng 邢, on the north bank of the River Fên 汾 in Shan-hsi, not far from its entrance into the Yellow River. This was the capital when P'an Kêng 盤庚, the nineteenth sovereign,

<sup>1</sup> *MH*, i, 174, 176, 191-4, 198, 200, 207.

<sup>2</sup> Names of those sovereigns, who are here indicated only by their order of succession, may be found in the table on pp. 670 and 671.

came to the throne. In spite of opposition on the part of his subjects, he made another change, and, having crossed to the south of the Yellow River, restored Western Po to its former eminence as the capital city. Wu I 武乙, the twenty-seventh sovereign, abandoned Po and went to "north of the Yellow River".

The foregoing contains nothing that can be construed as a definite link with An-yang. Nor is it stated where Wu I established his capital, beyond the vague statement "north of the River". One surmise is that the site was at Ch'i 汲, north of Wei-hui 衛輝 and about 36 miles south of An-yang. Some support for this is found in the account of the last Shang-Yin sovereign's defeat and death, on the supposition that he continued in the capital established by Wu I. After the Chou victory on the Plain of Mu 牧野, said to lie to the south of Ch'i, the last sovereign fled to the Deer Terrace 鹿臺, where, having donned his imperial robes and surrounded himself with his treasures, he set fire to the place and was burnt to death. Perhaps the Terrace was within or close to the capital, and commentators have identified the site with the remains of a mound at Ch'i.

The existence of the finds near An-yang calls for a critical review of written accounts of the Shang-Yin capitals in order to discover a connection hitherto hardly recognized. According to generally accepted tradition, P'an Kêng renamed Po and called it Yin 般, the designation thenceforth adopted by the dynasty.<sup>1</sup> The question whether this tale is credible is answered by Wang Kuo-wei 王國維 in an article entitled

<sup>1</sup> Concerning the passage in the *Shih chi*, the second-century scholar Cheng Hsuan 鄭玄 notes that P'an Kêng "established the capital at Po, in the land of Yin. From the time of this move, the House of Shang changed their name and called themselves Yin". As to Po, the third-century scholar Huang-fu Mi 皇甫謐 places the site at the present-day Yen-shih 偃師, which lies close to the confluence of the Lo and I Rivers, as remarked above. v. *Shih chi*, iii, 20 v<sup>a</sup>. References given in this article, unless otherwise stated, are to the text edited by Pei Yin 裴駟 and printed in the Sung *Po na* copy reproduced by the Commercial Press.

*Shuo Yin* 說殷.<sup>1</sup> He says : " If since the time of the *Shih chi* everyone has identified Yin with Po, the mistake began with a wrong character in the *Preface to the Shu* in the *Shang shu in Modern Script* 今文尚書,<sup>2</sup> and the Grand Annalist repeated it. Where the *Preface to the Shu* says : ' P'an Kêng made the fifth change and proposed to establish his capital at Po Yin '<sup>3</sup> (the Ancient Script 古文 version being the same in the Ma and Chêng editions),<sup>4</sup> Shu Hsi 杜晳<sup>5</sup> remarks that the text of the *Book of History*, [found] in the wall of Confucius' [house],<sup>6</sup> gives the version : ' proposed first to dwell at Yin ' [i.e. reading 始宅 instead of 治毫]. According to the

<sup>1</sup> v. *Kuan fang chi lin* 觀堂集林, ix, 16, 17, the first section of the first series of his collected works, published in 1927-8.

<sup>2</sup> The 29 sections of the *Book of History* as written in the new official script 隸書 in the second century B.C. when dictated from memory by the Master Fu 伏生 or Fu Shêng 伏勝.

<sup>3</sup> v. *CC*, iii, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Ma Jung 馬融 and Chêng Hsüan 鄭玄, famous commentators of the first and second centuries A.D.

<sup>5</sup> A noted scholar of the fourth century.

<sup>6</sup> The tradition is that Confucius compiled the *Book of History* in 100 sections. The work was temporarily lost at the time of the Burning of the Books (213 B.C.); but 29 sections were in the second century dictated from memory as noted above. A copy of the *Book* was said to have been among the texts, written in ancient characters formed like tadpoles 科斗, which were found at the end of the second or beginning of the first century n.c. in the hollow of a wall when the Prince of Lu 魯 began to demolish the dwelling of Confucius in order to make room for an extension of his palace. The inscribed slips were handed over for decipherment to K'ung An-kuo 孔安國, a descendant of the Sage. He transcribed them in the current *li* script with the aid of the Fu Shêng recension, and found that the latter's 29 sections should have been arranged in 34 sections. Besides these, he found 25 additional sections, making a total of 59, of which one was composed of preambles from the heads of the 100 original sections. This is known as the *ku wén* or "ancient figures" text 古文尚書. An-kuo's text was lost during the disorder about the end of the third century, and the alleged version of it, now extant, is generally considered to have been the spurious work of Mei Chi 梅赜 early in the fourth century. Doubt has also been thrown on the truth of the tradition concerning An-kuo's text. The subject is discussed by Legge in the *Prolegomena* of *CC*, iii, and by Pelliot in *Mémoires concernant l'Asie orientale*, ii (1916), 123-177.

commentary of K'ung,<sup>1</sup> if the character *Po* had been rubbed and looked damaged, it might have been read as *chai* 宅." There follows an argument which leads to several conclusions. First, no ancient text of unsuspected authenticity couples the place-names Po and Yin. Secondly, if P'an Kêng moved the capital to Po, he must have done so before he entered the territory lying within the large loop formed by the Yellow River, and after that transferred it to Yin. Moreover, this Yin was certainly the site of the finds, and it was known as Yin-hsü at any rate as early as the third century B.C.<sup>2</sup> In short, while discrediting the reliability of accepted tradition, Wang Kuo-wei extracts sufficient written evidence on which to base the theory that Yin-hsü became the capital under the nineteenth sovereign.

Lo Chén-yü, on the other hand, inclines to date the event in the reign of the twenty-seventh sovereign. A translation of his note<sup>3</sup> is as follows :—

"When commenting on the *Annals of the Yin Dynasty* 股本紀 in the *Shih chi*, the *Chêng i* 正義 quotes the statement in the *Bamboo Annals*<sup>4</sup> 竹書紀年 to the effect that, during the '275 years which elapsed between P'an Kêng's move to Yin and the downfall of Chou 紂 [Hsin], there was no further transfer of capital'.<sup>5</sup> In the text of the same chapter of the

<sup>1</sup> K'ung Ying-ta 孔穎達, A.D. 574-648.

<sup>2</sup> In proof thereof Wang Kuo-wei cites a passage in the biography of Hsiang Yü 項羽, *Ch'ien Han shu*, xxxi, 10 v<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *KS*, i, 1, 2.

<sup>4</sup> The tradition is that these *Annals*, together with other texts also written on bamboo slips, were in A.D. 281 found by robbers who broke open a royal tomb dating from about 299 B.C. The tomb was at Chi 汲 near Wei-hui 衛輝, in north Ho-nan. They were lost probably during the Sung period, and there is dispute as to the manner in which the current text was compiled to replace the lost one. Judged by excerpts from the old text surviving in T'ang writings, the present recension differs from the other. v. *MH*, v, 446-479, and Maspero, *T'oung Pao*, xxv (1927-8), 368, 386.

<sup>5</sup> This comment by the eighth-century scholar Chang Shou-chieh 張守節 appears in the 1908 standard edition of the *Shih chi*, iii, 5 r<sup>2</sup>, but the text has the obvious error "773 years", not "275". The passage here quoted from the *Bamboo Annals* does not occur in the extant text.

*Shih chi* it says: 'When Wu I ascended the throne, the Yin abandoned Po again and moved to north of the River'<sup>1</sup> (according to the *Table of Generations of the Three Dynasties* 三代世表, Kêng Ting was he who made the move to the north of the River).<sup>2</sup> The current version of the *Bamboo Annals* says regarding Wu I that in the third year of his reign he moved from Yin to north of the River, and that in the fifteenth year of his reign from north of the River he moved to Mei 沢.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Wang [Ying-lin]<sup>4</sup> in his *Geography of the Book of Odes* 詩地理考 quotes the *Ti wang shih chi* 帝王世紀<sup>5</sup> to say: 'Ti I again crossed to north of the Yellow River and moved the capital to Chao-kê 朝歌' (the inference being that Ti I from north of the Huan River moved to Mei. Had he been already on the north of the Yellow River, it cannot be said that he 'crossed again'. A character must be wrongly written). This means that after P'an Kêng until the last reign [i.e. that of Chou Hsin] there were in all two moves. All the texts state that he moved 'north of the River'; but omit to say which place.

"If we turn to the *Annals relating to Hsiang Yü* 項羽本紀 in the *Shih chi* we find: 'Hsiang Yü arranged a rendezvous on Yin-hsü to the south of the River Huan.'<sup>6</sup> The commentary *Chi chieh* 集解<sup>7</sup> quotes Ying Shao 應劭<sup>8</sup> as saying that 'the Huan River is within the boundary of T'ang-yin 湯陰 (i.e. the present-day An-yang. In the Han period T'ang-yin 蔭陰 included the region of present-day An-yang). Yin-hsü was a former Yin capital'. Tsan<sup>9</sup> says: 'The Huan River is north of the present An-yang Hsien, and is distant 150 li from the Yin capital at Chao-kê.' Therefore this Yin-hsü is not Chao-kê.

"With reference to the *Yin Annals* in the *Shih chi*, the *Chêng i*

<sup>1</sup> *Shih chi*, iii, 21 r<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *Shih chi*, xiii, 4 v<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> CC, iii, Proleg., 137.

<sup>4</sup> 王應麟, A.D. 1223-1296. This work is included in the collection *Hsüeh ching t'ao yuan* 學津討原.

<sup>5</sup> By Huang-fu ML. Only 13 passages of the original 55 chapters remain and are included in the collection of reprints called *Chih hai* 指海.

<sup>6</sup> *Shih chi*, vii, 7 v<sup>r</sup>, and *MH*, ii, 272.

<sup>7</sup> By the fifth-century author P'ai Yin 表駒.

<sup>8</sup> First century A.D.

<sup>9</sup> Hsich Tsan 薛瓚.

commentary quotes the *Kua ti chih* 括地志<sup>1</sup> to the effect that An-yang in Hsiang Chou 相州 was the original site of P'an Kêng's capital, and was the same as Pei-chung 北蒙, to the south of Yin-hsü and 148 *li* from the city of Chao-kê. [It also quotes] the *Bamboo Annals*,<sup>2</sup> saying: 'From Yen 奄 P'an Kêng moved to Pei-chung,<sup>3</sup> which was called Yin-hsü (the character *hsü* being a gloss), 40 *li* to the south of Yeh 鄖.' That was the old capital. Distant 30 *li* to the south-west of the city is the Huan River, from the southern bank of which the city of An-yang is 3 *li*. Westward was the city named Yin-hsü. This is what was called Pei-chung.

"According to the *Shui ching chu* 水經注 in the section relating to the Huan River<sup>4</sup>: 'The Huan River rises east of the mountains, and passes to the north of Yin-hsü.' Also it says that the Huan River passes from the east of Yeh to the north of the city of An-yang. Also it quotes the *Wei t'u ti chi* 魏土地記 as saying 'that the city of An-yang is 40 *li* south of the city of Yeh; and to the north of the city [of An-yang] is the River Huan which flows eastward'. The passages agree in locating Yin-hsü south of the River Huan. Hence Wu I's move was to this place.

"If we except the errors in the *Chêng i* commentary that An-yang is to be identified with P'an Kêng's capital, and that the Yin-hsü of An-yang is to be identified with Pei-chung (Mr. Hsü [Wén-ching]<sup>5</sup> in his *Notes on the Bamboo Annals* 竹書紀年統箋 has already corrected them), all the explanations agree that there was a Yin-hsü south of the Huan River. According to a statement in the *Topography of Chang-tê Fu*, south-west of An-yang Hsien is the city of Ho Tan Chia 河亶甲, and this Yin-hsü is identified with Ho Tan Chia. Now, Ho Tan Chia lived in Hsiang 相. The place lay south-east of the present-day Nei-huang Hsien 內黃縣, and it was not the present-day An-yang. But the site from which the tortoise shells and animal bones are being excavated is precisely the mound at Hsiao-t'un, 5 *li* west of the present-day An-yang, to the south of the Huan

<sup>1</sup> A geography of the seventh century, now lost.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *CC*, iii, Proleg., 135.

<sup>3</sup> The current text of the *Annals* has Pei-mêng 北蒙, and so had the ancient text as quoted in the tenth century, v. inf., p. 669.

<sup>4</sup> ix, 35 v<sup>c</sup>, seq.

<sup>5</sup> 徐文靖, of the eighteenth century.

River (which local folk call the An-yang River), in complete agreement with the foregoing data.

"So we know that Wu I's move was actually to this spot. In the topographies the identification of it with the city of Ho Tan Chia is erroneous. As for the statement in the *Bamboo Annals* that Wu I in the fifteenth year of his reign moved to Mei and the statement in the *Ti wang shih chi* that Ti I moved to Mei, the two are inconsistent. If we look for names of sovereigns appearing among the oracular sentences, we find that they go as far as Wu I, and then cease.<sup>1</sup> From that we gather that the move to Mei must have occurred at the time of Ti I. The *Bamboo Annals* are in error and the account in the [*Ti wang*] *shih chi* expresses the truth."

To be thorough, this inquiry should involve a comparison of all references to Shang-Yin capitals in ancient texts, and an estimate of the authenticity of each. Limitation of space forbids such an attempt here,<sup>2</sup> and I merely add a note on information derived from chapter 83 of the *T'ai p'ing yü lan* 太平御覽, an encyclopedia of excerpts from many sources, which was compiled by Li Fang 李昉 and others towards the end of the tenth century. The data are set forth by Wang Kuo-wei in a study<sup>3</sup> of alleged quotations from the *Bamboo Annals* to be found in various ancient books prior to the loss of the original text.

From the second to the eighth sovereigns, each, except the fourth, is stated to have dwelt at Po. The tenth is said to have moved from Po to Ao 魏, to be identified with the place-name which is written differently in the *Shih chi* (v. sup., p. 662), and is misprinted Yin 魏 in the text of the *T'ai p'ing yü lan*.

<sup>1</sup> This is incorrect. The last name to appear is Wén Wu Ting, as Lo himself notes, and he identifies it with the twenty-eighth sovereign, son of Wu I. v. *KS*, i, 4 v<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> v. Tung Tso-pin in a valuable article, *History of the Yin-hsü Site 般墟沿革* in *ASB*, ii, 224-240.

<sup>3</sup> Entitled 古本竹書紀年輯校 in the third series of his collected works *Hai-ning Wang Chung-ch'io Kung i shu* 海甯王忠慤公遺書 (1928). The study was begun by Chu Yu-ts'eng 朱右曾 and completed by Wang Kuo-wei.

Probably it lay a short distance north-west of Jung-tsê. The eleventh sovereign remained at Ao, and his successor moved to Hsiang 相. The thirteenth sovereign lived at Pi 庇, the locality of which is doubtful. Nothing is recorded concerning the capital of his successor; but the next two sovereigns are said to have remained at Pi. The seventeenth sovereign is said to have moved from Pi to Yen 奄, which may have been in the region of the later State of that name, east of Ch'ü-fu 曲阜 in Shan-tung. His successor remained at Yen; and the nineteenth sovereign moved thence "to Pei-mêng 北蒙, which is called Yin 殷".<sup>1</sup> The remaining sovereigns, except the twenty-second and twenty-eighth, are specifically stated to have dwelt in Yin. A significant entry is made relating to the third year of the twenty-eighth sovereign's reign. It says: "The Huan River thrice ceased to flow in one day." This suggests the proximity of the capital to the River.

A summary of the subject, together with a discussion of chronology, is given at the end of this article.

#### THE SOVEREIGNS

In the table below the generations are indicated with letters of the alphabet and the order of succession with serial numbers. The third column gives the names of sovereigns as generally accepted. Beside these, within square brackets, are equated names which are found among the An-yang inscriptions. Relationships established by the inscriptions are also printed within square brackets; the others are given in accordance with the third and thirteenth chapters of the *Shih chi* and the twentieth chapter<sup>2</sup> of the *Ch'ien Han shu*, and in the case

<sup>1</sup> K'ung Ying-ta's commentary on the P'an Kêng chapters in the *Book of History* is quoted to the effect that "Yin is 30 li to the south of Yeh". The same remark is quoted from Ssu-ma Chêng's 司馬貞 commentary on the Hsiang Yü chapter in the *Shih chi*. On the other hand, the latter's contemporary, Chang Shou-chieh, in his commentary on the *Yin Annals* in the *Shih chi*, gives the distance as 40 li, as quoted above on p. 667.

<sup>2</sup> Entitled *Ku chin jen piao* 古今人表.

of No. 7, where these differ, the version given is the one in harmony with the inscriptions. While compiling this table I have consulted Wang Kuo-wei's list which is included in the ninth chapter of the first section of the first series of his collected works. Other data are derived chiefly from Lo Chén-yü in *KS*, i, 1-8; L. C. Hopkins in *Sovereigns of the Shang Dynasty, JRAS*, 1917, 69-89; and Tung Tso-pin in *PREA*, i, 183-213. Note should be made that the reason why the second on the list is not given an independent serial number is that, according to tradition, he died before his father, and therefore did not ascend the throne.

- A. 1. T'ang 湯. [Ta I 大乙; T'ang 唐.]
- B. 1a. Ta Ting 大丁. [Same. Son of 1.]
- B. 2. Wai Ping 外丙. [Pu Ping 卜丙.] Younger brother of 1a.
- B. 3. Chung Jên 中壬. Younger brother of 2.
- C. 4. Ta Chia 大甲. [Same. Son of 1a.]
- C. 5. Wu Ting 沃丁. Son of 4.
- D. 6. Ta Kéng 大庚. [Same. Son of 4.]
- D. 7. Hsiao Chia 小甲. [Same.] Younger brother of 6.
- D. 8. Yung Chi 雍己. Younger brother of 7.
- E. 9. Ta Mou 大戊. [Same. Son of 6.]
- F. 10. Chung Ting 中丁. [Same. Son of 9.]
- F. 11. Wai Jên 外壬. [Pu Jên 卜壬.] Younger brother of 10.
- F. 12. Ho Tan Chia 河亶甲. [? Ti Chia 帝甲.] Younger brother of 11.
- G. 13. Tsu I 祖乙. [Same. Son of 10.]
- H. 14. Tsu Hsin 祖辛. [Same. Son of 13.]
- H. 15. Wu Chia 沃甲. Younger brother of 14.
- I. 16. Tsu Ting 祖丁. [Same. Son of 14.]
- I. 17. Nan Kéng 南庚. [Same.] Son of 15.
- J. 18. Yang Chia 陽甲. [Ch'iang Chia 羌甲. Son of 16.]
- J. 19. P'an Kéng 盤庚. [P'an Kéng 盘庚.] Younger brother of 18.]
- J. 20. Hsiao Hsin 小辛. [Same. Younger brother of 19.]
- J. 21. Hsiao I 小乙. [Same and Hsiao Tsu I 小祖乙. Younger brother of 20.]
- K. 22. Wu Ting 武丁. [Same. Son of 21.]
- L. 23. Tsu Kéng 祖庚. [Same. Son of 22.]

- L. 24. Tsu Chia 祖甲. [Same. Younger brother of 23.]  
 ? 25. Lin Hsin 麗辛. ? Son of 24.  
 M. 26. Kêng Ting 庚丁. [K'ang Ting 康丁 and K'ang  
     Tsu Ting 康祖丁. Son of 24.]  
 N. 27. Wu I 武乙. [Same and Wu Tsu I 武祖乙. Son  
     of 26.]  
 O. 28. Ta Ting 大丁 and Wêng Ting 文丁. [Wêng Ting  
     文丁 and Wêng Wu Ting 文武丁.] Son of 27.  
 P. 29. Ti I 帝乙. Son of 28.  
 Q. 30. Ti Hsin 帝辛. Son of 29.

From the above it will be gathered that the inscriptions seem to lack only eight of the traditional names of sovereigns, viz. Nos. 3, 5, 8, 12, 15, 25, 29, and 30. The fact that the last two are missing is explainable on the assumption that the great flood, which probably destroyed the city and caused abandonment of the site, occurred during the reign of the twenty-ninth sovereign. Perhaps No. 12 may be equated with the name Ti Chia 帝甲 which is present.<sup>1</sup> Absence of the other five may be more apparent than real; for the inscriptions contain several names which still await identification, e.g. Tsu Ping 祖丙, Tsu Mou 祖戊, Hsiao Ting 小丁, Chung Chi 中己, and Nan Jên 南壬. We are enabled to correct some traditional names which in the light of the finds may be recognized as mistaken readings of certain characters. As regards No. 1, the T'ien I 天乙 of the *Shih chi* should be Ta I 大乙; the Wai of Nos. 2 and 11 should be Pu; and the Kêng of No. 26 should be K'ang. The original modes of writings Nos. 18 and 19 are also disclosed.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to the *Shih chi*, iii, 20 v<sup>o</sup>, this was a name of No. 24. The words are: "Tsu Chia ascended the throne, and he was Ti Chia." In *Shih chi*, xiii, 4 v<sup>o</sup>, the twenty-fourth Sovereign is called only Ti Chia. But Lo Chén-yü correlates the Ti Chia of the An-yang finds with No. 12 (or possibly No. 13), because the context of one inscription, in which the name occurs, indicates that this Ti Chia reigned before No. 16. v. *KS*, 5 r<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Though the pronunciation of 羌 or 羊 in ancient Chinese was like the Mandarin *ch'iang* (v. Karlgren's *Dict.*, No. 354), it must have been like *yang* 陽 and 羊 in archaic times. In a number of the inscriptions 羌 plainly serves as a "borrowing" (*chia chieh*) for "sheep" 羊. The latter

## THE FINDS

By far the most important are the inscribed fragments of tortoise shells and bones. Indeed, the chief aim of the recent Chinese expedition was to enlarge the fund of these remains of royal archives, as they may reasonably be termed. They reveal the conditions of civilization under the Shang-Yin dynasty, in respect of which there was formerly little authentic information; for the historical substance of written tradition is almost confined to the succession of sovereigns and the vague and contradictory accounts of changes of capital. As criteria for study of the script, the inscriptions are of prime value.

An antique dealer, named Fan Wei-ch'ing 范維卿, of Wei Hsien 濰縣 in Shan-tung, may have been the first to grasp the antiquarian value of the inscribed tortoise shells and bones. In 1899 he bought at Hsiao-t'un some which had come from the river bank to the north of the village, and he is said to have offered them to the famous collector Tuan Fang 端方.<sup>1</sup> The introduction of the inscriptions to the learned world is, however, generally ascribed to Wang I-jung 王懿焚, a Grand Secretary and Libationer of the Han-lin, who recognized the archaic legends on certain "dragon-bones", obtained the same year at a medicine shop in Peking. Prior to that, it is said, many fragments had been bought by druggists from the peasants of Hsiao-t'un, who had generally scraped off the inscriptions in order to render the bones more saleable. On the entry in 1900 of the foreign troops into the capital, when almost all the high officials had fled, the Grand Secretary committed suicide, together with his wife and

is the reading given by Lo Ch'en-yü for the character in the An-yang inscriptions; but Tung Tso-pin reads 炙 (v. PREA, ii, 331-3; iii, 425), and so does Takata Tadasuke 高田忠周 in *Ku chou p'ien* 古籀篇, lxxxix, 21, 22. Hopkins now accepts this view.

<sup>1</sup> v. Tung Tso-pin, *A Chronological Table concerning the Oracle Tortoise Shells and Bones* 甲骨年表 in ASB, ii, 241-260.

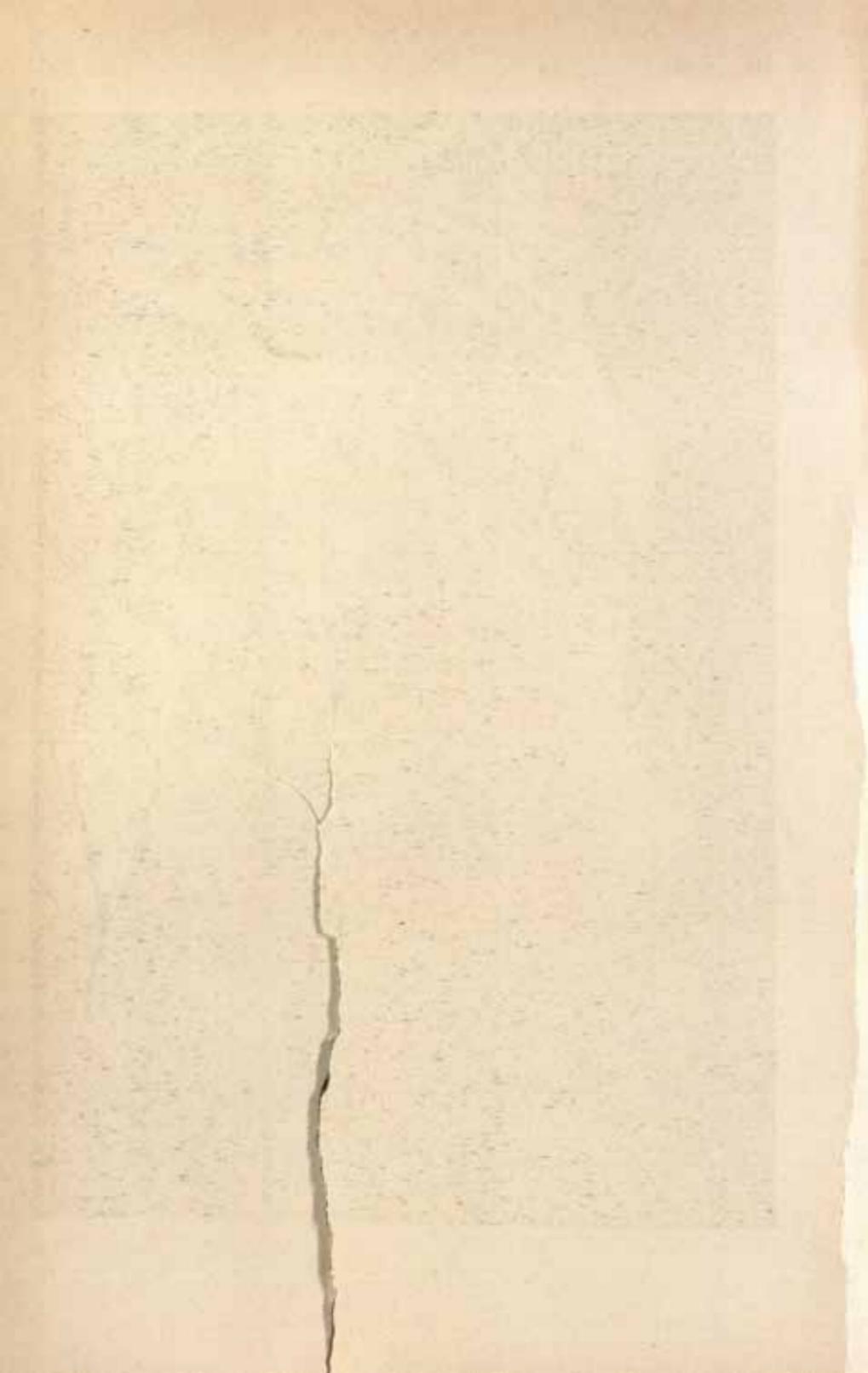


CARVED ANTLER IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. HEIGHT 11 INCHES.



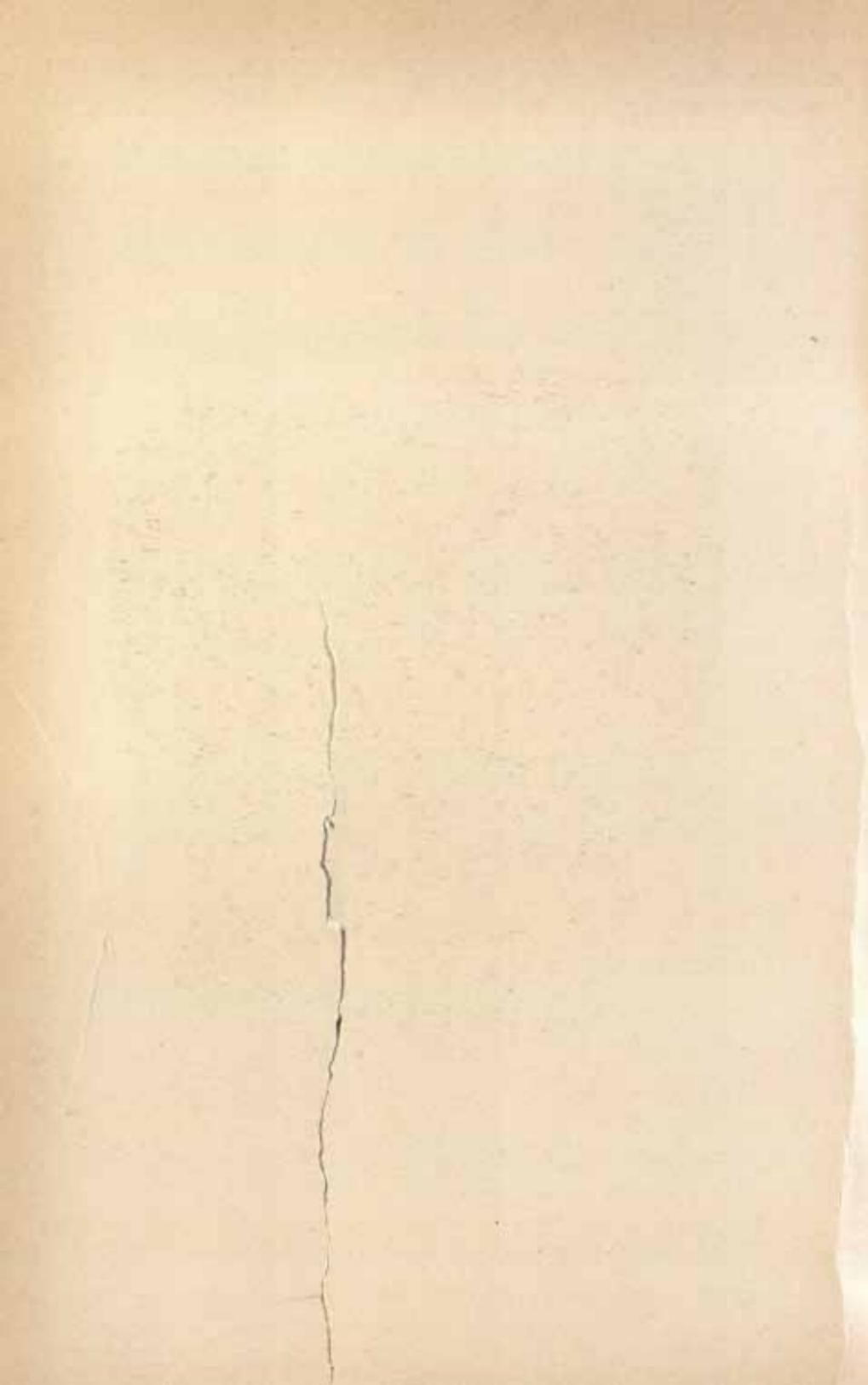


ANOTHER VIEW OF THE ANTLER ON PLATE VI.





ANOTHER VIEW OF THE ANTLER ON PLATE VI.





POT, WITH GLAZED ZONE, RECONSTRUCTED BY DR. LI CHI FROM  
FRAGMENTS FOUND AT AN-YANG.



daughter-in-law. But for his untimely end, he would probably have been the earliest exponent. Wang I-jung's collection was sold by his son to Liu O 劉鶴 (styled T'ieh-yün 鐵雲) who with this as a nucleus got together some 5,000 fragments. In 1903 he published photolithographed reproductions of inked-squeezes taken from 1,000 chosen pieces. Two years ago another edition of this pioneer work appeared under the title *T'ieh-yün ts'ang kuei shih wén* 鐵雲藏龜釋文. It contains decipherments and notes added by Pao Ting 鮑鼎, and a supplement with preface by Lo Chén-yü. The first to explain the inscriptions was Sun I-jang 孫詒讓 in his *Ch'i wén chü li* 契文舉例, written in 1904. Since then the literature of this subject has grown rapidly. Some seventy items are named by Ch'en Chun 陳準 in a recent issue of the journal *T'u shu kuan hsüeh chi k'an* 圖書館學季刊, vi, No. 1. The latest to appear is a catalogue by Shang Ch'êng-ts'ui 商承祚 of thirty-seven fragments in Dr. J. C. Ferguson's collection, entitled 福氏所藏甲骨文字, as a monograph published by Nanking University this year. Most prominent among the Chinese writers are Wang Kuo-wei and Lo Chén-yü. F. H. Chalfant with his *Early Chinese Writing* in 1906 was the first Western writer to treat the subject, and he has been followed by L. C. Hopkins with a long series of valuable articles contributed chiefly to this Journal. Copies of inscriptions on 2,369 fragments were published by J. M. Menzies in the book previously mentioned (p. 658). These and other fragments to the number of "nearly fifty thousand", while stored in the owner's house, were in 1928 destroyed by Chinese soldiers. Though the literature is large, the published examples are but a fraction of those known to exist. The total in various collections exceeds 100,000 fragments, and this must be far short of the number recovered from the site since 1898. Many uninscribed bones are among the finds, and the cutting of imitation archaic inscriptions on these and other old bones has been and still is a flourishing

industry in the neighbourhood of An-yang. Mention should be made here of a comparatively small group of carved and inscribed bone objects which do not figure in the Chinese works. The shapes are various: alligators, cowries, fishes in couples (generally combined with one or two angular sonorous stones), bells, swords, flat discs like the *pi* 璧, a *pi* combined with the tablet *kuei* 圭,<sup>1</sup> and a tortoise combined with a disc or a sonorous stone. Most of them were acquired by Chalfant from a Wei Hsien dealer about 1910, and a number afterwards passed into the Hopkins Collection. The provenance remained mysterious, beyond a vague report that they were all found together in one receptacle. The An-yang site was not specified, though that was assumed to have been the place of origin owing to resemblances of the script with that on authentic An-yang finds. After many years of study, Mr. Hopkins tells me that he still and even more confidently adheres to his opinion that they are genuinely archaic, and he is now inclined to assign them to the early Chou period. The presence of miniature representations of the angular sonorous stone (*ch'ing* 磬) might be taken as support for this attribution; for the sonorous stones found at the An-yang site are of a different shape (v. inf., p. 679).

To attempt an account of the purport of the inscriptions would be beyond the scope of this article.<sup>2</sup> Suffice it to say that most are oracular sentences recording the questions addressed to, and sometimes the replies received from, dead ancestors. The subjects are varied: sacrificial rites, journeys, hunting, wars, harvests, weather forecasts, and genealogical

<sup>1</sup> Alligators and a *kuei-pi* are pictured in two articles by Hopkins in *JRAS*, 1913. These are declared by Pelliot to be fakes, *T'oung Pao*, xxii (1923), 7. Other of these "miniatures" appear in *JRAS*, 1911, pl. v B, following p. 1034, and in *Catalogue of a Collection of Objects of Chinese Art*, London (Burlington Fine Arts Club): 1915, pl. 55.

<sup>2</sup> The subject is treated by many Chinese and Japanese authors, and in English by Hopkins, of whose writings I have given a list in the *George Eumorfopoulos Collection Catalogue of the Chinese and Corean Bronzes*, etc., i, 73, 74. See especially the articles in *JRAS*, 1915, 49-61, 289-303, and *New China Review*, i (1919), 111-119, 249-261.

tables. One gathers that the living unceasingly communicated with their ancestors in order to obtain guidance concerning matters of everyday life. The dynastic ancestors are termed "royal guests" 王賓, and this fact enables us to understand a passage in the *Book of History* which had puzzled commentators.<sup>1</sup>

The technique of the scorching process was briefly as follows.<sup>2</sup> Cavities were cut or drilled on one face of a tortoise plastron or of a flat bone so deeply as nearly to pierce the other face. If drilled, the cavity was round; but less than 20 per cent were so treated. The majority had cut cavities of lentoid shape and about half an inch in length. A small proportion, and they were the thicker bones, had two superimposed cavities, one cut in lentoid shape being below a round one. When the oracle was to be taken, a glowing stick or red-hot metal rod was placed for a brief space of time in a cavity, with the result that cracks appeared on the other surface. Corresponding to the lentoid cavity, there was generally one longer crack, and one or more lateral cracks branched from it. Black or red pigment was rubbed into the cracks in order to render them more visible. The answer to the query, or the oracular response, was read from the manner of the cracks. Up to this point, the procedure is alluded to in a number of classical texts, the meaning of which becomes clear now that we have the actual arcana to examine. But none of these writings mentions what to us is of chief interest—the stage when the diviners inscribed against a scorched area the query addressed to the spirits of the dead and, sometimes, their answer conveyed through the medium of the respective cracks. We know from observation that each plastron or bone was often used for as many divinatory

<sup>1</sup> v. *CC*, iii, 452.

<sup>2</sup> v. Chavannes, *La divination par l'écaille de tortue dans la haute antiquité chinoise* in *Jour. Asiatique*, Jan.-Feb., 1911, 127-137, and Jung Chao-tsu 容肇祖, *Evolution of Divination* 占卜的源流 in *ASB*, i (1928), 47-87.

pronouncements as there was room for cavities. But the fact should be mentioned that often the queries were not inscribed alongside the scorched area. Perhaps they were noted on other bones. The tortoise shells seem to have been scarce, because on some the first inscriptions appear to have been obliterated and the shells made to serve for another series of divinations. Tung Tso-pin believes that tortoise shells were primarily used, and bones were resorted to only when the supply of the former failed.<sup>1</sup> A written account states that the shells were buried after they could be no longer utilized, because they were regarded as sacred objects to be treated with reverence.<sup>2</sup> A point to remark is that the duty of interpreting messages conveyed by the cracks must have rendered the diviners a privileged and powerful class, and the question of spiritualistic mediumship is one to be considered. Variations in the cracks are limited; Lo Chén-yü recognizes fifteen.<sup>3</sup>

The recent expedition was fortunate in finding four almost complete plastrons, or ventral parts of the shell of the tortoise, and from the inscriptions on these Tung Tso-pin traces the customary sequence of procedure.<sup>4</sup> The dates suggest that a single plastron (which was the only part used for divination) may have been in use for eight months with varying intervals. There was also the practice of consulting the oracle regularly every ten days with regard to the following week. The days were reckoned in cycles of 60 and 10, and the latter is what I mean by "week". Dates were written with the day first, next the month, and last the reign year.<sup>5</sup> This is a criterion when estimating the period of a bronze inscribed with a date.

With the inscribed bones and tortoise shells may be classed the carved fragments of ivory. Numerous pieces have been found, and few among the chief public and private collections

<sup>1</sup> PREA, i, 208.

<sup>2</sup> v. Legge, *The Li Ki, Sacred Books of the East*, xxvii, 92.

<sup>3</sup> KS, iii, 65 r<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> PREA, iii, 423-441.

<sup>5</sup> v. Tung Tso-pin in PREA, iii, 481-522.

of Chinese antiquities lack specimens. These bear the same decorative motives which are found on archaic bronzes, and naturally the question arises whether the ivory carvings may be assigned beyond doubt to the Shang-Yin period and so serve as criteria for an estimate of early Chinese art and the dating of bronzes in particular. The solution of this problem comes from a carved antler in the British Museum which seems to have been somewhat neglected by writers on the subject.<sup>1</sup> As may be observed from the accompanying plates VI, VII and VIII), the natural shape of the antler appears to have been utilized to represent the horned head of a dragon, the base being carved to simulate open jaws with fangs. Two bosses provide the eyes, and between them is a lozenge-shaped protuberance. The surface is carved in low relief with a number of motives : the cicada, *k'uei* 蟬 dragon, serpent, and the "cloud and thunder pattern" filling the interstices. All these commonly appear on archaic bronzes, and, indeed, it would be an anachronism to describe the whole work as a "dragon's head", if so it were identified with the horned, four-legged dragon which seems to have been a later conception.<sup>2</sup> An alternative explanation depends on the origin and meaning of the so-called *t'ao-t'ieh* 鬼饕 mask—a large problem which cannot be discussed here. Present are elements of the *t'ao-t'ieh*, which, as hardly need be remarked, provided the main motive for the decoration of most archaic bronzes. Note the characteristic eyebrows which

<sup>1</sup> Little attention has been paid to it since it was described by L. C. Hopkins and R. L. Hobson in *Man*, xii (1912), 49–52, under the title *A Royal Relic of Ancient China*.

<sup>2</sup> There are, however, criteria which might be taken as evidence that a dragon with horns existed in the animal art of the Shang-Yin period. For instance, the head of a creature with open jaws, carved in ivory or bone, appears to have the same sort of short horns, with rounded tips, as the British Museum piece. It belongs to the Crown Prince of Sweden, and it is represented by Sirén, *A History of Early Chinese Art* (London, 1929), i, pl. 12. Many bronzes have this type of creature which has one leg, and is named "k'uei dragon" in the early catalogues; but often it lacks horns.

are displaced inwards over the lozenge-shaped protuberance, owing to the position of the antler points. In short, while the so-called *k'uei* dragon seems a more plausible description, the traditional *t'ao-t'ieh* should not be excluded, though that would entail an explanation of the unusual presence of a lower jaw. A note should be made that this antler is evidently one of the kind which Lo Chén-yü mentions in his diary<sup>1</sup> as belonging to an extinct species and having been found in plenty at the An-yang site. They had a circular excrescence at their base, and the villagers called them "dragon horns".

Similar ornament appears on pieces of carved ivory and bone; but the antler is of prime importance because it also has what is evidently a contemporary inscription in the script of the Shang-Yin archives. It is incised upon the shaft, which has been cut square, and it comprises fifty-six characters constituting a genealogical tree, as described by Hopkins in *Man*. A duplicate of the list, exact except for the omission of the two first characters, is incised upon a shoulder-blade in the British Museum.<sup>2</sup> The presence of such genealogical lists among the An-yang inscriptions is traceable to the need for a record of ancestors in their correct sequence so that sacrificial rites might be duly performed.

The finds include a large number of bones besides those used for divination purposes. Bones of the elephant,<sup>3</sup> tiger,

<sup>1</sup> *Wu shih jih mēng hén lu*, 21 r<sup>2</sup>. Probably Père David's "tailed deer", *Cervus (elaphurus) davidianus*, which in recent years has survived solely in the Duke of Bedford's herd at Woburn Park, now numbering about 200 head. Allusions in classical literature to the *mi* 麋 prove that in ancient times it was plentiful in the marshes around the lower stretches of the Yellow River. v. Möllendorff, *The Vertebrates of the Province of Chihli* in *Jour. North China Br. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, 1877, 68-75.

<sup>2</sup> Reproduced in fig. 4 of an article by A. Bernhardi, *Frühgeschichtliche Grakelknochen aus China*, in *Baessler-Archiv*, iv (1913-14), 14-18. The author stigmatizes it as counterfeit, which Hopkins denies in *JRAS*, 1913, 906. Another example is on a shoulder-blade in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, which is reproduced in fig. 11 of Bernhardi's article.

<sup>3</sup> If not actually indigenous to that part of China in those times, the elephant seems to have been well-known. v. Hsü Chung-shu 徐中舒,

bear, deer, ox, sheep, goat, pig, and dog have been recognized. On one bone was found an inscription which has occasioned a long and elaborate inquiry by Tung Tso-pin into the problem of the unicorn or *lin* 麟.<sup>1</sup> Communication with the coast is proved by the presence of cowries, whale bones, and many salt water shells, including the large bivalves, previously mentioned.

Among the stone objects the sonorous stones 石磬 of triangular shape, like that of the ancient ploughshare, should be mentioned. Lo Chén-yü remarks that these differ from the angular kind used under the Chou.<sup>2</sup> Much interest has been aroused in the lower part of a human figure, about 8½ inches high, which was found by the recent expedition.<sup>3</sup> It is in a sitting posture with the thighs against the abdomen, the knees fully flexed and the two arms grasping the legs. The surface is covered with incised spiral patterns, and these have been explained as representing tattooed ornament. Cut into the back is a wide vertical groove, into which a pole may have fitted; and perhaps the figure was made for some architectural purpose. Many stone implements of neolithic type were also found.

Recovery of bronzes from An-yang began at least as early as the Sung period, as may be seen from entries in the earliest extant catalogue of bronzes.<sup>4</sup> The site was at that time wrongly identified with Ho Tan Chia, the twelfth Shang-Yin sovereign. None can tell how many pieces it has yielded to treasure seekers during the last nine centuries or longer.

*Domestication of Elephants by the Yin and the Migration of Elephants to the South* 般人服象及象之南遷 in *ASB*, ii, pt. i, 60-75. According to the tradition cited by Mencius, certain Shang-Yin sovereigns had parks in which wild animals were kept. v. *CC*, ii, 280-1.

<sup>1</sup> *PREA*, ii, 287-335.

<sup>2</sup> *Wu shih jih mēng hēn lu*, 21. Five examples are pictured in *Yin-hsü ku ch'i wu t'u lu* 般虛古器物圖錄 (1916), 7-11.

<sup>3</sup> v. Li Chi's article and the photographs opposite p. 250 in *PREA*, ii.

<sup>4</sup> *K'ao ku t'u* 考古圖, iv, 45; v, 12, by Lü Ta-lin 呂大臨, whose preface is dated A.D. 1092.

Recently, when attention has been centred on the place, the bronze finds have been numerous, and most of the large collections contain examples—fragments of ritual vessels, weapons, tools, etc. The decorative designs on them and on the ivory and bone carvings are similar. Some of these objects are evidently *ming ch'i* 明器 or things made specially for burial with the dead. An important fact is the presence of moulds, lumps of metal and charcoal which prove that casting was practised on the spot.<sup>1</sup>

A full description of the pottery has not yet been published, and perplexing problems of stratification render the dating a most difficult task. There seem to be three main categories. First there is a coarse grey ware modelled by hand and often decorated chiefly with mat or cord imprints. This includes supposed prototypes of various bronze classes.<sup>2</sup> Apparently evidence of direct continuity with the neolithic finds of Andersson is lacking, though a solitary painted sherd of the Yang-shao 仰韶 type was found.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, a black ware with simple incised designs is to be noted. Some specimens are thin and glossy. The third category has claimed most attention. It is a fine white ware carved with designs similar to those on the antler previously described and on archaic bronzes. Many fragments came into the hands of collectors before the recent expedition proved beyond doubt that the provenance was the An-yang site. Hamada Kōsaku 濱田

<sup>1</sup> Li Chi, *PREA*, ii, 240-9. Reference should also be made to an article contributed by this author to the *Volume of Essays in Honour of Mr. Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei on attaining the Age of Sixty-five* 蔡元培先生六十五歲慶祝論文集, Pei-p'ing: 1932, pp. 73-104. It is entitled *Five Kinds of Bronze Implements from Yin-hsü and Problems of their Analogues* 般虛銅器五種及其相關之問題. Those treated are (1) Arrow-heads 矢鏃; (2) "Hooked weapons" 句兵; (3) Spears 矛; (4) Erasing knives 刀與削; (5) Celts 斧與鉤.

<sup>2</sup> v. Li Chi, *PREA*, iii, 447-480, and a short article by Hopkins and Yetta in *JRAS*, 1933, 107-113.

<sup>3</sup> v. Li Chi, *PREA*, ii, 337-347.

耕作<sup>1</sup> advances the theory that this carved white pottery was a superior grade made for the rich and great on the analogy of Wide's theory to account for the two styles of Mycenaean pottery, and this seems to be a reasonable conjecture. Another theory, that it served as patterns for the casting of bronze vessels, might also be reasonable if there were evidence to support it. So far as I know, no bronze has yet been found to show the distinctive surface quality of this carved pottery. Had it functioned in the *cire perdue* process, the resultant casting would have been an exact replica, unless, of course, the wax model had been tooled after being moulded.

Following an announcement<sup>2</sup> that glazed Shang-Yin pottery was among the An-yang finds, I wrote to Dr. Li for further information. He most obligingly sent me some particulars together with a specimen. His letter contains this passage : " You will observe that it is a kind of hard baked shard with a thin cover, that was evidently intentionally applied and often with very shiny appearance. At first it was thought it might be a kind of ' salt glaze ', but recent analysis shows that this is very doubtful. In most cases this thin cover has been entirely worn out." In reply to another letter asking for details of evidence connecting the glazed ware with the Shang-Yin period, Dr. Li was kind enough to send the following information on 7th January, 1933 :—

" Now come to the specific questions regarding the fragment of the pottery I sent to you for examination. There are two features in the circumstances of discovery of such pottery fragments which prove beyond doubt that they must have been contemporaneous with the oracle bones. Firstly it is only in the intact cultural stratum of the oracle bone deposit that such shards have been found, and in one case, one complete pot can be restored (of which I am sending you a picture) from fragments

<sup>1</sup> In Kokka 國華, No. 397 (1921), and *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 1 (1926), 46, 47.

<sup>2</sup> By H. J. Timperley in *North-China Sunday News*, 26th July, 1931, and later by Li Chi in *Symposium on Chinese Culture* (1932), 224, 225.

found in such stratum. The second feature is even more assuring. Lately we have discovered an extensive distribution of the 'stamped earth' (版築) which proves to be the house foundations of the Shang Dynasty. Under such foundations pits of circular and rectangular shape have been observed. In these pits, pot shards of this particular type have been found.

"As to whether the 'glaze' was applied intentionally the picture I sent to you will clearly show. In general the upper margin of this 'glaze' is always even and there are evident traces showing the use of brush. So if it is glaze at all, it must have been applied intentionally."

Sir Herbert Jackson and Mr. J. H. Cooke have kindly tested the specimen fragment, and a summary of their results is as follows. Portions were heated to 1000, 1100, 1200, and 1350 degrees Centigrade, without apparent change in hardness until the last temperature was reached. Sections of portions at the three lower temperatures showed a slight reddening. At 1350° the colour became light grey and the substance harder. By naked eye and microscope the body is seen to be poorly mixed, there being marked reddish brown streaks in the buff body, and particles of quartz, varying much in size, are present. The glaze is of a felspathic nature, standing a high temperature and not becoming absorbed into the body to any marked extent at 1200°. The ware approaches the proto-porcellanous type, and it emits a slight ring on percussion.

One may add that the pot appears to have been turned on the wheel. The precision of the shaping and the presence of exactly parallel scores leave little room for doubt. The colour of the glaze is not apparent where it is thin, but where thick it has a yellowish green tinge. It was evidently confined to a zone on the shoulder of the pot, where two encircling ridges, roughly rectangular in section and half an inch apart, are applied as decoration. The flat edges of these ridges are scored obliquely, and one-eighth of an inch under the lower ridge is a zone of three parallel incised lines. This restriction of the glaze to a decorated zone round the shoulder may be

observed again on the reconstructed pot, a photograph of which Dr. Li has been good enough to contribute (Plate IX).

There is no space to discuss the human remains, nor have full anthropological details yet been published. Three burials face-downwards are reported and also a red burial.<sup>1</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

There can be no doubt that a Shang-Yin capital stood on the site of the An-yang finds; but its duration is uncertain. It must have lasted until the twenty-ninth sovereign's reign, if not longer; for the name of his predecessor appears in the oracular sentences. Moreover, the recent expedition found an inscription which is said to mention a Marquis of Chou 周侯,<sup>2</sup> though this interpretation seems to me questionable. An allusion such as that must have been to one of the three immediate ancestors of the first Chou emperor.<sup>3</sup> The beginning of the capital is more debatable. Though the evidence outlined in this article is conflicting, it clearly indicates the reigns of the nineteenth and twenty-seventh sovereigns as likely alternatives. Wang Kuo-wei inclines to the former, and Lo Chén-yü's acceptance of the latter reign appears to have received the support of most writers on inadequate grounds.

The traditional dates assigned to these two reigns cannot be accepted.<sup>4</sup> According to the chronology of the *Bamboo Annals* the nineteenth sovereign ascended the throne in 1315 B.C., and the twenty-seventh in 1159. Calculations made by Han scholars give 1401 B.C. and 1198 respectively. Let us start from the year 841 B.C. which the cautious historian Ssü-ma Ch'ien declares the earliest limit of exact chronology. Before that date, when the Regency period termed *kung-ho*

<sup>1</sup> v. Li Chi, *PREA*, iii, 447 seq.

<sup>2</sup> v. Tung Tso-pin, *PREA*, i, 165, fig. 277, and p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> The implication being that the inscription was probably written during the reign of the twenty-ninth sovereign, but certainly not earlier than that of the twenty-seventh.

<sup>4</sup> v. Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 46.

共和 began, ten Chou emperors reigned. Allowing an average of fifteen years to each reign, we arrive at 991 B.C. for the establishment of the dynasty. (The *Bamboo Annals* give 1050 B.C.) Still assuming the same average duration of a reign, which is probably too high an estimate, we find that the nineteenth Shang-Yin sovereign ascended the throne in 1161 B.C. and the twenty-seventh in 1051. If these results be checked by generations, allowing twenty-five years to a generation (perhaps also too high), we find on reference to the table (pp. 670-1) that the nineteenth sovereign ascended the throne in 1166 B.C. and the twenty-seventh in 1066. While making such calculations, a point to be remembered is that the sequence of the Shang-Yin sovereigns is almost the sole dependable tradition concerning the dynasty to be found in classical works. The first Chou emperor charged the Princes of Sung 宋 with the duty of maintaining sacrificial rites to their ancestors of the Shang-Yin dynasty, and the ruling House of Sung lasted until 286 B.C. It would have been but consistent with national custom if remnants of the family had continued to preserve intact the record of ancestral descent which was necessary for due observance of the rites. The evidence of the An-yang inscriptions supports this assumption and also in the main the traditional record of generations, though it proves that in several instances the names became miswritten.

In short, we may accept as approximate either the latter half of the twelfth century B.C. or the latter half of the eleventh as the time when the Shang-Yin capital was moved to the site near An-yang; and probably the site was abandoned about the end of the eleventh century. The vast accumulation of oracle archives can hardly be explained except by the surmise that some were carried thither when the new capital was established.

A crucial point is, of course, the extent to which the An-yang finds allow us to estimate early civilization in China. The time has long since passed when the state of knowledge led to discussions on Chinese culture prior to the Han as a homo-

geneous unit<sup>1</sup>; but the criteria are not yet enough to give us a general view of this complex problem. One may feel confident, however, in the surmise that the An-yang remains manifest a comparatively local product, and that they postulate a long development, to which the stage of script evolution and the technical excellence of the bronze casting chiefly testify. Also a safe conclusion is that the Chou accepted and carried on the tradition. Of special moment to ceramic enthusiasts is the reported use of glaze about a thousand years earlier than formerly recognized. This is but one of the many details awaiting fuller investigation in future accounts of discoveries made by the first Chinese scientific excavation. We hope that many more such expeditions will follow, and that Dr. Li Chi and others will continue their illuminating reports.

<sup>1</sup> v. Li Chi in *PREA*, ii, 337-347; Fu Seü-nien 傅斯年 in *PREA*, ii, 349-386; and Hsü Chung-shu in *PREA*, iii, 523-557.



## MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

### NOTE ON CERTAIN WORDS IN THE CHAHĀR MAQĀLA

In spite of Browne's excellent translation there are a few words in the Chahār Maqāla which are still obscure. Two or three such words, and a connected matter, I propose to consider here.

#### I

On p. 5 of the text (Gibb Mem. Series, vol. xii) Nizāmī mentions the following "products of the inorganic world":—

کوهها و کانها و ابر و برف و باران و رعد و برق و  
کواكب منقضیه و ذو الذوابه و نیازل و عصی و هباله و  
حریق و صاعقه و زلزله و عيون گوناگون چنانکه  
در آثار علوی این را شرحی بمقام خود داده شده است

In Browne's first translation he left a gap for عصی, and put a note at the foot of the page stating that he could not find out what the word meant; in his later rendering he did away with the gap and note and translated "meteors, thunderbolts". I have recently stumbled across a passage in another work which shows that نیازل و عصی are optical phenomena caused by the slanting rays of the setting (or rising) sun acting on a moisture laden atmosphere and producing the effect of lines in the sky. And حریق, which Browne translates "conflagrations", really means "spontaneous combustion".

The Chahār Maqāla was written about A.H. 550. Half a century earlier Sahmu'd-din bin Abi'l-Khayr wrote the Nuzhatnāma-i-'Alā'i, a quaint compendium of mediaeval scientific beliefs. On folio 131a of the Bodleian MS.

(Ouseley 362) the author discusses, or quotes a discussion of, certain phenomena, the list of which somewhat resembles Nizāmī's enumeration. They are:—

باران برف راهه شبتم رعد و برق بادها حریق  
 کواکب منقضه شموس و ذات الذوابیب نیازل و عصی  
 قوس و قمر هاله صاعقه زلزل چشمهای  
 جویها و رودها کوهها

And he explains نیازل و عصی as follows:—

هر گاه که برهوا بخاری باشد متوسط اندرو برودت و  
 حرارت و روی آن بخار صیقل بود و خورشید  
 بر آفاق بود و وضع آن بخار بران جلت بود که  
 چون بصر بد و پیوند و بر زاویه متساوی ازو منعکس  
 شود و بحیرم خورشید پیوند حس بصر آنرا سخت  
 ادرال کند از بهر آنکه آن بخار مظلم بود و حیرم خورشید  
 سخت روشن و چون ممزوج گرداند بصر را سرخی از  
 مرکب مدلک شود و شکل این بخارات که بصر ازو  
 منعکس شود و بخورشید پیوند یا بر صورت تیرها  
 خرد بود یا بر صورت عصاها و ازین سبب این نیازل  
 و عصی خوانند و برهان هندسی مقرر گشتست اندر

اختلاف المناظر که نشاید که صورت آن حمره مدور بود  
یا مثلث یا شکل دیگر الا اشكال نیاز ل و عصی

## II

Now Sahmu'd-din in his description of these phenomena is not making original observations, but is quoting an earlier work by a certain Khwāja Ḥakīm Abū Ḥātim Muẓaffar bin Ismā'il Isfizārī. The Nuzhatnāma is divided into *maqālas* or discourses, and the tenth *maqāla* (on folio 128a) begins thus :—

مقاله دهم اندر آثار علوی

كتابی یافتم که خواجه حکیم ابو حاتم مظفر بن اسماعیل اسفزاری . . . کرده بود اندر آثار علوی بغايت نیکوئی و اختصار و لفظ مبین همچنان نسخت کردم و تالیف خوش بدان آراسته گردانیدم و زیادت و تقصانی نرفت الا خطبه که نبشه نیامد آغاز کتاب حکیمان چنین گفته موجودات عالم که ایزد تعالی آفرید از دو گونه است الخ

TENTH DISCOURSE. ON THE INFLUENCES ABOVE.

I found a work written most excellently, concisely, and clearly, by Khwāja Ḥakīm Abū Ḥātim Muẓaffar bin Ismā'il Isfizārī . . . on *The Influences Above*. I copied it, and adorned my own work with it, without adding to it, or taking from it, except for not writing the address. Beginning of the book :— Philosophers have said that

worldly existences, which God Almighty has created, are of two kinds . . .

The copyist has written the word after Isfizārī without diacritical points, and I cannot read it; perhaps the copyist could not read it himself. I do not seem to know anything about the Khwāja, or his work. But from this passage, and from a comparison of the lists of phenomena given in it and in the Chahār Maqāla, it appears clear that Nizāmī had the Nuzhatnāma, or the original work of Khwāja Ḥakīm Abū Hātim, before him. And it is to this that he refers in the

چنانکه در آثار علوی این را شرحی بمقام خود :

words : داده شده است, "as has been noted in its proper place in the Āthār-i-'Ulviy (The Influences Above)."

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C. N. SEDDON.

#### ON VARDHAMĀNA AGAIN

I have already written too much on this word and must plead in excuse for reverting to it that the possibly decisive reference eluded me till after the appearance of the JOURNAL for April, 1932. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 639, describes the asterism Puṣya as *tritāraṁ vardhamānasamsthānam*. This asterism consists of the three stars,  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$  and  $\theta$  of Cancer, which form an obtuse-angled triangle with the obtuse angle uppermost. From this I infer that the chief characteristic of the shape of the *vardhamāna* was its possession of three points with the middle one highest. These points are to be seen in the figure I would identify with the shape and in the Jain jars of this name, while Burnouf's conjectural identification is excluded by this piece of evidence. In some forms of this shape the points are very marked, e.g. in the Burmese coins reproduced in Phayre's *Coins of Arakan, Pegu and Burma*, plates ii and v, where they are described as *triśūlas*, but are associated with Buddhist emblems.

159.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE MYTHOLOGY OF ALL RACES. Vol. V: Semitic. By S. H. LANGDON.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. xx + 454, ills. 102. Boston : Archaeological Institute of America, Marshall Jones Co. (London : Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press), 1931. 52s. 6d.

It is a matter for remark that a work on Semitic Mythology as a whole has never been written before. Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites* dealt with religion rather than with myth, and abstracted from Assyriology, which is the special subject of our present author ; and the scope of Lagrange's *Études sur les religions sémitiques* is indicated by the title. Professor Langdon will have the gratitude of all readers who appreciate the difficulty of his undertaking.

Chapter I, "Geographical and Linguistic Distribution of Semitic Races and Deities," is concerned with the Semitic gods in general, and the remainder of the work is mainly Assyriological. The long first chapter makes comparatively difficult reading, but a directive idea that gives it unity is that there are two principal sources of Semitic mythology : the Semitic religion of Arabia and the sumerianized Semitic of Babylonia that influenced the whole North Semitic territory—Aramaean, Canaanite, and even North Arabian. In the quest for Babylonian clues to North Semitic problems Professor Langdon does not fail to be instructive and stimulating. There are several new suggestions about Biblical matters : e.g. manna, and the Book of Yašer. Chapter ii, "The Sumero-Akkadian Pantheon," gives an interesting account of the difficult subject. Chapters iii to xi are devoted to the various Sumerian and Akkadian myths. Translations of noteworthy passages (many of which are to many readers hardly accessible elsewhere) alternate with summary and explanation. These chapters read pleasantly. First place is

given to the Legend of Etana (chapter iii), the text of which Professor Langdon has recently re-edited with the help of new material and joins. In the chapter on the Gilgames epic Assyriologists will find a new arrangement of fragments. The last chapter deals mainly with the demons of Babylonia ; also with their survival in certain folk-lores. It is a very interesting and original work on a subject that will attract most orientalists occupied with Western Asia. More's the pity that the price is so high.

As it would be impossible to attempt here an examination of everything in a work of this scope, I abstain from studying the many extensive translations from the mythological poems—the more willingly because Professor Langdon has an acquaintance with texts of this kind that can hardly be surpassed.

The first chapter is the one that provokes most discussion. The author would probably admit and give good reason for a certain "pan-Babylonian" tendency. Sometimes it goes rather far. A difficult problem is created by the tacit assumption that West Sem. *MLK* ought to be explained by *Malik* (title of Nergal in a god-list), which does not mean King. For *MKL* (of Palestine and Cyprus) is proposed the East Sem. vocalization *mukkil*, devourer. It is argued that West Sem. theophorous names composed with *ah*, brother, may be due to the influence of the Babylonian worship of Tamuz as the brother (sc. of Istar) (p. 7), or that of Enlil as brother of the earth-goddess (p. 12). In this connection M. Noth's studies of the *forms* of the Semitic names containing "brother" deserve notice. Most are nominal sentences—a form which was inherited from undivided North Semitic ; in West Semitic they have also the form noun + perfect, which suggests that names of this kind were still being created by West Semites after the separation of West from East Semitic ; on the other hand, brother-names of characteristically East Semitic form (like *Ahi-ālik-pāni*) are very rare (*ZDMG*, 1927, and *Die israel. Personennamen*,

66–75). Thus the specifically Eastern Semitic religion would have nothing to do with the origin of the names in question.

As name of the God of Israel Langdon uses Yāw. The implication is that the first יְהֹוָה of יְהֹוָה was (apparently to the end of the period covered by this book) merely *mater lectionis*: but note Delaporte, *Épig. aram.*, No. 47, דָנִיתָן transcribed *Ia-a-hu-u-na-tan-nu*, and the presumption is that some earlier instances of יְהֹוָה represent a similar pronunciation. It is suggested that the quadrilitteral יְהֹוָה was invented to carry the vowels of Adonai; a name Yahweh “never existed” (p. 43): but the existence of *Iaθε* among the Samaritans according to Theodoret (Migne, *Pat. Graec.*, 80, 244) deserves attention, to say nothing of the implications of Exodus (E), etc. Probably the expression of the argument could be so modified at these points as to leave valid the main thesis of an original Yāw. Personally I think that the extant evidence favours the originality of radical *h*. However, it is now reported that “Yaw” is found at Rās Šamra.

Of the divine name El, an extremely original theory is the following (65 ff.). El, probably old Semitic designation of the Sky-god, became for the West Semites a proper name of the Sun-god. The *ilāni* (*plur. maj*) of the Habiru was the Sun-god: so also El and Elohim of the Hebrews, who are equated to the Habiru. “In the late period” (42, cf. 66) the solar El/Elohim coalesced with Yāw, the Storm-god. The former was originally god of the Northern, the latter god of the Southern Israelites (5). This would be very important. But, firstly, the proof that El as a proper name regularly denoted the Sun-god seems to be meagre—principally the divine name *RKB'L* in the inscriptions of Zenjirli and the solar iconography of El of Byblos; and even this foundation seems shaky. That *RKB'L* denotes the Charioteer (or Chariot) of the Sun is probable, but that לֶבֶן is here the proper name of the Sun-god is not a strictly necessary deduction, and not a satisfactory one in view of the regular distinction between El and

Šamaš in the Hadad inscription. From this point of view it would be easier to see in El a survival of the old Semitic El plausibly supposed by Langdon to have been the heaven-god. As to Phoenician, El does not seem to me solar in the Rās Šamra mythology, but rather a Zeus or Kronos (these documents Professor Langdon was not yet able to use). Anyhow, the theory that for the Hebrews El or Elohim was a Sun-god distinct from Yāw is highly speculative until indications of this distinction can be shown in the Hebrew documents. On p. 70 five allusions to the divine wings (solar figure) are cited from the Old Testament : as Professor Langdon is careful to point out, two refer to Yāw, three to Elohim : and it may be added that two of these three come from Book II of the Psalms, which has been editorially elothesized.

Smaller matters in chapter i. P. 18, l. 27 : fifth, read twenty-fifth. Note 79 to p. 19, and index s.v. Orotalt : this name of the principal Nabatæan god in Herodotus explained as Walad-alat. Is allāt intended ? If so the explanation is a little more difficult. I might refer to a suggestion in *Journ. Soc. Orient. Res.*, 1927, 77, that final τ is dittographed from την following, and ΟΡΟΤΑΛ < OBOTĀΔ is Obodat, עבדת, which actually occurs (Obodas in an inscription and in Tertullian) as name of a principal Nabatæan god. P. 34 : it is probably incorrect to say that the teraphim were put in David's bed (probably לְבָב would be used, not לְבָב ) : rather the figures were put at the bedside to give the illusion of a rite for the sick (Barnes, *Journ. Theol. Stud.*, xxx, 178). Also the other details—the "net of the goat" at the place of the head—probably have a ritual character, which should be connected with Babylonian rites of healing (cf. e.g. this book, p. 356). P. 41 : חלְבָבָה (in the inscription of Panammu) = Aleppo, is new to me, and being *prima facie* very difficult seems to need a note. P. 44 : the name Ahi-ia-mi at Ta'annek proves the existence of a Canaanite Yāw : note recent arguments to the contrary—Driver, ZAW, N.F. 5, 7<sup>1</sup>; Noth, op. cit., 109 ; Gustav, *Die Personennamen . . . von Tell Ta'annek*,

41 (all in 1928). P. 51, "holy rocks": on the sense of *αὐβροσιε παιτρε* cf. Cook, *Schweich Lectures*, 1925, 161. Note 349 to p. 72: *ilāni*, cited from Harper's *Letters*, 301, 7 as example of plural of majesty, refers to Aššur and Marduk. P. 76: cult of Tamuz at Bethlehem in St. Jerome's day: rather two or three centuries before his day (probably extinct in the time of Origen).

In the other chapters it may be useful to refer to the following points. P. 107: supply reference to the last citation—*KAR*, 59, obv. 29 f., rev. 4 f. Note 57 to p. 108: Harper, 1194, 13 (not 3). P. 120, l. 12: misprint for *-nuntaē*. Note 150 to p. 140: *Oannes*. P. 152: probably ŠEŠ-KI is not the *original* ideogram of Nanna; rather ŠEŠ-NA (cf. suggestion of Deimel, *Lex.* s.v., based on Fara, now confirmed by texts from Ur). P. 160, 1: "top stage" of the ziggurrat of Ur; rather, temple on the top. P. 189: "sons of God," not actually in passage cited, is emendation of "stones of fire". P. 193, top: I am perplexed by the reading *Dilmun*: the sign looks like *gir*. P. 204, l. 19: western; or eastern<sup>1</sup>? P. 205: *Ardates* in one place of Polyhistor can hardly be used as a genuine witness to his name for the penultimate antediluvian king (and so equated to "Arad-gin"), for the Armenian of this excerpt from Polyhistor has Otiartes [< Opartes], and Polyhistor has Otiartes in another place according to all witnesses, and St. Cyril Alex. refers to Otiartes as penultimate king on the authority of Polyhistor. Note 14 to p. 210, Thompson [e] 43: read [d] 53. Note 13 to p. 340: Nerib near Aleppo (not Harran). P. 344, Habur [Subaru] identified with Eridu: note that in de Genouillac, *Tab. de Dréhem*, AO. 5482, the places are distinguished (same mistake by me in *Orient.* vii, 51; rectified *Orient.*, N.S., i, 235<sup>1</sup>, with a suggestion on the relation between

<sup>1</sup> The abode of the Deluge hero, in the Babylonian tradition, as in the Sumerian, may well be Tilmun, and therefore on the *eastern* sea: cf. its description in Gilg. Epic, x, with the passage about Tilmun in 2 R 60, 6-9c (see Ebeling, *Tod und Leben*, p. 10).

the two places). P. 345, l. 18, Faithful Lord of the Tree : or Lord of the Faithful Tree ? Note 16 to p. 357 : CT. 16, 12 (not 121).

At the beginning of the valuable chapter on Etana, "ILLAD (ildu ?), name in a king-list of Etana's son Balih, is explained as *ildu* "he who was born", with reference to the birth that was the object of Etana's adventure (thus pseudo-ideogram : see now Langdon, *Legend of Etana*, 35<sup>4</sup>). But in Shalmaneser Mon. 2, 79 (3 R. 8, 79) *nār ILLAD-A* represents *nār Ba-li-hi* of Shalmaneser Ob. 54 [KB. i, 132] (Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, 151 [where there is a slip in transcription]), and it is not so likely that ILLAD here is a pseudo-ideogram in the sense proposed. Perhaps more probably "ILLAD, which elsewhere is designation of a god of a fairly definite character, is a name characterizing Balih as a deified hero with a legend of his own : possibly as god of the *hunting-pack* (a probable meaning of ILLAD), a shepherd-hunter in the mountains, and hero of a legend in the valley of the Balih : cf. the allusions to the mountain way which characterize the scene of the legend of Etana, and the dogs regularly associated with Etana on seals.

Suggested connections between Semitic Mythology and Christianity are the following. The veiling of the Cross in Passiontide is derived from the Babylonian New Year Ritual (p. 160). But some research has been made on the history of the Christian rite—apparently a *medieval* and *western* development (from the curtain separating the people, as penitents during Lent, from the altar). P. 341 : the title "Our Lady" perhaps of Babylonian origin. But it seems to have come into use *about the twelfth century*, being popularized by St. Bernard, and due ultimately to the chivalric style of the troubadours. Much research would be necessary to trace the links with Babylon.

Babylonian mythology is much entangled with astronomy, and questions of uranography, which ramify into problems of extra-Babylonian cultures, are worth all the attention

that can be given them. In identification of the Babylonian constellations the author regularly follows Kugler, disregarding some rectifications that are widely accepted to-day : the *Swallow* is still Aquarius W. (instead of Pisces W.), and <sup>1</sup>APIN still Triangulum (instead of Cassiopeia). The implicit rejection of the identifications that appear to be most commonly accepted (e.g. in Weidner's well-known star-map, adopted both by Meissner, 1925, and Jeremias, 1929) may be disconcerting to non-astronomers (like myself), and one regrets that the learned author has not mentioned whatever reasons there may be. Again, note 48, p. 406—"the meaning 'rainbow' assigned to antiranna and marratu by many scholars is false"—would be valuable if reasons were given ; it would correct Kugler and (so far as I know) all the more recent authors, and presumably would add something important to the generally known indications. <sup>1</sup>DIL-GAN, ikū, is rendered *Canal Star* instead of *Field* or the like, which was the usual interpretation at the time of writing (*RA*, 1932, p. 24, which has now to be reckoned with, has further weakened the case for "Canal"). <sup>1</sup>Gula, the figure corresponding to that of our Aquarius, is taken to represent Anu, the sky-god. Something has gone wrong with the argument. The constellation is said (p. 96) to belong to the "Way of Anu". But this is not so : it is reckoned among the constellations of Ea : in fact this is one of the constellations of the Ea-group more particularly assigned to Ea (CT. 33, 3, 20). The note, explaining or correcting, observes that the Swallow, identified with Western Aquarius, belongs to the Way of Anu. But surely the attribution to Anu of a part of *our* Aquarius which the Babylonians distinguished from *their* figure of the water-pourer, will not prove the equation of *their* water-pourer to Anu. Perhaps *Gula* (the Great One) signifies (as Weidner has suggested) a giant-like water-pourer ? Against the identification of <sup>1</sup>gu-la with <sup>2</sup>gu-la, the great god Anu, is the lack of divine determinative. I cannot think that the

water-pouring "angel" on a monument from Ur can be the supreme god Anu. And is not the divinity beardless and probably feminine (cf. Legrain, *Museum Journal*, 1927, 77) ?

P. 94 f., the three heavens are said to be "adorned" with jasper, *saggilmud* stone and *luludata* stone respectively. Note that the document simply *equates* the three heavens to these three stones. The question may be raised whether the more literal interpretation would not be correct. It is a little problem which has interest for the history of cosmology. Are *stone* vaults intended? It concerns also our understanding of the myth of Etana: the eagle could hardly fall through the three heavens if they were made of stone, but possibly we are to imagine rather a descent through the "gates", which are mentioned in the ascent (if a swerving bird-like descent, this might have a bearing on the question of Etana's survival).

Curious that for the later doctrine of seven heavens Professor Langdon cites nothing earlier than *Enoch*, for a Nippur text the publication of which we owe to Professor Langdon himself (*Bab. Exp.* 31, No. 60, ii, 19) already mentions seven heavens.

P. 94 (l. 20) ecliptic: equator? *Ibid.*, "Yoke of the Wagon Star": the name thus quoted does not, I think, actually occur for Draco. *Ibid.*, prayers to the polar stars [Draco and Great Bear] "as they rose by night": can they be said to have *risen*, even in the latitude of Uruk? Probably in the text alluded to *ittapha* means "shall have shone forth": likewise *ittaṣā* "have come forth".

P. 109, the omega-like thing represented on the Kudurrus is identified after Zimmern with the *markasu rabū* (great bond) of the "holy house" mentioned on the Nazimaruttaš kudurru in the Louvre. The identification is not quite certain (it is disregarded by so good an authority on the question as M. Contenau, *Manuel* (1931), 903): but there is a good case for Professor Langdon's option. I doubt, however, the further explanation of the object as (if I understand) a symbol of

the cosmic principle which unites all things . . . for the sanction-figures on Kudurrus either are concrete emblems of particular gods or are constellations. Since the object naturally suggests a *yoke*, and was listed as such by Hinke, it may reasonably be taken for a stylized representation of the constellation (Draco) which was actually called the Yoke, and which must in fact have been seen as a somewhat omega-shaped yoke. The identification suits well the place of honour commonly occupied by the emblem : after the emblems of the three gods of the three divisions of the universe or of heaven might well be added that of the polar constellation. It supports also our author's identification with the *markasu rabū ša e-si-kil-la*, great bond of the pure house : all these terms are apt for the polar constellation : note its Sumerian name, *musir* (yoke)-kešda (bound), and the epithet *rabū* regularly applied to its divinity (or to the constellation itself ? cf. 5 R. 46, 12) ; and with the "pure house" as applied to the polar region of heaven may be compared "first son of the sublime house" as name of a pole star in CT. 33, 1, 21. Above all, the surprising fact that the omega or yoke is often upside-down on the Kudurrus is explained if the circumpolar "yoke" was the thing thought of.

P. 160, "star of the tablet" (*a Tauri*) related to the New Year feast according to Kugler, Ergänz. (1914), pp. 6, 218 : but note that Ergänz. (1924), 552, withdraws the suggestion.

In noticing errata and suggesting possible improvements I have ventured to unusual length because of the unusual importance of a work which treats with authority of a subject so widely interesting.

### Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar

- No. 18. PRIVATE LIFE OF SHAHU AND THE PESHWAS.  
pp. vi + 106. 1931. 2s. 3d.
- No. 19. PESHWA MADHAVRAO AT CROSS PURPOSES WITH  
HIS UNCLE RAGHUNATHRAO, 1761-1772. pp. vi + 121,  
map 1. 1931. 2s. 6d.
- No. 20. THE BHONSLES OF NAGPUR, 1717-1774. pp. xii +  
297, map 1. 1931. 5s. 9d.
- No. 21. BALAJIRAO PESHWA AND EVENTS IN THE NORTH,  
1741-1761. pp. iv + 222, pls. 4. 1932. 6s.  
 $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ . Bombay : Government Central Press.

Volumes of this excellent series continue to issue, under the editorship of Mr. G. S. Sardesai, with commendable punctuality. The fact that the papers are published as they are examined accounts for a lack of collation and historical arrangement. The papers contained in No. 21, for example, relating to the activities of the Marathas in the North of India, cover the same subjects and much the same period as those that were contained in No. 2. This small drawback, however, is compensated for by the variety of the contents, from the domestic affairs of the second Peshwa, including the provision of dancing girls of the best type, and the shikar arrangements of that good sportsman, King Shahu, to the grim accounts of the fighting with the Abdali Ahmad Shah, at Panipat. The account of the Bhosles of Nagpur is of special value, as this Maratha family has never had full justice done to it. Of the same clan as the great Shivaji, they were largely instrumental in the restoration of his grandson Shahu to the Maratha throne, and they were his natural successors when he was about to die childless. Mr. Sardesai considers that Raghujirao Bhosle realized that the Peshwa was alone capable of handling the critical position, and therefore acquiesced in the succession of the probably spurious Ram Raja in place of the adoption of one of his own sons. It is more generally believed that Raghujirao was out-witted and out-maneuvred

by the cunning Brahman. Raghaji afterwards conquered Bengal and levied the *Chauth* there. The demands of his sons upon the English for the continuance of this payment after 1765 were firmly resisted, but it is interesting to conjecture what would have happened if the Peshwa had supported Javoji Bhosle and his brothers instead of attacking them. As in the case of Holkar and Sindhia, the Peshwa preferred to humble the Maratha generals and to play them off against each other, rather than to unite them for the aggrandisement of the Maratha Empire. The Bhosles at least deserve credit for the establishment of orderly government in the country round Nagpur, almost the only part of India where the Marathas improved the administration.

A recent English writer has accused British historians of an anti-Maratha bias. No one, however, can read these letters without realizing how generally the Marathas were detested by Rajputs and Mahomedans alike, and how this was due to their predatory habits. As a result, many of the Chiefs of Northern India assisted the Afghans against them, with the consequence of terrible pillage and massacre. On the other hand, the reader must recognize the courage and national feeling of the Marathas which constantly re-united them to face great odds. If they failed at Panipat, it was largely because the claims on their fighting strength were too great, and they were obliged to employ mercenary troops and to depart from their traditional methods of warfare.

*551, 552, 553, 611.*

P. R. CADELL.

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ASSUMPCAM'S BENGALI GRAMMAR. Facsimile Reprint of the Original Portuguese with Bengali Translation and Selections from his Bengali-Portuguese Vocabulary. Edited and translated, with Introduction, by S. H. CHATTERJI and P. SEN.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ , pp. 260. Calcutta : Calcutta University Press, 1931.

Apart from the prose passages in the *Sūnyapurāṇa* and some other passages in various Vaiṣṇava works, the earliest

extant specimens of Bengali prose are, curiously enough, not Hindu but Christian productions. About the end of the sixteenth century the Portuguese missionaries in Bengal began to produce Bengali works written in a Romanized script. Three specimens of this literature have been preserved.

(1) *Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed* (*Kṛpār Śāstrer Arthaḥbheda*) a translation from the Portuguese by Padre Manoel da Assumpção, a missionary stationed at Bhawāl in East Bengal. This work gives instruction in the Christian faith as taught by the Roman Catholic Church. One copy of it is preserved in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and there is a second copy in Portugal at Evora.

(2) A dialogue on the Christian religion written probably about the end of the seventeenth century by a Bengali convert to Christianity, who had taken the name of Antonio de Rozario. A copy of this work is preserved at Evora.

(3) A Bengali-Portuguese vocabulary with a short compendium of Bengali grammar by Padre Manoel da Assumpção, which was printed at Lisbon in 1743. There are two copies of this work in the British Museum.

Professors Chatterji and Sen have given us the original text of the first part of this last-named work (xi + 40 pages) up to the end of the grammar, with a Bengali translation on the opposite page. There is also a selection (97 pages) of a considerable number of the more interesting words from the vocabulary itself, with a Bengali transliteration of the Romanized Bengali words and a Bengali translation of the Portuguese words. The introduction by Professor Chatterji discusses, amongst other subjects, the literary work of the Portuguese missionaries, their system of writing Bengali in Roman characters, and some of the most interesting variations between the grammatical forms referred to in the grammar and the forms at present in use. Appended to the introduction is a series of extracts from *Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed*. There are also three photographic plates, showing the title-page and

two pages from the Grammar and two pages from the Vocabulary.

Students of the history of the Bengali language will be very grateful to Professors Chatterji and Sen for the labour they have spent upon this work, and will be hoping that its appearance will suggest to them or to some other competent scholar the desirability of reproducing at an early date the whole text of *Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed*, and of Antonio de Rozario's *Dialogue*, so that it may be possible to discover, even more exactly than this book enables us to do, the form of Bengali that was in use in East Bengal two hundred years or more ago.

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W. SUTTON PAGE.

THE ORGAN OF THE ANCIENTS FROM EASTERN SOURCES  
(HEBREW, SYRIAC, AND ARABIC). By HENRY GEORGE  
FARMER. Preface by Rev. Canon F. W. Galpin. 9 x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  
pp. xxxi + 105, pls. 3, ills. 16. London : William Reeves,  
1931. 15s. 6d.

In this work the author tries to trace the origin of the organ from its earliest mention through Oriental sources. For the Hebrew and Syriac literature the references are few, and in addition the identification very doubtful as no definite details are given to give a clue as to the construction of the instruments referred to. With Arabic literature we get on somewhat firmer ground and Farmer translates into English the treatise on the hydraulic organ attributed to a certain Greek author whose name figures in all preserved manuscripts in the form Mūristūs. I have not been able to get any further than the scholars whom the author has consulted in identifying this mysterious mechanic, to whom also is attributed a treatise upon the construction of bells. It is strange that though the work has come down to us in several manuscripts, we find to my knowledge not the slightest indication in historical literature of the Arabs that such an instrument was ever in

use. As Islām does not know what we may call Church music, and music in general was abhorred by the pious as detracting from devotion, such instruments could only have been used in the palaces and homes of the rich for the entertainment of friends. I even wonder if such an instrument was ever constructed. Perhaps, as far as the Arabs were concerned, scientists contented themselves with copying the book and theoretically working out the possibility of its manipulation. Maybe that the mechanical toys of the Banū Mūsā too were only theoretical and not practical. Anyhow, it is strange that not one of such instruments has survived. Maybe that the pious, whose diversion was the smashing of musical instruments, have been successful in getting every one out of the way.

The contents of this work are of such technical intricacy and so admirably solved by the author that it would be presumption to offer any criticism. It is only by the expert knowledge of the author that a correct translation of the text has been possible. Of historical importance is that he has proved conclusively that Charlemagne never received an organ from the caliph Hārūn ar-Rashīd. I fear, however, that the tale will continue to be repeated for several hundred years, like that of the destruction of the Alexandrian library and the libraries of Baghdad by the Mongols.

I wish I could add to my words of appreciation, but Dr. Spies has pointed out to me that there is yet another manuscript of the treatise of Mūrisṭūs in the library of the Ayā Sofia (the two manuscripts, Nos. 2407 and 2755, contain the three treatises on the hydraulic organ, the pneumatic organ, and on the bells). The figures on the ancient castle of Ghumdān in Ṣan‘ā', which the author mentions, were of another nature. They were figures of lion-heads with open mouths and had some arrangement inside by which they uttered a loud sound when the wind blew into the mouths. These figures have disappeared long since (v. *Iklīl* ed. Anastase).

## A HISTORY OF ARABIAN MUSIC TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. xv + 264,  
pls. 3. London : Luzac and Co., 1929. 15s.

In the *Hilyat al-Auliya'* (MS. Faiziyeh 1437) a tradition is recorded that 'Abdallāh ibn 'Umar went a walk along the high road with Nāfi', when unawares they came upon a shepherd who was playing a reed-flute. 'Abdallāh immediately put his fingers in both ears and went far off the road with Nāfi', asking him to let him know as soon as the dreadful sound could not be heard any longer. He said : "Thus I have seen the Prophet, whom God bless, do on a similar occasion." It does seem strange that a history of the music of a people is possible at all, when, according to religious teaching music is a hateful diversion. Yet the pages of Farmer's work reveal that not only music was tolerated, but even flourished and exercised a great influence upon other nations. It is very fortunate that in the author we have not only an Arabic scholar, but also a competent musician, both in theory and practice, and to review his work by anyone who does not possess both qualities is rather hazardous. I believe that the author has not left any available source untouched to make his record as complete as possible, but this has lead him in many cases to be only too brief. I am with the author in his assertion that the music of the Arabs is indigenous and not due, and as often stated entirely, to Persian influence. If an-Nadr ibn al-Hārith brought the Persian mode of music from al-Hīra to Mecca it was only to supplement the art in some way, as it existed in Mecca from times unknown. The importance of the Persians is so often and has so long been overrated that it is continually asserted without being proved. So much seems to be certain that the earlier singers almost without exception came from Arabian soil. With the advent of the 'Abbāsī caliphs undoubtedly, together with the ancient Persian vices and dishonesty in State administration, also Persian music was afforded greater scope. But as we do not

know anything concerning the melodies nor the difference between the two classes of music, we are also at a loss to separate one from the other. To assert from the names of the artists that they sang or played according to one style or the other, if they differed at all, is to set up theories for which there is no foundation. The author has not attempted such a thing, and perhaps from his theoretical knowledge of the art he is almost alone in this case to form a sound judgment on the subject. The book is not only a history of music, but supplements Nicholson's *Literary History of the Arabs* in placing before us a picture of Muhammadan civilization to the fall of Baghdad. I believe there is not one name omitted, whether of musicians or of patrons of music during the six centuries with which the volume deals. This has had one disadvantage, namely that the author has not been able to give us many details of the lives of the artists, as he could have done, and I hope that in a second edition of the work he will enlarge upon the lives of the most important exponents of the art. The great merit of the book is that the proper names of musicians, their instruments, etc., are given in their correct spelling, as these are so often found in almost unrecognizable forms in works dealing with the history of music. Only on one point I must take exception, especially as it is a point which affects also other English works on Eastern history. As a relic of the times when Oriental works were first translated into Latin the names of dynasties are formed by adding fraction of the Latin plural *id* to the end of the name of an ancestor or something similar. We are fairly familiar with the Abbasides and Omajades (so generally in handbooks on history), but a string of such names as on p. 186 will prove that something is wrong, especially when we find al-Murawid (al-Murābitūn) on p. 222, etc. Nobody would write Hohenzollerides, Bourbonides, Hanoverides, etc. I mention this to show the absurdity of the thing in which the author follows only a common practice.

A great feature of the work is also the registration of almost

all known Arabic works upon music, which will enable competent scholars to pursue their studies further.

Without detracting from the merit of the work I want to make a few remarks upon some points. On p. 88 on the authority of *Evliyā Chelebī* a tale is told about a certain 'Amr ibn Umayya, who had been present at the wedding of Fātīma. It is palpable that this man did not exist at all. A similar tale was told by a certain Abu-d-Dunya, who appeared some time after the year 600 of the Hijra in Baghdād and claimed to be so many centuries old and also to have been present at the same wedding, and he too could describe all the musical instruments played upon that occasion. *Dahabī* in the *Mīzān al-I'tidāl* calls him a brazen-faced liar and impostor. A strange slip is in note 1 on p. 32, the words in brackets being omitted: You must compare the sayings attributed [to me] with the Qur'an, etc. On p. 57 Qand, Find, and Fand (the latter is said to be correct) are one and the same person. On p. 127 the author says that the philosopher al-Kindī was of noble descent. I fear that here the author is misled by the notion that because the tribe of Kinda in the time before Islam boasted of several chieftains who were rulers of the Central Arabian tribes, the philosopher belonged to them. The family of al-Kindī were much simpler folk. They were Christians and resided in the quarter of al-Baṣra, named after the tribe of Kinda. The grandfather of Ya'qūb, the philosopher, was a prosperous dealer in jewels who made journeys to Ceylon to buy rubies, so Bērūnī tells us in his *Book of Precious Stones*, and the same trade was followed by Ya'qūb. As the work is the first authoritative account of Arabian music it should soon require a second edition, which it is to be hoped will carry the studies a little further. In the chronicle of Ibn Iyās I found a statement that Sultan Qanṣūh imported singers in the Arabian fashion to Cairo, but they were no success.

Printers' errors are very few and of little consequence to the non-Orientalist and easily rectified by Arabists. I give

a few : p. xii, read *Hajar* instead of *Hijr* ; p. 52, 'Abd al-Mun'im ; p. 127, read *Bîtrîq* ; p. 128, note 8, read *Mashriq*, ix, 444 ; on p. 204, the author informs me, unfortunately the *maqâma* *Iṣfahân* has been omitted ; p. 205, read *Gharibat al-Muḥarrar*.

279.

F. KRENKOW.

SELECTIONS FROM THE WORKS OF SU TUNG-P'Ô (A.D. 1026-1101). Translated into English with Introduction, Notes, and Commentaries, by CYRIL DRUMMOND LE GROS CLARK, Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Sarawak ; and wood engravings by AVERIL SALMOND LE GROS CLARK. The foreword by EDWARD CHALMERS WERNER, H.B.M. Consul Foochow (retired).  $10 \times 7$ , pp. 180, wood engravings 19. London : Jonathan Cape, 1931. £1 1s.

A CHINESE MARKET. Lyrics from the Chinese in English Verse, by HENRY H. HART, A.B. Foreword by E. T. C. WERNER.  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$ , pp. xiv + 106. Peking : The French Bookstore ; San Francisco : John J. Newbiggin, 1931.

CHINESE POEMS IN ENGLISH RHYME. By Admiral Ts'ai T'ING-KAN. Foreword by L. T. CHÉN.  $9 \times 7$ , pp. xxii + 146. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1932. 20s.

These three books, which I will treat in the order of their publication, illustrate three entirely different modes of translation. It is a pity that we in our English speech do not express the differentiation preserved by the French between the words *version* and *traduction*. A *version*, according to the article *Traduction* in the *Encyclopédie*, denotes a literal rendering of a text, a rendering in which beauty of style is in no wise considered, desired, or required. A *traduction* is, however, expected to be a literary product, exact of course, but in the spirit rather than the letter of the original.

This differentiation is hardly recognized in English—or in German for the matter of that—which is a pity. Works under-

taken from entirely different points of view are all dubbed "translations", and are all judged by the same standards. The whole issue is thereby confused. Works on the art of translation are apt to confine themselves to the aesthetic point of view, and ignore the wider question as to whether or not the letter of an author's meaning has been brought over into the foreign language.

In *Selections from the Works of Su Tung-p'ô*, Mr. Le Gros Clark has made a *traduction*—I use the word in the French sense—and it is therefore as a *traduction*, not a *version* that the book should be judged. And very lovely it is. The style is smooth and rhythmic, and the spirit of Su Tung-p'ô is finely interpreted.

These renderings of his famous prose poems are true to the spirit and sense, if not to the idiom of the Chinese. I long to quote typical extracts, but each selection forms a whole which would only be marred by dissection. I can therefore but urge all readers, who are in any way interested in Chinese thought, to lose themselves in these fine translations from the works of a poet whose love of Nature amounted to a passion.

Su Tung-p'ô was a famous statesman, but his chief pre-occupation was the cultivation of a mood beautifully expressed in *The Pavilion to Glad Rain*. "My Pavilion was named Rain to celebrate Happiness," so the poem opens—to my readers I leave discovery of its exquisite ending.

*A Chinese Market* cannot be classed as a *traduction*, and certainly not as a *version*. It is difficult indeed to say just how the book should be classed. Nowhere is it definitely described as a "translation", yet from internal evidence one infers that the author intends it to be judged as such.

The writer of the foreword describes Mr. Hart as "a poet's poet", and possibly this is the reason that Mr. Hart has felt free to add, in the English rendering, all that a Chinese poem suggests to him. In my opinion, even in *traduction* this is inadmissible.

Take, for instance, poem 46—anyone of the fifty included

in the collection would illustrate my point equally as well. The text reads :—

有	巖	滿	林	
客	頭	村	下	亭
獨	孤	紅	翻	口
來	寺	葉	,,	
登	見	映	雁	
暮	橫	人	影	
霞	閣	家	斜	

Ideograph for Ideograph this can be translated :—

line 1. trees; beneath; flutter; flutter; wild geese; shadows; oblique.

line 2. overflowing; village; red; leaves; shine on; men's; houses.

line 3. precipice; peak; lonely; temple; see; cross-wise; log-road.

line 4. There is; traveller; alone; come; climbs; sunset; clouds tinged red.

To me this text suggests a series of very vivid pictures. I see, with the inner eye, the distorted shadows of the wild geese; the little village buried in glowing trees; an isolated temple perched on the edge of nothingness; a mountain road made of logs, called by the Chinese *ko* 閣, drawing its horizontal line to the temple gate; and lastly a solitary traveller nearing in the evening glow the shrine he seeks, his heart lifting with joy at the fulfilment of his desire. These pictures are for myself alone: I should never presume to impose them, in translation, upon the Chinese poet Wén T'ung, author of the poem.

To Mr. Hart the pictures suggested are quite different, and he describes them all :—

## SUNSET

Wén T'ung

Mid the lengthening shadows of the trees,  
In the dark forest, under the hill,  
Clamorous, the wild-geese flit to and fro,  
Bird calling unto bird, with piping shrill.

The roofs of the town, far out on the plain,  
Gleam like autumn leaves in the sunset glow ;  
To a lonely shrine, perched high on the cliff,  
Climbs a weary priest, from the vale below.

Now my point is this : because a Chinese poem by virtue of its terseness is capable of many interpretations, and because it is no function of the translator to interpolate ideas purely his own, *he should confine himself as strictly as possible to the text*. What *I* imagine or what Mr. Hart imagines in regard to the connotations of Poem 46 is unimportant. There is but one matter of moment. What does Wén T'ung, the author, say ?

Throughout the book Mr. Hart weaves long verses around a few terse lines of text, verses which may or may not express the ideas of the Chinese poet from whose writing brush the original characters dropped long years ago. Hence I contend *A Chinese Market* cannot be considered as either a *version* or a *traduction* from the Chinese, but as a collection of stanzas suggested to a sensitive Western mind by long reading of Chinese poetry.

Admiral Ts'ai T'ing-kan, whose delightful personality charms all fortunate enough to meet him, has set himself a very definite task. He explains it clearly in his Preface. He will render Chinese poems in English rhyme. He says :—

In translating these poems the rule followed was that each Chinese word be equal to one foot or two syllables in English. Thus, in poems of five Chinese words in each line the pentameter

was used. In poems of seven words in the line, the hexameter was generally used. There are a few exceptions to the foregoing rules.

The prevailing meter is iambic. Elisions have been avoided as far as possible so as not to mar the words, giving the readers the credit of knowing how to treat the words to suit the rhythm in the scanning and reading of the translations. An exception exists in poem No. 119 where the word occurs twice. In the third line "flow'rs" has an elision, making it one syllable to fit into the rhythm of the verse, while for the same reason "flowers" in the fourth line is unaltered, retaining its two syllables . . .

I have not followed the Chinese order of rhyme which generally begins in the first line, followed by the second and fourth, or begins in the second and followed by the fourth. The forms I have employed are the rhyming couplets and alternative rhymes to avoid the frequent repetition of the same sound which may tire the ear. The rhymes are masculine and are perfect as far as I am aware. The rhymes in these translations grow out of the words expressed or out of the sense implied. For instance, in the third line of poem No. 77, "set" is implied or understood by the morning moon having been so low down as to be in a line with the house and trees, while "yet", the rhyming word, is expressed by the Chinese words 未曾 *wei ts'eng* "not yet", the exact English equivalent . . .

Now whether by donning this heavy harness of technique—a harness be it noted quite unlike the one assumed by a Chinese poet, and one which fetters him at every turn—Admiral Ts'ai succeeds in giving a more faithful rendering of the Chinese poem than he would have done had he been able to think more of the Chinese thought, and less of the English rhyme, is purely a matter of opinion.

Admittedly a Chinese poem translated into prose or unrhymed cadence loses enormously. The thought expressed may be its soul, but the body of its individuality lies in the

rhyme scheme and tone pattern. These, unfortunately, are impossible to reproduce in a polysyllabic tongue. In Chinese *lü shih* the rhyme comes at the end of five or seven *syllables*. Were we to write

Cat, dog, pig, and hen,  
All are friends of men

we would have the monosyllables and the rhyme of a Chinese poem, but even then where would be the tones, those marvellous tones wherein the magic of Chinese poetry lies? No the indigenous metrical form cannot be rendered, so why use one foreign to its being? Why force Chinese ideas into European dress? They lose vastly masquerading thus—at least so it seems to me.

Turn to the exquisite lyric by Ch'iu Wei on page 9:—

吹	春	餘	冷	左 掖 梨 花
向	風	香	艷	
玉	且	乍	全	
階	莫	入	欺	
飛	定	衣	雪	

In translation the text reads:—

#### LEFT PALACE PEAR BLOSSOMS

- line 1. cold; beauty; completely; derides; snow.
- line 2. superabundant; scent; envelopes; man's; robe;
- line 3. Spring; wind; should; sunset; cease;
- line 4. Blown; towards; jade; stairway; fly.

The translation by Admiral Ts'ai runs:—

#### PEAR-BLOSSOMS IN THE PALACE

Thy spotless beauty puts to shame the snow,  
Thy perfume through the royal robe shall go.  
Uncertain tho' may seem the winds of spring,  
Thy petals waft directly to the King!

The following commentary appears on page 124 :—

Poem No. 9.—The third line also means that the imperial favor is never certain, as varying as the winds of the spring, and many are the rivals at court, with cunning schemes to supplant a good man, but a loyal minister should be guided by loyalty alone and serve the emperor in a straightforward course. *Yü ch'ieh* 玉階 is jade or marble steps—meant for the emperor, as “the Throne” is used for the sovereign—a metonymy.

I cannot help thinking that possibly Chinese ideas of strict propriety have hampered Admiral Ts'ai in his explanation. “Pear-blossom” is a euphemistic term generally used by Chinese poets to describe a member of the royal harem. In this case the lady is in all probability not certain of royal favour. It is, of course, not impossible that a statesman is referred to. The exigencies of verse probably force Admiral Ts'ai to use the word “king” instead of the charming Chinese expression “jade steps”. Throughout the book one finds similar examples of charming ideas and fascinating figures sacrificed to form.

In thus expressing my own predilection for idiomatic version irrespective of metre, I would in no way minimize the fine piece of work Admiral Ts'ai has accomplished. He has toiled faithfully and patiently for years and years to produce in English form smooth readings of the poems he loves; he has added valuable commentaries, and historical notes as well as comparative chronological tables, while the book contains a representative collection of Chinese five and seven character *lü shih*, of the T'ang and Sung dynasties.

THE PRISMS OF ESARHADDON AND ASHURBANIPAL FOUND AT  
NINEVEH, 1927-8. By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON.  
 $12\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ , pp. 37, pls. 18. London : British Museum,  
1931. 10s.

During the excavations carried on by R. Campbell Thompson and R. W. Hutchinson in the ruins of Nineveh in the winter of 1927-8, on behalf of the British Museum, two prisms with inscriptions in the cuneiform character were found, of which the first one with an inscription of Esarhaddon comes from a locality not far from Quyūngiq, at a spot where Sennacherib of Assyria had built a home for his son, and the second with an inscription of Ashurbanipal was discovered in fragments beneath the level of the flooring of the south-east door of the temple of Nabū at Quyūngiq. Both have now entered the British Museum and add two remarkable pieces to its rich collection of Assyrian and Babylonian antiquities.

The prism of Esarhaddon, Th. 1929-10-12, 1, is nearly complete, as only very few signs are wanting, and restores the text of the fragments of a duplicate prism published by Scheil in Paris in 1914. It gives us the story of the accession of Esarhaddon to the throne of Assyria and of his wars, without, however, bringing nearer to its solution in an appreciable manner the puzzling problem of the murder of Sennacherib. Dr. Thompson, who gives us in this book, edited by the Trustees of the British Museum, an excellent transliteration and translation of both prisms, followed by a very clear and neat autographic copy of their text on eighteen plates, discusses the problem of the murder of Sennacherib briefly in the short introduction on pp. 7-8, and comes to the conclusion that it was Esarhaddon himself who was at the head of the conspiracy against his own father and instigated the murder. There are, no doubt, among the arguments adduced by Dr. Campbell Thompson some rather strong ones in favour of this conclusion—the most important is that there is in the whole text absolutely no allusion, not even the

slightest, to the murder of the king by one or more of his sons, older brothers of Esarhaddon. I do not think that even the words in c. i, 41-2, *mimma ša eli ilāni u amēlūti lā tāb epušūma* can be construed as a reference to the murder (against Meissner in *SPAW* of last year, whose discussion of the whole question is very thorough and cautious)—but the other sources, independent, no doubt, from official Assyrian historiography, point clearly in the opposite direction, that is to say, that Sennacherib was murdered by one or two of his sons, not his successor on the throne. Besides that Ardumuzanu (Berosos) is not a corruption of Aššur-ah-iddin, but apparently of the Assyrian name corresponding to the Hebrew name of Adrammelech.

The prism of Ashurbanipal, Th. 1929-10-12, 2, deals for the most part with the building and religious activities of the king.

I have only a few remarks to make on the translation of the prisms.

In the prism of Esarhaddon, v, 25, with (*ilu*)*Šamši* Esarhaddon himself, of course, is meant. The line should be rendered therefore with "Whither can the fox go in front of the Sun" (i.e. Esarhaddon) ?

vi, 37 : The sprinkling with *kurunnu* and wine is made on the *šallaru* and the *kalakku* of the palace. Thompson translates those two terms by circling wall and cellar. But *šallaru* is the plaster or plaster wall, as has been proved by Sidney Smith, *RA.*, xxi, 78, 79; cf. also Jensen in *OLZ.*, xxxiii, 883. *Kalakku* has three or four different meanings, but I think it must here mean something very similar to plaster or plaster wall. Cellar does not suit our context.

In the prism of Ashurbanipal, i, 11, and other passages, *parakku* has certainly the original meaning of seat or throne, and not of palace.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes :—

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA (SOUTHERN RECENSION). Ed. by P. P. S. SASTRI. 1932.

JAPAN UND DIE JAPANER. By K. HAUSHOFER.

A SHORT HISTORY OF KASHMIR. From the earliest times to the present day. (The first of its kind; third edition.) By P. GWASHA LAL. 1932.

YAMANA-ENGLISH. A Dictionary of the Speech of Tierra del Fuego. By the Rev. THOMAS BRIDGES. 1933.

DIE KAISERLICHEN ERLASSE DES SHOKU-NIHONGI. By HERBERT ZACHERT.

THE PROVERBS OF SOLOMON IN SAHIDIC COPTIC, ACCORDING TO THE CHICAGO MANUSCRIPT. Ed. by WILLIAM H. WORRELL. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, Vol. XII.

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF THE LATE DASTUR DARAB PESHOTAN SANJANA, B.A., Ph.D., J.P., Principal Sir Jamshedje Jijibhoy Zarathushti Madressa, Bombay. 1932.

KONKÓKYÓ : DIE LEHRE VON KONKÓ. By Dr. PHIL WILHELM ROTH.

THE ETHIOPIC TEXT OF THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES. Ed. by SAMUEL A. B. MERCER.

VIJĀRISHN I CHATRANG, or The Explanation of Chatrang and other Texts. By J. C. TARapore. Sir Jamshetjee Jejeebhoy Translation Fund. The Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet Funds. Bombay. 1932.

THE MIRROR OF EGYPT IN THE OLD TESTAMENT. By V. L. TRUMPER.

NÔGAKU : JAPANESE NÔ PLAYS. By BEATRICE LANE SUZUKI.



## NOTES OF THE QUARTER

### ANNIVERSARY MEETING

*11th May, 1933*

In the unavoidable absence of the President, Professor D. S. Margoliouth, M.A., F.B.A., D.Litt., Director, took the chair.

The proceedings opened with the reading and confirmation of the Minutes of the last Anniversary General Meeting of 12th May, 1932, the election of five candidates for membership of the Society and the nomination of three others for election at the next General Meeting.

### REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1932-3 AND ACCOUNTS FOR 1932

It is with deep regret that we have to call attention to the great loss sustained by the Society since last May by the death of two distinguished Orientalists.

Professor A. H. Sayce, one of our Honorary Vice-Presidents, was attracted to Oriental lore as a schoolboy in 1859, when he began to learn Egyptian hieroglyphics and the Assyrian alphabet. But his chief interest was in the elucidation of Hittite hieroglyphics. He had been an active member of the Society since 1874 and was writing a review for the JOURNAL during his last illness.

In Lieut.-Col. J. Stephenson, I.M.S., whose grasp of detail and great capacity for work enabled him to specialize in the uncharted field of Oriental botany, the Society has lost a very valuable authority on a little known subject. In his capacity of Zoologist he was a Fellow of the Royal Society and Lecturer at Edinburgh University, while as an Orientalist he translated and edited many MSS. at the British Museum and India Office.

The Council further regrets the death of the undermentioned members during the past session :—

Hon. Member :—

Dr. Sir J. Jamshedji Modi.

Ordinary Members :—

Major A. D. Molony.	Ma'sud Ali Varesi Sahib.
Mr. H. W. Sheppard.	

The following members have resigned :—

Mr. K. V. S. Aiyer.	Miss A. D. Macfie.
Khan Sahib Farzand Ali.	Rev. W. MacGregor.
Mr. F. Anderson.	Miss Meadowcroft.
Rev. J. P. Bruce.	Khan Bahadur A. M.
Prof. R. P. Chanda.	Muhammad.
Dr. H. Chatley.	Mr. S. Buta Ram.
Mr. J. I. David.	Rai Bahadur D. Ropmay.
Mr. G. R. Driver.	Mr. H. A. Rose.
Mrs. C. Edwards.	Mr. W. J. S. Sallaway.
Capt. A. G. C. Fane.	Lieut.-Col. R. C. F. Schomberg.
Major W. J. Freer.	H.H. the Ranee of Sarawak.
Mr. C. C. Garbett.	Pt. N. V. Shastri.
Mr. H. F. Hamdani.	Prof. F. Md. Shuja.
H.E. Mirza Eissa Khan.	Mrs. G. Swinton.
Rao Bahadur Sirdar M. V. Kibe.	Mr. L. F. Taylor.
Mrs. Latta.	Mr. S. N. Tahir Rizwi.
Mr. T. M. Lowji.	Mr. C. G. C. Trench.
	Mr. E. H. C. Walsh.

The following have taken up their election :—

*As Resident Members*

Mr. O. H. Bedford, L.R.I.B.A.	Mr. J. Heyworth Dunne. Lady Ginwala.
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*As Non-Resident Members*

Mr. H. D. A. Alwis.	Mr. T. Burrow, B.A.
Mr. A. J. Arberry.	Mr. T. C. V. Chariar.
Capt. H.H. the Nawab of Bahawalpur.	S. Pt. C. B. D. Chaturvedi.
Mr. I. M. Banerjee, M.B.	Mr. K. D. Chaudhary, B.Sc., C.E., M.I.B.E.
Prof. N. C. Banerji, M.A.	Mr. S. D. P. Gyani.
Rev. E. J. Bolus, M.A., B.D., I.C.S.	Saikh Hasan.
	Syed Masud Hasan.

Rev. E. S. Hunt.	Mr. N. P. Nigam.
Mr. K. K. Kaul, M.A.	Pt. G. S. Parashari.
Mr. Z. H. Khan, B.A.	Mr. N. E. Parry, I.C.S. (ret.)
Mr. Md. A. H. Khan.	Mr. N. L. Rajpal, M.A.
Miss V. T. Lakshmi, M.A., L.T.	Mr. S. S. A. Rizwi.
Mr. R. L. McCulloch I.P.S. (ret.)	Mr. R. des Rotours.
Prince P. H. Mamour, LL.B.	Rev. J. C. Ryan.
Miss R. B. L. Mathur, B.A., L.T.	Mr. G. C. Saha, M.Inst.P.I.
Mr. A. V. K. Menon.	Sheikh G. Md. Sani, B.A., B.Com.
Pt. K. L. Misra.	Mr. Kaviraj H. C. Sen.
Mr. E. L. C. Mudaliar.	Mr. M. H. Shah.
Lt. Maharaj S. S. Naharsinhji, Saheb Bahadur of Chhotota Udepur.	Dewan A. A. Sharar.
Mr. B. S. Naidu, M.C.P.S.	Thakur K. N. Singh, B.A., C.S.U.P.
Capt. L. H. Niblett, A.I.R.O., B.A., J.P.	Mr. K. P. Srivastava, B.A., LL.B.
	Mr. G. L. Watson, I.C.S.

*As Non-Resident Compounders*

Prof. J. C. Ghatak.	Mr. U. S. Shrivastav, B.A., LL.B.
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*As a Student Member*

Miss. C. L. H. Geary.

*As a Library Member*

Sir Charles Bell, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., F.R.G.S.

Under Rule 25a, fifty-seven persons have ceased to be members of the Society owing to non-payment of subscriptions.

The membership of the Society shows, of necessity, an ever fluctuating figure. Fresh members are always joining and others are being lost through the vicissitudes and economics of life. The number of members during the past year was reduced approximately from 795 to 750, though subscriptions are still coming in and the fall in membership

will not be as great as it now appears. The receipts for the year came to £3,581, and the corresponding payments to £3,215, though the figure given above for receipts includes certain sums which refer to delayed payments and which should rightly have been credited in the previous year.

*Lectures.*—The following lectures have been delivered during the past season : they were almost all illustrated by lantern slides.

"The Excavation of Jericho," by Professor John Garstang, of the University of Liverpool.

"Points from a New Collection of Eastern Manuscripts," by Dr. A. Mingana, Librarian of the Oriental MSS. in John Rylands Library, Manchester.

"Wabar, and the Empty Quarter of Arabia," by H. St. J. B. Philby, who has lived and travelled in Arabia for many years.

"The British Museum Excavation at Nineveh, 1931-2," by Dr. R. Campbell Thompson, who was in charge of the work on behalf of the British Museum.

"The Decadent Races of Annam : Chams and Mois," by Mme. Gabrielle Vassal, Legion of Honour.

"Megalithic Burials in South India," by E. H. Hunt, M.D.

"The Revival of the Hebrew Language and Literature in Palestine : A Hebrew Vernacular," by I. A. Abbady, Chief Hebrew Interpreter to the Government of Palestine.

"Some Population Problems in Asia," by Sir Charles Close, K.B.E., etc., President of the International Union for the Investigation of Population Problems.

"A Secret of the Summer Palace, Peking," by Sir Reginald Johnston, K.C.M.G., etc., who was Comptroller of the Summer Palace and its Adjacent Estates and Tutor to the Imperial Family.

"Sa'udian Arabia," by Capt. C. C. Lewis, who was attached to the Foreign Office Staff in Arabia.

"Marco Polo's Quinsai : The Splendid Capital of the

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## RECEIPTS

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" Straits Settlements . . . . .	20	0	0				
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Additional Copies sold . . . . .	110	16	5				
Pamphlets sold . . . . .	18	1					

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## CENTENARY VOLUME SALES . . . . .

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## COMMISSION ON SALE OF BOOKS . . . . .

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## INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNT . . . . .

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607	17	4
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<u>£4,189</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>
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## INVESTMENTS.

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	PAYMENTS						
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
<b>HOUSE ACCOUNT—</b>							
Rent and Land Tax . . . . .	502	3	1				
Rates, less contributed by Tenants . . . . .	30	3	9				
Gas and Light, do. . . . .	64	9	0				
Coal and Coke, do. . . . .	43	9	8				
Telephone . . . . .	10	5	5				
Cleaning . . . . .	6	15	0				
Insurance . . . . .	35	6	6				
Repairs and renewals . . . . .	4	6	3				
				696	18	8	
<b>LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND . . . . .</b>				20	10	6	
<b>SALARIES AND WAGES . . . . .</b>				774	18	4	
<b>PRINTING AND STATIONERY . . . . .</b>				57	14	7	
<b>JOURNAL ACCOUNT—</b>							
Printing . . . . .	1,104	16	6				
Postage . . . . .	70	0	0				
				1,174	16	6	
<b>LIBRARY EXPENDITURE . . . . .</b>				252	4	1	
<b>GENERAL POSTAGE . . . . .</b>				66	14	2	
<b>AUDIT FEE (including Taxation work) . . . . .</b>				10	10	0	
<b>SUNDY EXPENSES—</b>							
Teas . . . . .	28	12	10				
Lectures . . . . .	64	9	6				
National Health and Unemployment Insurance . . . . .	22	11	8				
Other General Expenditure . . . . .	45	15	0				
				161	9	0	
<b>BALANCE OF CASH IN HAND AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1932</b>							
At Bank on Current Account . . . . .	366	9	1				
" " Deposit Account . . . . .	100	0	0				
At Post Office Savings Bank . . . . .	500	0	0				
				966	9	1	
Cash in Hand . . . . .	6	17	1				
				973	6	2	

NOTE: £250 of this £973 6s. 2d. represents the unexpended balance of the Grant received from the Carnegie Trust.

£4,189 2 0

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.  
E. A. GAIT, Auditor for the Society.

15th March, 1933.

## SPECIAL FUNDS

### ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

	RECEIPTS	PAYMENTS
1932.		
Jan. 1.	BALANCE . . . . .	1932.
	SALES . . . . .	BINDING VOL. VI AND X . . . . .
	INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNT . . . . .	STORAGE OF STOCK . . . . .
		SUNDRIES . . . . .
		BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY . . . . .
		Dec. 31.
		230 12 5
		<hr/>
		£240 4 6
		<hr/>

### ASIATIC MONOGRAPH FUND

	RECEIPTS	PAYMENTS
1932.		
Jan. 1.	BALANCE : : : . .	114 0 3
	SALES : : : . .	10 13 0
		<hr/>
		£124 13 3
		<hr/>

### SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

	ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND	CASH AT BANK—
ASIATIC MONOGRAPH FUND	230 12 5	On Current Account . . . . .
	124 13 3	" Deposit Account . . . . .
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	365 5 8	105 5 8
	<hr/>	250 0 0
	£355 5 8	<hr/>
		355 5 8
		<hr/>

LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND						
1932,	Jan. 1.	BALANCE TRANSFER FROM GENERAL ACCOUNT	GENERAL DIVIDENDS RECEIVED TO BE INVESTED	WAR LOANS BONUS ON 5% WAR LOANS RECEIVED TO BE INVESTED	Dec. 31, 1932.	Dec. 31, BALANCE—Represented by £282 8s. 8d. 3½ per cent War Loan, 280 1 8 CASH AT BANK . . . . . 16 18 9
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
		268 11 2	20 10 6	14 2 4		
					2 16 5	16 18 9
						<hr/>
						£306 0 5

TRUST FUNDS

BALANCE	BALANCE
SALES	DIVIDENDS
DIVIDENDS	

	SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND	FUND	BALANCES
	CASH AT BANK—		
PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND . . . . .	160 10 3		
GOLD MEDAL FUND . . . . .	50 3 5		
PUBLIC SCHOOLS' GOLD MEDAL FUND . . . . .	137 11 10		
			£348 5 6
			£348 5 6
		TRUST FUNDS	
£9000 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).			
£325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).			
£645 1s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund).			
£40 3½ per cent Conversion Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund).			

I have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. I have also had produced to me certificates for the Stock Investments and Bank Balances.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.  
Countersigned L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.  
(E. A. GAIT, Auditor for the Society.

15th March, 1933.

## BURTON MEMORIAL FUND

	RECEIPTS	PAYMENTS
1932.		£ a. d.
Jan. 1.	BALANCE	4 7 6
	DIVIDENDS	1 9 4
		<hr/>
		£5 16 10
		<hr/>
	INVESTMENT, £49 0s. 10d. 3% Local Loans.	
		<hr/>

## JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND

Jan. 1.		1932	
		Dec. 31.	CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT ACCOUNT
BALANCE	.	229 0 2	7 8 3
DIVIDENDS	.	201 15 0	
BONUS ON CONVERSION OF £253 18s. 4d.	.		
5 PER CENT WAR LOAN	.	2 10 9	
SALE OF BOOKS	.	42 8 1	
		<hr/>	
		£475 14 0	<hr/>
	INVESTMENT, £1,005 14s. 7d. New South Wales 4 per cent Inscribed Stock, 1942-62.		
	£1,015 16s. 3d. South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock, 1940-60.		
	£1,010 Bengal Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock,		
	I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and I certify the said Abstracts to be true and correct.		
			£475 14 0

£1,143 6s. 3d. India 3 per cent Inscribed Stock.  
£700 Conversion Loan 3 per cent.  
£45 East India Railway Company Annuity, Class "B"  
£253 18s. 4d. 3½ per cent War Loan.

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and I certify the said Abstracts to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor,  
L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.  
Countersigned (E. A. GAIT, Auditor for the Society).

"Southern Sung," by the Rev. A. C. Moule, who had been in China for twenty years.

"Christian Subjects in Mogul Painting," by Sir Edward Maclagan, President of the Society.

"The Nicobar Islands," by Lieut.-Col. M. L. Ferrar, C.S.I., etc., who was Chief Commissioner of these Islands for some years.

Short reports of each lecture are published in the JOURNAL.

The Council is happy to announce that the following representatives of Oriental Powers have accepted the invitation of the President and Council of the Society to become Foreign Extraordinary Members under the terms of Rule 10 :—

H.R.H. Prince Damrong of Siam.	H.E. The Egyptian Minister.
H.E. The Japanese Ambassador.	H.E. The Iraqi Minister.
H.E. The Turkish Ambassador.	H.E. The Persian Minister.
H.E. The Afghan Minister.	H.E. The Saudi Arabian Minister.
H.E. The Chinese Minister.	H.E. The Siamese Minister.

As mentioned in the last Annual Report of Council, the proposal to vary the foundation of the Public Schools' Gold Medal and Prize Trust so as to form a Universities' Prize Essay Fund has been brought to fruition. The annual prize offered will consist of £20 and a Diploma with the object of encouraging non-Asiatics in the British Isles to take an interest in the history and civilizations of the East, especially India. The subject for the competition this year is "The Advantages derived by England and India from their Mutual Relations".

The printing of the Library Catalogue is being proceeded with, and it is hoped that the result will not prove as costly as was first estimated. As will doubtless be recalled to mind, the Carnegie Trust very kindly promised a sum of £800 for the printing under certain conditions. The second proofs of one batch of cards are now being corrected as also are the first proofs of a second batch. When these have both been

corrected ready for press, a closer estimate of the complete cost of the work will be available.

The task of correcting the proofs has been kindly accepted by the undermentioned :—

Dr. Barnett as regards Dravidian languages.

Dr. Randle for Sanskrit and Modern Indian vernaculars.

Mr. Ellis for Mohammedan languages and Armenian.

Dr. Blagden for Malay.

Sir O. Wardrop for Georgian.

Mrs. Rhys Davids for Pali.

to whom the thanks of the Society are due.

They are also owed to Mr. Ellis and Mr. Oldham for their advice and assistance.

Those members who use the Library will regret to hear of the resignation and retirement of Miss Latimer, who had held the post of Assistant Librarian since 1919. They will remember her kindness and assistance in obtaining their requirements and her helpful knowledge throughout a wide range of subjects. The post is now held by Mrs. Arthur Cardew (formerly Miss F. M. G. Lorimer), who will be known to many members for her knowledge of Oriental matters. Mrs. Cardew was on the staff of the Bodleian and was Assistant to Sir Aurel Stein for thirteen years, nine at the British Museum and four in India. She has been engaged in Oriental work for some twenty years.

The thanks of the Society are due to Mrs. R. W. Frazer, the late Secretary, for her kind voluntary assistance, both in looking through the Catalogue cards as well as in undertaking the compilation of an Index of the *Journal* for the decade 1920 to 1929, the latter being a long needed work. The Index for the current period from 1930 is already in hand. Dr. L. D. Barnett has very kindly helped to sketch out an economical system which will fulfil the requirements for a reference Index.

Oriental scholars will be interested to hear that one of our honorary members, Professor Serge d'Oldenburg, has been

honoured in Leningrad on 1st February, 1933, by a special celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the commencement of his scientific work and public activities.

The grateful thanks of the Society are due to the Princess Handjéri for the generous thought which prompted a donation to our funds of the sum of £175. The Princess wished to offer this gift in memory of her late father, Friedrich August, Prince of Schleswig-Holstein (Count von Noer), who was ever a patron of Oriental Studies as well as a writer. His great work *Kaiser Akbar* occupies a place in the Library.

In January last the Council resolved to increase the annual sum invested for the Leasehold Redemption Fund by £10, making it up to £30. This fund was created by the Council on 6th December, 1921, when it was agreed to set aside a sum of £20 for investment annually in December, as an annual premium out of the General Income of the Society, in the purchase and additions to one of the Stocks transferable at the Bank of England whereon dividends may be accumulated. At the end of 1932 it was realized that the yield of dividends from Government securities had diminished. It was therefore resolved in January, 1933, to increase the annual allotment by £10 and to make a total of £30 clear per annum to be secured at compound interest. The balance credit of the account at the end of April, 1933, was £329.

As a result of representations made by the Society last year, the India Office annual grant, which was reduced in 1932 from 300 guineas to 150 guineas, has now been fixed at 200 guineas during the present financial crisis.

The accounts of the Society have been audited as usual by Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co., Ltd., the firm of professional auditors, and have also been examined by the Honorary Auditors of the Society. The Hon. Auditors are elected annually, one to represent the Council and one to represent the members of the Society. They met Sir Nicholas Waterhouse on 15th March to scrutinize the accounts for 1932, and afterwards reported as follows :—

"We have been through the accounts with Sir Nicholas Waterhouse, who has explained them fully to us. They are, as usual, presented in excellent order, but we would like to point out that the cash in hand (including £500 in the Post Office Savings Bank) is now £973 6s. 2d., or about £365 more than at the end of the previous year. This is due largely to the redemption of £132 4½ per cent Treasury Bonds and to a special donation of £175 by Princess Handjéri in memory of her father, who was a keen Orientalist. We would suggest that the investment of a sum at least equal to these two amounts should be considered. We assume that the sum of £1,005 in New South Wales Inscribed Stock has since been converted into Commonwealth Stock.

"Finally we note that the Catalogue of the Library of the Society remains still uncompleted and has required an expenditure of £116 during the year 1932.

"*For the Council* : L. C. HOPKINS.

"*For the Society* : E. A. GAIT."

The number of people using the Library has increased since last year to about 535.

Four foreign applicants have been assisted with the loan of Manuscripts, of which only one is still out. The term of its loan does not expire till July, 1933.

Two photographic copies of works belonging to the Society have been sent to foreign applicants at their own charges, and the Persian Government has asked permission to make a facsimile copy of the text of the precious MS., the Shahnamah. It is required for the celebration, in 1934, of the thousandth anniversary of the writer of the poem, Firdausi, the famous Persian poet.

Under Rule 30 of the Society Dr. C. Otto Blagden, as senior Vice-President for last session, retires, and the Council recommend Sir William Foster to make up the number.

By Rule 31 the Council also recommend the re-election of the Honorary Officers—Mr. Ellis as Hon. Librarian, Sir J. H. Stewart Lockhart as Hon. Secretary, and Mr. Perowne as

Hon. Treasurer. By Rule 32 the following members retire from the Council and are not eligible for re-election as such : Sir William Foster, Mr. Hopkins, Professor Langdon, and Mr. Oldham. The Council recommend for election in their places : Dr. Blagden, Sir Edward Gait, Mr. C. A. Storey, and Sir John Thompson. They also recommend that Mr. R. P. Dewhurst be re-elected to remain in his position as Member of Council, taken up during the past session, under Rule 28, when Sir Reginald Johnston unfortunately had to resign owing to his duties at the School of Oriental Studies.

Under Rule 81 the Council recommend the election as Honorary Auditors for the ensuing year of Sir Edward Gait (for the Council) and Mr. L. C. Hopkins (for the members), together with Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co., Ltd., as professional auditors.

The CHAIRMAN, Professor D. S. Margoliouth, said :—

We now proceed to the business of the Anniversary Meeting, which includes the proposal and due election of honorary officers, members of Council and auditors as shown in the draft report, which is already in your hands and has been circulated to all members in the United Kingdom. We shall then proceed to hear from the Hon. Treasurer the Financial Report, and then Sir E. Denison Ross will propose that this Report be adopted. After this Mr. S. M. Mackay will second the adoption.

I will now ask the Hon. Treasurer to read his report.

The HON. TREASURER, Mr. E. S. M. Perowne, F.S.A., said :—

The study of accounts is always an interesting one, and it is curious to note in this case how last year's receipts and payments have worked out. Our normal receipts amounted to only £2,958 8s. 5d., while our normal payments were £3,215 15s. 10d., thus showing a deficit of over £250, but as usual our Fairy Godmother has appeared, this time under the guise of the Princess Handjéri, whose generous donation of £175, to which allusion has already been made in the

Report, has gone a long way to cover the deficit. Our gross income receipts for 1932 were £3,448 8s. 5d., excluding balances brought forward from 31st December, 1931, and excluding also the redemption money on the Treasury Bonds which is capital. This total, however, includes not only the generous donation already referred to, but also the delayed grant of the India Office of £315 for 1931, which was only received at the beginning of last year. As against these receipts of £3,448 8s. 5d. our normal outgoings on the payments side, as I have already stated, amount to £3,215 15s. 10d. to which, however, must be added the deficiency brought forward from the 1931 accounts arising from the late payment of the India Office Grant, viz. £289 9s. 6d., thus making our total payments for 1932 £3,505 5s. 4d., or say a deficit on this last year's accounts of £56 16s. 11d. This be it noted is really the final result of the accounts for the two years 1931 and 1932, as it takes into account the 1931 deficit of £289.

I now proceed to an analysis of the accounts for 1932 :— Taking first the receipts side, we have a loss of nearly £50 as compared with the previous year on resident members' subscriptions, which during the previous five years had shown somewhat of a revival. We are now back again to the 1927 level. Non-resident members' subscriptions make an even worse showing, as they are nearly £100 down on the 1931 figure, and unfortunately show a constantly decreasing tendency from 1928, when they reached a peak level of £1,028 as against last year's £806. There are no fresh resident compounders this year. Last year we received £40 under that heading, and the non-resident compounders' subscriptions of this year, £39, compare unfavourably with £90 last year. The students and miscellaneous bring in £20 as against £24 and include four students as in the previous year, the miscellaneous being in respect of non-resident subscribers whose remittance falls slightly short of the exact amount of their subscriptions, though now and again we have a penny or two over. The

net result is that our subscriptions total £1,116 19s. 5d. only, some £242 down as compared with the previous year. This is by far our worst figure since 1924, when our total subscriptions were £1,414, the lowest since then being £1,266 in 1925. This reduction in subscriptions is becoming serious, and we must all try our best to remedy the constant fall in our numbers. There is, in fact, a committee sitting which has this matter in hand and is studying the best method of increasing our membership. The next item, "Rents Received," compares very favourably with 1931, being something like £160 more than we received in the previous year, but when I tell you that our total rents at present only amount to £560 per annum, with the possibility of a further £70 per annum when a room, at present vacant, is let, you will appreciate that some £200 of last year's rents may be considered as due to arrears recovered, and that in 1933, therefore, we shall receive some £200 less under this heading. Under the heading "Grants" I have already referred to the India Grant for 1931, and you have heard about the reduction for last year in the Report. The other grants I am glad to say remain constant.

Donations. You have already been told of the Princess Handjéri's kindly gift, and as regards the others the £19 19s. in the Draft Report compares with £51 9s. of the previous year, but naturally this heading is liable to constant fluctuations. Now we come to the JOURNAL account, and here I am glad to say that although there is a falling off as compared with 1931 of nearly £100 altogether, it is not serious so far as subscriptions are concerned, which only show a fall of £15. The big fall is in the copies sold and is largely accounted for by the fact that in 1931 we sold a set of the JOURNAL for £86 and did not repeat it last year. The ordinary sales accordingly show a slight increase of some £10 or £12 which is all to the good. The other items on the receipt side do not call for comment, as the redemption of the Treasury Bonds has already been referred to, and the item under the heading

"Sale of Old Books" merely takes the place of the old heading under "Sale of Library Books", and refers to extra copies which we could dispose of.

Now we come to the payments side. The items under House account are some £140 less than the previous year, £120 of which is under the heading of repairs, while most of the other items show small decreases, particularly in light and coal. As to the Leasehold Redemption Fund, the Report has told you that as from this year we have had to increase the premium by £10. Salaries and wages show a saving of some £25 on the previous year, and there is also a small reduction in the Printing and Stationery account. The JOURNAL account is £100 up in consequence of certain special articles it was desired to print, but we shall hope to bring this figure down again to its normal figure of about £1,000. The Library expenditure this last year has not been quite so heavy as the previous year, and the Catalogue is responsible for £116 of the total amount expended. I am sorry to say that all the items under Sundry Expenses show an increase, the total being some £60 in excess of the previous year, but the teas and lectures must be classed as part of the propaganda for obtaining new members and is therefore considered a proper expenditure.

The only further item to be explained is the apparently large sum of £973 6s. 2d. brought forward as cash balances in respect of which our Society's auditors (not the professional ones) have suggested £300 should be invested. This sum is made up as follows:—£250 as unexpended balance of the Carnegie Grant and earmarked for the printing of the Catalogue; £200 originally further set aside by us as earmarked also for the same purpose but which has in fact been spent, so that it may now be considered as released, £132 16s. 3d., representing the redemption money of the Treasury Bonds, which is capital for investment as well as £235 for compounders' fees which is also capital and should be invested; and there is another £40 earmarked for another purpose,

making a total of £857 17s. 3d., leaving therefore only something over £100 free, which we have always considered it was desirable to keep on hand as working balance each year. While agreeing that we should invest as much as possible, your Treasurer has always had in view the possibility of being called upon at any moment not only for the earmarked sums in connection with the Catalogue, but perhaps further unlooked for expenditure for the same purpose as well as a possible call in respect of deficiency of income. On the advice of stockbrokers and bankers, therefore, none of the capital moneys have recently been invested, having regard to the uncertainty of markets at the present time, but as you will note, £500 has been placed in the Savings Bank, which since the beginning of this year has been increased to £700, and the rest has been left on current or deposit account, for which I hope your Treasurer will not be censured. Recently we have discovered that the Catalogue printing is likely to cost considerably less than at first anticipated. As soon as the approximate amount can definitely be ascertained your Treasurer proposes to make at once the appropriate investment of so much of the accumulated cash as can properly be so dealt with.

With regard to the Special account, I do not think there is much to report. The Leasehold Redemption Fund increases year by year, and since the end of last year we have invested some £46 cash. I may perhaps say one word with regard to the Forlong Fund. It will be noted that there was a considerable sum of cash on current account. This is the one case where we have a difficulty in getting rid of our funds rather than in saving them, as the whole of the income should be absorbed by the School of Oriental Studies each year, a process which I believe is now in course of realization.

I cannot complete this survey of the accounts without a further reference to the important question of members. On a recent revision 128 defaulters were struck off the 1931 list and 72 last year, thus bringing the effective number down from

over 900 a few years back to 722 only, as stated in the Report. That the fall is a genuine one is proved by the figures and, as I have said, we must all do what we can to restore, if not increase, the numbers of earlier days. From the foregoing account you will appreciate how we are struggling with adversity so to speak, but in spite of that it is the Council's constant policy and endeavour, with the assent and connivance of your Treasurer, to bear two things in mind : first, that before everything the JOURNAL has now such a high place in the esteem of scholars all over the world that it shall be kept at that point, if not improved, and that there shall be no cutting down of its contents except as a very last resort. The second point is a corollary, viz. that the Library shall be its next care, and if you will turn to the accounts of the previous years you will see that this has been carried out to the full in face of our falling revenues. To this I will only add a general appeal. If any member has anything to give in the cause of learning it will be thankfully received and faithfully applied in the cause of our Royal Asiatic Society, whose good name for scholarship and well-being we all have so much at heart. Let me again express my thanks to Mrs. Davis for all her help to her somewhat exacting Treasurer ; she has even risen more than once from a sick bed to attend to his wants.

The CHAIRMAN : I think I may assure the Hon. Treasurer that there is not the slightest prospect of his receiving any censure. We are extremely grateful for the immense amount of trouble that he takes over our accounts and for the very lucid exposition he has here given us.

I will now ask Sir Denison Ross to propose the adoption of the Report.

Sir DENISON ROSS : You have had the financial aspect set before you by our Hon. Treasurer. You will have the spiritual aspect set before you by our Chairman. I will now say a few words on the material side about men and matters. I have been thinking for the past fortnight that my duty this afternoon

was to second the adoption of this Report, and not to propose it ; therefore I have had to spend the last half hour writing a speech, which I promise you I will not take nearly so long to read. I only wish to call attention to one or two points. The Chairman will no doubt refer to the losses the Society has recently sustained, but there are two to which I would like to refer myself. First, that of Dr. Sir J. Jamshedji Modi, that fine old Parsee scholar in Bombay, one of our honorary members, who died recently ; I would like to pay my own tribute to his memory. He was the Grand Old Man of the Parsee world. Only a few years ago, when 80 years of age, he travelled all the way to Europe in order to see the midnight sun. I thought that was one of the most romantic journeys I had ever heard of. Also he established the Lectureship in Iranian Studies at the School of Oriental Studies. This was established through his hard work in Bombay, at my suggestion, and it is the first time that Iranian studies have ever been endowed in England. I would also like to make a reference to Colonel Stephenson. I was connected with him in his first efforts in Oriental studies when he was a young I.M.S. officer in India and I was honorary secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal ; I have always taken a deep interest in the work he has done, and am proud to think we have always welcomed his contributions to our JOURNAL.

Then with regard to our lectures, the documents are before you and you will see the enormously wide range they cover. In fact, the subjects mentioned on pages 5 and 12 practically take you throughout the whole East, and it is very much to our credit that we should have catered for such a wide range of interest. I am not going to specify any of them in particular. You will see in the Draft Report a distinguished list of the Foreign Extraordinary Members beginning with H.R.H. Prince Damrong of Siam and ending with His Excellency the Siamese Minister. You will have noticed the inclusion of H.E. the Saudi Minister ; this is, I believe, the first time the country of Saudiia has been mentioned in this JOURNAL.

Then there is the Universities' Prize Medal. The history of this prize is one of the sore points of our Society. Somebody once thought of the excellent idea of giving a handsome prize to be competed for in public schools for articles connected with the Indian Empire. It has unfortunately very seldom produced anything in the way of keen competition, and the prize has seldom been won. We thought this might be improved if the prize were extended to the Universities, and the first year's competitive effort produced, I think, only one essay. But perhaps the result will be better in future if we make a little more propaganda.

In regard to the Catalogue, it is good news to hear from the Treasurer that it is going to cost less than was expected ; but, of course, until it is completed the figures may mean anything. At any rate you have one great satisfaction here, that you have got a very fine array of experts who are giving their voluntary services. You will find a list of them in the Report, and if they cannot produce a good Catalogue then no one can. I hope we shall soon have what we have so long wished for, namely an up to date catalogue of this excellent library.

With regard to the JOURNAL and its contents, it will be noticed that the JOURNAL does not figure very largely in the Report ; but then we are the JOURNAL and the JOURNAL is us. The only thing we find mentioned is the index, a very important item it is true, which has been prepared by the most kind and willing service of our late Secretary, Mrs. Frazer, who has been good enough to undertake not only to help with the Catalogue but to compile the index from 1920 to 1929, and all scholars will know that a journal without an index is like an index without a journal. We must have the two together. With regard to the contents of the JOURNAL it is very difficult to discriminate, but certain names occur of persons to whom we are duly grateful : Professor F. W. Thomas has continued his great work on the Tibetan documents from Central Asia, and we all know what a great work

that is in a purely pioneer aspect of attempting, from the merest fragments of wood and paper and so on, to restore the history of the frontier garrisons of Tibet in the 7th or 8th century, just as the Chinese scholars have deciphered the garrison correspondence and papers and inventories of the 2nd century from the Great Wall of China. These articles do not make thrilling reading. They are not the kind of thing that keep you awake or send you to sleep; but Professor Thomas has taken upon himself what is purely a labour of love, and I am sure the results of the drudgery involved are deserving of our deepest thanks. Those matters are disposed of once and for all and we are all very grateful to him. We know what the Society as a whole owes to him in the past in many activities and what it looks forward to in the future. I should like also to mention Dr. Farmer, who has devoted himself to the study of Oriental, especially Arabic, music. He sends us his articles regularly, and they are always welcome. Reference may also be made to an important article on a Chinese Libation Urn contributed by Mr. Hopkins and Professor Perceval Yetts. In connection with the latter we have to congratulate the Courtauld Institute on creating and endowing a new Chair. It is a source of great satisfaction that we should have such a noble subject at last represented in this country. Two other articles I will mention—one a translation by Sir Theodore Morison of a curious memoir by Bernier which led to a little correspondence in *The Times*; the other was an article by Benveniste, a very promising, or rather a very brilliant, young Iranian scholar in Paris, who is the rival of our Mr. H. W. Bailey who holds the Parsee Lectureship in London. We have at the present moment in France and England two young men who are already in the very first rank as Iranian philologists and are devoting themselves to a subject which has been taken up by practically only one scholar in this country, namely West, who died 20 or 30 years ago; and I take this opportunity of pointing out that we have thus in our midst one who can vie

with Mr. Benveniste, who has made a great name for himself in Paris and who has contributed to our JOURNAL.

In regard to the Library, I would like to mention that we have lost a faithful servant in Miss Latimer, who has resigned, but her place is taken by Miss Lorimer, a very old friend of many of us owing to her connection with the Stein Collection and with the Bodleian. We all know her as Miss Lorimer (it is very difficult to call her Mrs. Cardew), the sister of two distinguished brothers, one of whom is still with us. We are very delighted at our good fortune in having her to work in the Library. She has an experience of Oriental listing and cataloguing that perhaps no other woman in the world has ever had.

Then I would in conclusion merely mention some of the faithful servants of the Society. First, our President, who is unfortunately not here to-day, Sir Edward Maclagan. You all know what he has done for the Society; then there is our Director, Professor Margoliouth. You know what his encyclopaedic knowledge means to the Society and how keen an interest he takes in every detail of its work. Then there is Mr. Ellis, whose knowledge of Oriental bibliography is much more than unrivalled. Nobody 'begins to know' what Mr. Ellis knows about books. It is not that he is better than anybody else. He stands alone. There is Sir James Stewart Lockhart, our Hon. Secretary, to guide us in the right path in Chinese. There is Mr. Perowne, who devotes valuable time to dealing with our accounts with the help of Mrs. Davis, who runs our office with such efficiency and with so much grace; and finally let us say how we all appreciate the admirable and faithful work already done by our comparatively new Secretary, Colonel Hoysted.

The CHAIRMAN: Sir Denison Ross having proposed the adoption of the Report, I will now call upon Mr. Mackay to second it.

Mr. S. M. MACKAY: In seconding the adoption of the report I do so as a non-resident member of the Society.

I should say that a suggestion which I am going to make has largely been forestalled by the Hon. Treasurer in his report of the accounts. The aspect of the Society's activities with which the non-resident member is most familiar is, of course, the JOURNAL. Many of us have not the good fortune to be what I may call whole-time Orientalists, and when living abroad, even in the East, it is not always easy for us to pursue Orientalism. In such cases the JOURNAL fills a very valuable part in sustaining an interest that might otherwise die for lack of sustenance. I do feel, however, that steps could well be taken to make it much more widely known. Colonel Hoysted has given me some leaflets which show that in the past efforts have from time to time been made to reach more persons, but I know from my own experience and others' that one has often to go far out of one's way to keep in touch with Orientalism, and therefore I feel sure that were facilities for joining the Society more widely known we would secure many new members. I do not know just how this should be done, but I would suggest that the matter be canvassed with as many non-resident members as possible and suggestions obtained for activities that would be suitable for each area. I am quite sure that many members abroad would be only too pleased to take a more intimate and personal part in promoting the Society's interests.

As to the report of the year under review, I think we should certainly congratulate the Council on the continuing excellence of the Society's activities. I am afraid I can offer no more helpful suggestion than of a vigorous campaign abroad to bring in new members, and I do think there is plenty lot of room for that.

I beg to second the adoption of the report.

The CHAIRMAN : The Report has now been proposed and seconded. Does anyone else wish to address the Society on the subject ? . . . As no one wishes to do so I will ask those in favour of the adoption of the Report, which, as I have already stated, involves the passing of this list of Hon. Officers,

Members of Council, and Auditors, to indicate their desire in the ordinary way.

Passed unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN : In the unavoidable absence of the President it falls to my lot to furnish the survey of the Society's past work and future prospects which is usual at the Annual Meeting. In the President's absence we can say without embarrassing him how highly we appreciate the wisdom with which he presides over our deliberations and the energy with which he looks after our interests. It may be added that the work which he has recently published, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, by the scholarly qualities which it displays has added lustre to the Society. It would seem that the institution for which the Germans have coined the word *Festschrift* is becoming popular in other countries. In the past year two such works have appeared here, one on a magnificent scale dedicated to Professor F. Ll. Griffith, the first Professor of Egyptology in Oxford and, I fancy, in England, presented to him on the occasion of his retirement from the post which he has filled with so much distinction. Another which has only just been published is dedicated to Professor Rendel Harris, an Orientalist who is not indeed a member of our Society, which however will, I am sure, permit me to offer him its congratulations on the honour. His services to the textual criticism of the New Testament, and his remarkable discoveries of Syriac texts, some of them of extraordinary importance, are well known to all here. One other *Festschrift* which is appearing at this time is dedicated to Professor Duncan B. Macdonald, of the Theological Seminary, Hartford, Connecticut, a member of this Society and a contributor to our JOURNAL. Its method is, I fancy, an innovation, since the contributors are all of them Professor Macdonald's pupils. This method makes the volume *ipso facto* an eloquent testimony to the success of his work as a director of studies.

We have, as has been seen from the Report, to deplore several losses. Professor Sayce, honorary vice-president and

gold medallist : many here are likely to remember the appreciation of his work pronounced in this room by Sir Arthur Cowley and Lord Birkenhead on the occasion of his receiving the Society's medal. He had, indeed, like many men of eminence, *obtrectatores* as well as admirers, but the width of the circle which his fame had reached is gauged by the fact that some of the pocket diaries noted on 23rd September, "Professor Sayce, born 1845." Of Sir J. J. Modi, whose loss we also deplore, Sir Denison Ross has had some very interesting facts to tell us, but I may add that when I was in Bombay a few years ago he gave me a most cordial welcome, and he also gave me some opportunities of seeing with what extraordinary knowledge and energy he pursued his investigations. I think, too, we may include among our losses by death one of a man who is deplored by a very large circle, or indeed number of circles, the late Lord Chelmsford, formerly a member of this Society. He also did us the service of presenting our Public School Gold Medal, an occasion on which he defended, as it seemed to me convincingly, the Indian Government, of which he was the head, from the charge of negligence in medical equipment for the Mesopotamian campaign. Having been educated, like the President, at Winchester College, he was a patriotic Wykehamist, and treated all *alumni* of the same institution as old friends. Having held some of the highest offices of State, towards the end of his life he accepted the wardenship of All Souls in Oxford, where he received a cordial welcome. The University greatly deplores the loss of his wisdom and experience, by which it has been able to profit for so short a time.

Since our Society aims at being cosmopolitan, I may mention two losses which the Semitists have sustained of savants not connected with us. One is that of an eminent Syriac scholar, Johan Georg Ernst Hoffmann, of Kiel, who was closely associated with Theodore Nöldeke, whom he succeeded when the latter migrated to Strassburg. For an appreciation of his career and works I may refer to the

magazine *Forschungen und Festschrifte* of 1st March of this year. The other is that of the veteran student of South Arabian epigraphy, J. H. Mordtmann, one of the last of the older school of decipherers. Contributions by him to this subject appeared as early as 1876 : he co-operated with D. H. Müller in more than one of the works in which the basis for the interpretation of these monuments was laid. In 1931 he edited, in conjunction with Professor Mittwoch of Berlin, the inscriptions which were the fruit of the Rathjens-von Wissmann mission ; but he did not live to see the appearance of the latest volume which bears his name wherein he again co-operated with Mittwoch. A memoir of him by Professor Babinger, of Berlin, has appeared.

We have maintained the cosmopolitan character of our JOURNAL by accepting contributions from writers belonging to many nations. Some recognition is due to the persons who have advised the Council in the matter of accepting or rejecting articles offered, and since for a number of reasons India claims a large proportion of our space, a considerable burden has been borne by some of our experts, notably Professor Thomas, who for a long time was honorary secretary, Professor Barnett, and Professor Turner. I must also add Sir Denison Ross, whom we find a constant support in these matters. Our Assyriological experts are likely to be relieved of this duty since the Society has agreed to relegate the bulk of the matter which belongs to this department to a new Journal of Assyriology, for which Professor Langdon has obtained support from several institutions and which will, we hope, appear under the auspices of this Society, though under independent management. We all cordially wish it success, though there are already signs that our membership may suffer in consequence.

You will see from the list of lectures that the Society has used its lecture room to give those who are interested the opportunity of hearing accounts of discovery and explanation from the explorers and discoverers themselves, and owes a

debt of gratitude to those intrepid travellers who have consented to lecture and exhibit the work of their cameras. The task of providing for these monthly or fortnightly meetings is laid on our Secretary, who is justifying the opinion of a certain Statesman, that if we appointed Colonel Hoysted we could not possibly make a wrong choice. I could very much wish that these lectures would not only attract, as they do, large audiences, but would also lead to large accessions to our membership. We have already heard the figures from the Hon. Treasurer, which are somewhat melancholy.

There are three classes of member. Resident members who live in or near the metropolis: There were in 1923, 83; in 1925, 103; in 1932, 80; non-resident members living in Great Britain: in 1923, 121; in 1932, 87; non-resident members living abroad in 1923, 486; in 1928, 564; in 1932, 431. The decline is therefore somewhat serious, and I have not the figures for kindred societies which might justify me in resorting to the consolation which our Statesmen find so efficacious when reporting on the economy of the country, viz. that other countries are far worse off. Still it is worth observing that the Journal of the German Oriental Society which before the war had an extent of 800 pages is now reduced to 234, whereas ours goes up from 1,000 to 1,117; so very likely we could comfort ourselves in the same way. The Council has been trying to find some way of stopping this decline and is considering a decidedly heretical method. For whereas the great economists of the world are agreed that the way to make people buy more is to raise prices, the plan which commends itself to us is to lower them. We think there may be persons whose co-operation we should welcome, especially those who are professionally connected with the studies which we pursue, living in the metropolis, who may be deterred by the three-guinea subscription required of resident members, and the Council has just been endeavouring to make matters easier for this class of possible members. It is true that in these days of specialism only a

portion of the contents of any issue of the JOURNAL is likely to interest any particular member of the Society, and to the charge sometimes brought against us by correspondents that we are hopelessly technical and dry our reply is always that we do not aim at being popular. Our purpose is to provide those who are working in the vast and diverse fields which come within our scope with an opportunity for making the results of their researches known ; and the co-operation of Indianists, Semitists, Islamists, Sinologues, and others is not only a more economical plan than that of separate journals for the separate branches, but is more likely to attract workers into each. It has been, and I hope will continue to be, the policy of the Council to see that each branch of study is given its due share of attention. And while we recognize that results should be popularized, being occupied ourselves with what is called spade-work, we could wish for wider recognition of the fact that spade-work is necessary before anything capable of popularization can be obtained, and that membership of the Society is an effective form of participation in the process. And among the reasons which make us anxious to maintain the size no less than the quality of the JOURNAL is the fact that with the nationalism which is so marked a feature of the post-war period fresh countries are entering into co-operation, not always to be distinguished from competition, with us. The Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute is in its fifth year, and it is full of valuable material. But I have been asked to assist in making known one that is even more recent, of which the first number was issued only a few days ago ; and as it appears under the management of an honorary member of this Society I feel justified in using this occasion for complying with that request. It is *Al-Andalus*, a review of the schools of Arab studies of Madrid and Granada, of which the directors are Miguel Asin Palacios and Emilio Garcia Gomez. The name of our honorary member, Professor Asin Palacios, is well known and highly esteemed in this country as elsewhere, and his services to Arabic literature and

especially that of Moslem Spain are generally acknowledged and appreciated ; and so I may end with a word of good omen, and ask the Society to join with me in wishing his new enterprise success.

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### Christian Subjects in Mogul Painting

A lecture was delivered on the above subject by Sir Edward Maclagan on the 9th March, 1933.

The lecturer, approaching the subject from the historical rather than the artistic standpoint, described the attitude adopted by the three Mogul sovereigns, Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, towards the art of painting and towards the Christian mission which was established during their reigns at the Mogul court. Slides were exhibited to illustrate the presence of the Christian missionaries at the Court and the class of pictures which they introduced from Europe.

The large mural paintings, with which the Imperial buildings at Sikandra, Agra, and Lahore were decorated, included several with Christian motives. These paintings had disappeared, but their existence is proved both by the evidence of travellers and by the contemporary miniatures which display the interiors of the Mogul palaces.

The small paintings, known as miniatures, used partly as illustrations to books and partly as material for portfolios and albums, treated not infrequently of Christian subjects. A substantial number of these were demonstrably based on uncoloured prints executed by Flemish engravers (such as Galle, Sadeler, and Wierix) and imported from Antwerp : others were copies of known engravings by the German Master, Albert Dürer, and the lecturer was able by means of adjacent slides to exhibit the correspondence between the original engravings and the Mogul painted copies in each case. Examples were given, for instance, of Mogul paintings based on the " Maria am Baume " of Dürer, on his " St. Peter and the Cripple ", on one of his " Crucifixions ", on his

"Christ before Caiaphas", and on his "Standard bearer". The lecturer then proceeded to show several slides to illustrate the Mogul miniatures of the Madonna or the Madonna and Child, followed by a number displaying incidents in the life of Christ. Some of these were taken from the "Album of Jahāngīr" at Berlin, others from the "Album of Dārā" and the "Johnson Collection" at the India Office Library, and others from the British Museum and the India Museum, and from public and private collections in all parts of the world, including a valuable but much damaged series of illustrations to a Persian "Life of Christ" in the Lahore Museum, and some interesting examples from the collection of Mr. Chester Beatty in London. The slides included a remarkable portrait of Shāh Jahān with Christian symbols, a miniature of the angels ministering to Ibrāhīm bin Ādham (at one time wrongly believed to represent the angels ministering to Christ after the Temptation), and some mysterious pictures which have at times been taken to symbolize the "Good Shepherd" of the Gospel.

### **The Nicobar Islands and their Inhabitants**

On Thursday, 13th April, Lt.-Col. M. L. Ferrar gave a lecture illustrated by fifty lantern slides before the Royal Asiatic Society on "The Nicobar Islands and their Inhabitants". Col. Ferrar was for eight years Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

He said : We all know too well what has happened to primitive races in so many parts of the world, particularly among island communities long isolated and thus more liable to suffer from the impact of a new and more complex culture. Have the Nicobarese escaped and are they going to hold their own ?

First let us notice the situation of the Islands. Up from the bed of the Bay of Bengal, which is at a depth of 2,000 fathoms, there rises a great submarine ridge which runs in a 700-mile arc from Cape Negrais in Burma to Achin Head

in Sumatra. Preparis, the Cocos, the Great and Little Andaman, and the Nicobars may all be regarded as groups of mountain tops emerging above water from this ridge. There are deep gaps of 600 fathoms or so between the groups. The physical characteristics of the Andamans and Nicobars differ considerably one from the other and are, in my opinion, largely accountable for the startling difference between their inhabitants. The great Andaman has a hilly surface covered with dense forest and little adapted for the development of a primitive agriculture, even of the tropical garden and orchard type, still less of the rice and cereals type. There is a very indented coast, the eastern and western halves of which alternate with each other in being exposed or protected from the monsoons for half of each year. The consequence has been that for 5,000 years, as their kitchen middens prove to us, the Great Andaman has been peopled solely by a race of nomadic shore-dwelling hunters and collectors of food who have never learnt to plant and grow for their use anything whatsoever. During all that time the wild appearance of the country and the fierceness of its people effectually preserved it from the intrusion of strange settlers.

By the year 1858 the Andaman Islanders had rendered themselves unbearable through the cruelties they practised on all mariners cast away on their shores and the Government was forced to open a settlement in their islands. Its institution coincided with the close of the Great Mutiny and the new settlement was a penal one with mutineers for its early batches of convicts. It was essential on all grounds to turn the hostility of the savages into friendship and in the course of doing this we set up too close a contact with them.

The physical characteristics of the race briefly are that they are small—men about 5 feet, women 4 feet 10 inches, with glossy jet-black skin and short curly hair—muscular, and powerful, but unable to resist disease of any sort. In 1858 there were perhaps 4,000 of these little people living

scattered along the beaches and creeks. To-day there are but sixty of their true descendants alive, and another thirty with Indian blood in them.

I have said we maintained too close a contact. We taught them to wear clothes without their being able to grasp the function of clothes at all. We took them from their snug huts and exposed them to the winds under our pile-built houses, thus giving them chest complaints. We taught them to grow sugar cane, to row with English oars, to pick out letters of the alphabet, and to wait at table. When they escaped to their jungles we fetched them back. In an incredibly short space of time, less than twenty years, the mischief was done. By 1878 they were a doomed race. In our well-intentioned nineteenth-century self-satisfaction we had destroyed their scheme of life and their culture and had failed to give them anything in exchange except new diseases which they were unable to combat. Now there are sixty left out of 4,000. A cruise past their deserted beaches and through untenanted creeks where no sign of human life is to be seen inevitably fills one with melancholy.

The Önges of the Little Andaman have been more fortunate. We made friends with them in the eighties and have since kept them at arms length. They have diminished by 30 or 40 per cent, but under existing conditions should dwindle no further.

Turning to the Nicobars we find that physical conditions vary from island to island and in proportion as they approach those of the Great Andaman you get the density of the population growing less and its culture more primitive. Of the twenty islands, large and small, only half are inhabited. Of these Car Nicobar and Chaura consist almost entirely of raised coral beaches, they are covered from end to end with coconut groves and support a dense population of 150 to the square mile. Several others, Teressa, Bompoka, Camorta, and Nankauri present the most beautiful views to the traveller at sea. Frequent beaches of white coral sand are fringed at

the back by coconuts, with then a belt of *pandanus*, the screwpine or Nicobar bread-fruit, called by Dampier the mellory tree; behind them some tropical forest, from which emerge gently contoured hills running up to 800 feet, covered with grass and separated by wooded coombes. The effect is often that of park land and recalls the scenery of the temperate zone. Here the density of the population drops to 10 per square mile. The remaining islands, Kachal, Great and Little Nicobar, and their satellites Polo Milo and Kondul are more mountainous and covered with forest. Mt. Thuillier in the Great Nicobar rises to 2,700 feet, and from it several navigable rivers run to the coast. This island, 333 square miles in extent, is covered with forest except for a few strips of coconuts and *pandanus* behind the infrequent beaches. The density of the population has a further drop in these wooded islands to 1 per square mile. Throughout the Nicobars the beauty of the scenery is greatly enhanced by the wonderful variety in the colour of the sea as it is affected by the clouds or by the presence of coral or sand in the shallows. But this beauty of land and sea is general to all tropical islands.

The Nicobars lie on the ancient trade route to the East, and from the earliest times the abundance and the excellence of Nicobar coconuts and the presence of other commodities, such as ambergris, tortoiseshell, green snail, edible sea-slugs, and edible bird's-nests, have brought traders to the islands, and for an equally long time we may assume that the present inhabitants have been established there. They were first mentioned by the Chinese traveller I'Tsing in A.D. 672, and from that time have been known by historians and travellers as "Nakkavaram", the land of the naked, and, indeed, not only "naked" but "possessing tails", for this was the belief engendered by the dangling ends of the islanders' loincloths. For 250 years and more there have been spasmodic attempts by different European powers to colonize the islands and still more to evangelize the people. All have ended in failure. Our immediate predecessors were the Danes who finally

relinquished possession of the islands in 1848. For the next twenty years the Nicobarese of the central group practised a murderous piracy on all vessels driven to shelter there by force of circumstances. Unlike the more accidental outrages which sent us to occupy the Andamans these attacks were at times premeditated and at others a rough way of settling accounts with greedy traders. When the tally of pirated ships reached twenty-six the British stepped in and annexed the group. An offshoot of the Port Blair penal settlement was opened in Nankauri harbour and the Andamans and Nicobars were jointly formed into a small province, or to use the official term, "a minor local administration," under a Chief Commissioner at Port Blair in the Great Andaman, who was directly under the Home Department of the Government of India. In twenty years' time piracy had become a vague memory and the Nankauri settlement having thus fulfilled its purpose was evacuated.

The Port Blair station ship still kept up periodic visits, but resident authority was reduced to two native Indian agents at Car Nicobar and Nankauri respectively. Twelve years ago the former made way for a European Assistant Commissioner in charge of the whole group and a full time tahsildar relieved the agent at Nankauri. These two officials have duties quite unlike those performed by persons with similar designations in India. One must consider them as protectors rather than rulers. They collect no revenue from the Nicobarese nor do they perform any judicial work unless the parties are outsiders. Their chief duties are to regulate the presence and activities of outside traders, to protect the Nicobarese from their rapacity, and to settle disputes between the two communities. This they do under the special law of the province known as Reg. III of 1876. Under this regulation the landing and residence of strangers was as rigidly controlled in the Nicobars as in the Andamans, for there were penal settlements in both places. Trading in the Nicobars was also forbidden except under licence. To the

fortunate existence of this control we can ascribe the continued freedom of the Nicobarese from all forms of spoliation by more worldly folk. The traders know themselves to be liable to immediate ejection if they misbehave. Armed by the regulation the local officers have decreed that no Nicobarese shall be given goods on credit or be sueable for debt by a non-Nicobarese. All transactions are to be cash ones if cash is the word to use where the currency is in terms of coconuts. The revenue of the islands comes solely from traders' licence fees and from the royalty of 10 per cent *ad valorem* paid by them on all island produce exported. Both officers are rather tied to headquarters. The tahsildar has a steam launch with a rather restricted steaming radius, and the Assistant Commissioner is unable to leave Car Nicobar except when every two or three months the station steamer arrives from Port Blair for a four or five days' cruise in the islands. The arm of the law consists of a police guard of one to three men at Car Nicobar which the Assistant Commissioner usually declares he does not need. At Nankauri the tahsildar has ruled solely through personal charm—the smile without the thick stick. Among his charges must still be the sons of many a blood-stained pirate. For the rest the Nicobarese are left to govern themselves through the medium of their headmen known locally as "Captains".

Brigs from Moulmein or the West Coast of India bring rice and piece goods and luxuries such as felt hats or electro-plated spoons. For these last there is a good demand. They may be used for their normal purpose but are mostly in evidence as ornaments, stuck in a man's armlets and leg bands on holidays. In return the brig will load coconuts and some copra and other local products. Our own ship's motor-boat takes passengers just short of where the surf is breaking and we transfer into a local canoe, the crew of which, after biding their time and throwing many a look over their shoulders, will suddenly with loud grunts and shouts paddle us on to the top of a wave which breaks on the beach and

carries us well up it. Not everyone escapes mishap, and ten or eleven years ago the Bishop of Rangoon and his wife arrived quite the wrong way up and completely soaked to their own and everyone else's great joy. And here I may say that the trip to the Nicobars possesses a great charm for the European, largely owing to the freedom and simplicity of everything. The people, while never rude or impertinent, care little for rank and practise no ceremony and are more likely to show deference to someone because they like him rather than because he is, say, the Deputy Commissioner. Add to this the feeling that bad temper is a positive sin and that the very appearance of the people is a joke—indeed, bad temper used to be a crime punishable with death. The result is an atmosphere of jolliness and good humour that lasts so long as there are Nicobarese in sight.

On one of my early visits to the islands I had to try two men of Teressa for devil murder, a shockingly cruel form of lynching. Accompanied by my family and one policeman I was piped down the side of the R.I.M. ship in which we were touring and was rowed ashore with due ceremony, an ensign in the stern and the Chief Commissioner's flag in the bow. At the top of the steep sandy beach was the Inspector of Police in his uniform, red U.P. head-dress and, to mark the fact that he was prosecutor, a black gown on his shoulders. Only the exercise of great agility brought us moderately dry ashore. Led by the solitary Inspector in his gown we walked to the village to find a crowd of forty or fifty naked Nicobarese. The Inspector found it difficult to stage the trial and sort out the two accused from the rest of the crowd. All was at last in order and the solemn trial of two men on a capital charge had begun : pleas of guilty were being recorded when there was a renewed hubbub. The officer who had escorted us ashore was thrust through the crowd with a gun in his hand and his trousers rolled up over his knees. Apologizing to the judge for his unintended intrusion he said he was in search of wild pigeon. There was immediate

questioning in the crowd and the two accused, smiling broadly, each put up a hand like board school boys in class and gave the required information. The officer melted away and the court proceeded in the space of some four or five minutes to convict the accused on their own statements and to sentence them to death. All knew this to be a sort of a bad joke on the part of the judge who, assuming the functions of Chief Commissioner, immediately commuted the sentence to one of two years' imprisonment.

Mus is the chief of the nine villages of Car Nicobar and is also the headquarters of the Assistant Commissioner and of the S.P.G. Mission and the school and hospital maintained by it with Government aid. An essential part of the village is the *El Panam* or public meeting place. On one side is the graveyard with each grave marked by a post like a rough capstan. Behind them are more round huts for social ceremonies but the two gabled huts are set aside, one for births and the other for deaths. In these two huts every resident of Mus, whose life works out according to plan, should first be born and finally die. Here lives a well-known resident, John Davidson, and his family. Like many elderly Nicobarese he can talk a little English in addition to Burmese, Hindustani, and possibly Malayalam. In the central group Burmese gives way to Malay in which language the Nicobarese transact business with the Chinese traders. The ability to pick up several languages is a general Nicobarese trait and is a proof of their quickness and adaptability.

Canoe racing is a very favourite sport. Fine, muscular, powerfully built young men form the crew. They include some twenty-five paddlers, four or five bailers, and a coxswain. After chanting an impressive chorus they proceed to launch the canoe, and run her out into the surf. On the day we said good-bye to the Nicobars, in February, 1931, we watched a race between two of these great canoes. A big swell was running and one canoe was swamped. The paddlers jumped over the side and held on while the bailers worked wooden

hand scoops with such a frenzy that in little over a minute, so it seemed, they had shovelled some tons of water out of the canoe. The paddlers then climbed in and went off again.

These canoes often visit the next inhabited island, Chaura. They bring back large earthen pots. These are the object of one of the most rigorous and probably one of the most salutary tabus among ocean peoples. The men of Chaura have established a tabu under which they, or to be exact their women, alone may make cooking pots for the whole of the population of the Nicobars of which they form little more than the twentieth part. People requiring pots must either await the arrival of a canoe from Chaura or must proceed to Chaura themselves. For the men of Car Nicobar the trip is fraught with danger. If they fail to sight the little desert isle of Batti Mal half way the strong currents that run may take them far away from the islands and out into the Bay of Bengal. For a Car Nicobar boy his first trip to Chaura is equivalent to his coming of age and is preceded and followed by befitting ceremonies. Not the least danger in former days was that of overstaying one's welcome among proud and contemptuous hosts whose supplies were limited and who would not scruple to slaughter their guests should the latter be unable to get away before the onset of the south-west monsoon.

The inter-island trade is regulated by tabus similar to that governing the trade in cooking pots. They all have their origin in the suitability of a particular island for the supply of a particular commodity. For instance the islands of Chaura and Car Nicobar have no trees for canoes and must procure the latter from farther south. But in the matter of pots it is known that the clay on Chaura has long been exhausted and all supplies of clay have to be fetched from Teressa. So strong is the moral ascendancy of the aristocrats of Chaura that the Teressa people dare not use their own clay and make their own pots. The effect and the value of regulating trade by tabu has only recently been recognized. The absolute

necessity of performing dangerous sea voyages fosters many good qualities—of enterprise, skill in seamanship, of power and endurance, of courage and pride, and other generous feelings which are all in evidence among the Northern Nicobarese but less noticeable in the Southerners whose wants are close at hand. The breakdown of these tabus would assuredly result in degeneration and the loss of manly virtues.

All authorities unite in considering the Nicobarese to be of Indo-Chinese rather than Tibeto-Burmese or Malayan stock. Philological research supports this theory, for the language is stated by Sir George Grierson to have affinities with the Mon and Tlaing languages of Tenasserim and the Khmer languages of Cambodia. Differences in customs particularly those concerning burial and disinterment suggest that the original immigrants were not quite homogeneous. Since then there has certainly been further dilution through contact with Tlaings, South Indians, Malays, and Chinese. The purest type is found in Chaura the people of which have an aristocratic contempt for all other Nicobarese to whom they are superior in culture and in tribal and economic organization. The Car Nicobarese are quite clear about *their* origin. They descend from a man and a dog blown out to sea on a raft. As proofs of the correctness of this pedigree they point to the ceremonial fillet said to recall the ears of their ancestress and to the loose end of the *Kisat* or loin-cloth, which symbolizes her tail, and also to the fact that they alone among the Nicobarese do not eat dog. The complexion of the Nicobarese is yellowish or reddish brown, and the hair straight. Good looks are not their strong point, especially among the middle-aged and the elderly, whose teeth are blackened and carry heavy incrustations of lime and betel nut. They are not of great stature but are remarkably muscular. The gait is sluggish and slouching but when climbing a coconut tree, paddling a canoe, or building a house they show great activity and application. Europeans who land for a few hours talk of them as lazy, but laziness is a relative

term. They are no more lazy, taking the climate into consideration, than rich men in England who have little work but many occupations. In Car Nicobar no one is poor or looks unhappy and no one need ever be hungry, so it is obvious that the output of work is sufficient. The excellence of their houses, canoes, and other works of their hands show them to be able and persevering craftsmen. Their dress or its absence you have noted. To it they are fond of making laughable additions in the way of head-dress. Top hats were the favourite but are now as rare as they are in Piccadilly of a forenoon in August. They make up the deficiency with soft hats, boaters, panamas, and gay coloured jockey caps. With the top hats have gone most of the names given to the chiefs and others by sailing-ship captains, names such as Corney Grain, Davy Jones, Ally Sloper, or Tin Belly. The mere introduction to a naked savage grotesquely hatted and announcing himself in passable English as Mr. Pell or Captain Dixon puts you in good humour for the rest of the morning, but you must laugh *with* him and not *at* him, for he has a keen sense of his own dignity and that of others.

The main foods of the Nicobarese through the ages have been firstly the local bread fruit which is a large cultivated *pandanus* and not the *artocarpus* of the South Seas, and secondly the coconut. The place of the former is largely taken now by imported rice but the coconut remains in favour as drink no less than food, for few Nicobarese drink anything but green coconut milk. The fruitfulness of the trees is immense and it is well that it is so, for a man of prosperous means uses up 300 nuts a day on his household and his pigs, dogs, and fowls. The food most beloved of all is pork, and the Nicobarese sets more store on his pigs than on any other of his property.

The people are undisguised animists who feel at all times the pressing need to scare away the evil spirits that are ever ready to do them harm—or, failing that, to propitiate them. This is carried out through exorcists known here as *menluanas*.

In Car Nicobar the novices training to become *menluanas* are called *maa fai*. Much of the propitiation of evil spirits takes the eminently practical form of feasting. Every two or three years in Car Nicobar—that is to say, as soon as the stock of pigs has recovered from the slaughter on the previous occasion—there is an ossuary feast held by the entire village. Six weeks or so before, they erect on the well-kept village square a very tall mast from which at some hazard they suspend all manner of choice foods for the dead. Rows of pig pens are built all round the square and as the time draws near great numbers of pigs are snared and penned. Many guests are invited and the festival begins with a whole night of singing and dancing round the tall mast. The next day is spent in killing and eating pork. Then the mast is cut down and thrown away. Some of the boars are semi-wild and these are let loose, one at a time, and played with by an unarmed man whose object is to seize the boar by the ears before the latter gashes him with his tushes. The guests leave that evening, and then next day comes the digging up of the dead of some two years ago. After a night of vigil the bones are cast into the ossuary, a piece of rough ground covered with undergrowth. More feasting follows, with single-stick play, wrestling, and a boat race, and a final great dance brings the long orgy to an end.

Immediately inside the entrance to Nankauri harbour lies a picturesque village. Its protected position allows the houses to be built on the water. In the shallows are planted tall bamboos bearing tufts of grass to scare away spirits that would invade the village from the sea. In the background are slopes of lalang grass crowned by casuarina trees under which lie the remains of the talented de Roepstorff murdered here in 1883 by a Madrasai soldier when in charge of the Settlement.

The anchorage at Pulo Milo, a small island off Little Nicobar, is the loveliest imaginable and hard to beat for scenery anywhere in the tropics. Behind are the wooded hills of Little

Nicobar rising precipitously to 1,700 feet. A paddle of a mile or less lands you on one of its beaches. Its 58 square miles only support a population of 57. Kanalla or Pulo Babi on the west of the Great Nicobar is generally visited by the station ship.

In the interior of Great Nicobar live the Shom Pen. The shore Nicobarese dread these wild folk so much that, except at Kanalla, they have evacuated the mainland and live on two or three small islands a mile or two off shore. A curious barter is carried out by the Shom Pen depositing rattan cane at certain trysting spots and coming back later to take away piece goods and other things left in exchange by the shore folk. For many years no European has encountered these shy elusive people, but the census party which I and my family accompanied in 1931 were fortunate in finding a small village of their's on the Alexandra river. Paddling very quietly up-stream we came on one of their huts on lofty poles—and were round the bend and at their village before they had time to run away. The village and its inhabitants are dirty and degraded. Our anthropologist, Dr. Naidu, made the most of the opportunity and took measurements of all the Shom Pen present.

The Christians in Car Nicobar number 340 out of a total population of 7,500, but as they include all the educated Nicobarese they exercise a growing influence in the island. They are expected to, and do, live a life of greater self-control than their pagan brethren; less of the prolonged feasting and toddy drinking, and excessive chewing of betel nut which the older pagans indulge in, and less of the promiscuous love-making of the younger ones, and, of course, an avoidance of superstition, exorcism, and other animistic practices. Like converts elsewhere they are exceedingly devout. For the rest, they are not kept apart but are encouraged to remain Nicobarese and to excel in manly sports of every kind. Here I must stress one of the most charming traits of this people. All wish to excel but not to win at sports. Thus it is that

canoe races have no start and no finish. Betting is naturally unknown.

Taking the Nicobars as a whole what has been the result of annexation by the British and what further results may be expected ? The Nicobarese had long enjoyed a settled life, a strong social system, and a distinctive culture and for centuries had been in touch with the outer world. Consequently our assumption of control did not disrupt their life or introduce new and fatal diseases. On the contrary we excluded all interlopers and exploiters and only allowed foreign traders in on sufferance. At the same time we left the people very largely to themselves, and interfered as little as possible in their internal affairs, except that we suppressed devil murder and dealt severely with all crimes of violence. The effect on the population has been that in the central group, where we found stagnation and apathy among the natives and left them to themselves without supplying them with education or adequate medical aid, the population has slightly decreased. In the two northern islands where the people were active and virile and where educational and medical arrangements have been better, there has been a considerable increase in numbers. The population of Car Nicobar has doubled in thirty years but saturation has not been reached for the island can still export 5,000,000 coconuts per annum. The rate of increase is unlikely to present any great difficulty for there is room on Kachal and Great Nicobar for any surplus numbers from the North for a very long time to come. The question of quality is more important than that of quantity. Here we find Mr. Bonington's Census report extremely interesting. He has two misgivings. The first is that the substitution of an Assistant Commissioner for an agent will mean eventually that the Captains of the villages will lose their authority and the tribal system will collapse. I think he has overestimated the degree of interference that has occurred, but he has done a service in pointing out the probable consequences of too much interference. His second

misgiving is about the consequences of the disappearance of existing tabus as a result of conversion to Christianity, or of sophistication through other means. He quotes a very interesting work by S. H. Roberts in *Population Problems of the Pacific* in which the writer says "Destruction of tabu and its consequent interests destroys the sociology of primitive tribes and their minds are left a perfect blank". The tabus Mr. Bonington has in mind are those which stimulate inter-island canoe voyages with their hardships and dangers. In his *Argonauts of the West Pacific* Malinowski has also pointed out the tonic influence of such voyages. So far there are no signs of any weakening of the trade tabus but Mr. Bonington has performed a service to the Nicobarese in drawing attention to their value.

In conclusion you may be interested to hear what the Nicobarese think of the impending changes of the Constitution. On the day I said good-bye to them in 1931 the nine Captains of Car Nicobar stepped forward and presented a petition begging that they should never be placed under the control of Indians who would inevitably ruin them. They begged to be put under the Colonial Office or, failing that, to be handed over to Burma. The petition was forwarded by me to Government.

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### Excavations at Kakzu (Qaṣr Šemamok)

The Italian Archaeological Mission to Mesopotamia has begun excavations under the leadership of Giuseppe Furlani, Professor at the University of Florence, in the ruins of the old Assyrian town of Kakzu, of which the *tell* is now called Qaṣr Šemamok and is situated not far from the Zab al-A'la and to the west of the town of Erbil, the ancient Arba-ilu and Arbela. The excavations were begun in February and closed at the end of April.

The results were quite satisfactory. The Mission has discovered near the Kurdish village of Sa'dāwah a trace of

the walls of the city, built with baked bricks by King Sennacherib, as is proved by an inscription of this king impressed on many of the bricks of the wall. To the west of the *tell* a necropolis has come to light, belonging to the Parthian period. Some beautiful sarcophagi glazed in green were found there, together with many vases of different shapes, beads, objects of iron and bronze, cylinder-seals, and many other antiquities.

Professor Furlani has been able to trace the course of the walls of the town and has discovered outside them an Assyrian house, posterior to the time of Sennacherib. According to the inscription found on them, some of the bricks belonged to the palace built by this king in the royal town of Kakzu. Fragments of inscriptions scattered on the ground prove that there was at Kakzu a royal palace in the middle-Assyrian period.

The Mission has also found prehistoric objects and some potsherds belonging to the same period. Some prehistoric finds have also been made in the neighbourhood of the concession. The excavations will be continued in December next. All the antiquities brought home by the Mission will be deposited and exhibited provisionally in the Museo Archeologico at Florence.

#### **Islamic Research Association, Bombay**

An appeal has been received in connection with the proposal to found an Association for Islamic Research in India. The initial rate of subscription has been fixed at the nominal sum of *Rs. 3* per annum. As soon as funds permit the Executive Committee intend to publish a Journal to which the most eminent scholars will be invited to contribute.

All contributions should be addressed to :—

Asaf A. A. Fyzee, Esq.,

Secretary, Islamic Research Association,  
43 Chaupati Road, Bombay, 7, India.

**Notices**

On account of the Summer Holidays it would be greatly appreciated if correspondence could be reduced to a minimum during the months of August and September.

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The hearty congratulations of the Society are offered to Sir John Marshall upon the recent award to him of the triennial gold medal for historical research by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay.

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It is hoped to publish in the near future, as a Supplement to the JOURNAL OF THE R.A.S., an Index of the Contents of the JOURNAL for the decade 1920-9. For this reason the contents of the October Number for 1933 and the Numbers for 1934 must be correspondingly reduced. The Editor regrets that the reduction will unavoidably necessitate a slight delay in the publication of certain articles and reviews.

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- 1921 \*BASU, Hemchandra, M.A., B.L., Vakil High Court, Palm Villa, Fort Monghyr, Calcutta, India.
- 1929 \*BASU, Purna Gopal, L.M.P., Jessor, Bengal, India.
- 1924 \*BASU, Sriyukta Manishi Nath, Saraswati, M.A., B.L., Keranitola, Midnapore, Bengal, India.
- 1931 BATESON, Miss Glynne, 17 St. George's Court, S.W. 7.
- 1933 BEDFORD, O. H., L.R.I.B.A., 72 Alder Grove, N.W.2.
- 1913 \*†BELVALKAR, Shripad K., M.A., Ph.D., Prof. of Sanskrit, Deccan College, Bilkunja, Bhamburda, Poona, India.
- 1932 †BILL, Sir Charles, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., C.I.E., F.R.G.S., Edgcumbe, Crowthorne, Berks.
- 1932 \*BERMAN, A. H., Principal of Aria College, 10 Victoria Rd. N., Southsea, Hants.
- 60 1913 \*BERNARD, Pierre A., Rossiter House, Clarkstown Country Club, Nyack-on-Hudson, New York, U.S.A.
- 1929 \*†BESWICK, F. H., 96 Parkstone Avenue, Parkstone, Dorset.
- 1892 \*BEVAN, A. A., M.A., Lord Almoner's Reader in Arabic, Trinity College, Cambridge.
- 1882 \*†BHABHA, Rev. Sharurje D., M.D., 8 Drakefell Road, S.E. 14.
- 1925 \*BHANDARKAR, D. R., 35 Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta, India.
- 1927 \*BHARGAVA, Pandit Gajadhar Prasad, B.A., LL.B., Kydganj., Allahabad, India.
- 1922 \*BHARGAVA, Pandit Shri Dhar Lal, Barrister-at-Law, Damodar-Bhawan, Jai Gunj, Aligarh, U.P., India.
- 1925 \*BHARTIYA, N. Kishore, B.A., Karachikhana, Cawnpore, India.
- 1918 \*BHAT, Prof. V. G., B.A., Karnatak College, Dharwar, India.
- 1909 \*BHATTACHARYA, Babu Biswar, Dep. Magistrate, 16 Townshend Rd., Bhawanipore P.O., Calcutta, India.
- 70 1931 \*BHATTASALI, N. K., M.A., Curator, Dacca Museum, P.O. Ramna, Dacca, Bengal, India.
- 1927 \*BHIDE, Mahadeva V., I.C.S., Race Course Road, Lahore, India.
- 1921 \*BIVAR, H. G. S., c/o Grindlay & Co., 6 Church Lane, Calcutta, India.
- 1911 \*BLACKMAN, A. M., M.A., D.Litt., 24 Bardwell Road, Oxford.
- 1924 \*BLACKMAN, Miss W. S., 17 Bardwell Road, Oxford.
- 1895 §BLAGDEN, C. Otto, M.A., Hon.D.Litt., VICE-PRESIDENT, School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C. 2.
- 1909 \*BLUNT, E. A. H., I.C.S., c/o Secretariat, Allahabad, U.P., India.
- 1924 \*†BODDING, Rev. P. O., Mohulpahari, Santal Parganas, India.
- 1932 \*BOLUS, Rev. E. J., M.A., B.D., I.C.S. (ret.), Monk Sherborne Rectory, Basingstoke.
- 1928 BOWEN, Harold C., 24a Bryanston Square, W. 1.
- 80 1911 \*BOYER, M. l'Abbé A. M., 114 Rue du Bac, Paris, VII.
- 1928 \*BOYLE, Major C. A., D.S.O., General Staff, Delhi, India.
- HON. 1923 BREASTED, J. H., Ph.D., Hon. D.Litt. (Oxon), Prof. of Egyptology, University of Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
- 1928 BROWN, Mrs. J. Hally, Craignahullie, Skelmorlie, Ayrshire, Scotland.
- 1907 §BROWN, R. Grant, I.C.S. (ret.), c/o T. Cook & Son, Berkeley Street, W. 1.

- 1917 \*BROWN, Thos., *La Roque, Overton Road, Sutton, Surrey.*  
 1908 \*BÜCHLER, Dr. A., *Jews' College; 261 Goldhurst Terrace, N.W. 6.*  
 1922 \*BUCKLER, Professor F. W., M.A., *The Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin, Ohio, U.S.A.*  
 1919 BUDGE, Sir E. A. Wallis, M.A., Litt.D., D.Litt., F.S.A., 48 *Bloomsbury St., W.C. 1.*  
 1906 \*†BURDWAN, Hon. Maharajadhiraj Sir Bijay Chand M. Bahadur, Maharsaja of, I.O.M., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., *The Palace, Burdwan, Bengal, India.*  
**90** 1926 BURKILL, Isaac Henry, *Clova, The Mount, Fetcham Park, Leatherhead, Surrey.*  
 1919 \*BURKITT, Prof. F. C., D.D., *Westroad Corner, Cambridge.*  
 1932 \*BURMAN, Ram Kishandas, *Banker & Landlord, Naya Bana, Delhi, Punjab, India.*  
 1897 \*§BURN, Sir Richard, Kt., C.S.I., 9 *Staverton Road, Oxford.*  
 1927 \*BURNAY, Jean, *Legal Adviser, 3594 Surivongse Road, Bangkok, Siam.*  
 1932 \*BURROW, T., B.A., *Christ's College, Cambridge.*  
 1923 \*BURROWS, Father E. N. R., S.J., M.A., *Campion Hall, Oxford.*  
 1923 \*BUSHNELL, G. H., *Chief Librarian, St. Andrews University, Fife, Scotland.*  
 1927 \*CADELL, P. R., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (ret.), *Junagadh, Kathiawar, India.*  
 1915 †CARDEW, Mrs. F., 4 *North View, Wimbledon Common, S.W. 19.*  
**100** 1930 \*CARDOZO, D. A. Jessurun, 27 *Penshurst Road, Ramsgate, Kent.*  
 1923 \*CASTLE, Rev. T. W., *The Vicarage, Congleton, Cheshire.*  
 1926 \*CHAKRABARTI, Babu Satish Chandra, M.A., Asst. Headmaster, *Patna High School, P.O. Anisabad, Patna, B. and O., India.*  
 1923 \*CHAKRABORTY, Surendra Kishore, M.A., *Prof. of History, A. M. College, Mymensingh, Bengal, India.*  
 1924 \*CHAKRAVARTY, Nirajan Prasad, M.A., *Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, Nilgiris, S. India.*  
 1922 §CHALMERS, Lord, The Rt. Hon., P.C., G.C.B., F.B.A., HON. VICE-PRESIDENT, *Stather, Melton Mowbray, Leicestershire.*  
 1877 \*CHAMBERLAIN, Basil Hall, *Hotel Richmond, Geneva, Switzerland.*  
 1929 \*CHAND, Hakam, B.A., *Darshani Gate, Patiala, Punjab, India.*  
 1928 \*CHANDRA, Harish, B.A., *Income Tax Officer, Jhansi, U.P., India.*  
 1933 \*CHANDRA, Rai Govind, M.A., *Visharad, Hastings House, Benares Cantt., India.*  
**110** 1923 \*CHANDRA, Sri Gopal, B.A., LL.B., *Puisne Judge, High Court of Judicature, Bikaner State, Bikaner, Rajputana, India.*  
 1928 CHAPPELOW, Eric B. W., 11 *Lee Park, Blackheath, S.E. 3.*  
 1933 \*CHARIAR, T. C. Varada, *Vakil, Poonamallee, Chingleput Dist., Madras, India.*  
 1920 \*CHARPENTIER, Jarl, Ph.D., *Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, The University, Upsala; Götgatan 12, Upsala, Sweden.*  
 1914 \*†CHATTOOREHOOJADASS, Dewan Bahadur Govindass, 459 *Mint St., George Town, Madras, India.*  
 1915 CHATTERJEE, Sir Atul C., K.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., LLD., *Withdean, Cavendish Road, Weybridge, Surrey.*  
 1926 \*CHATTOPADHYAYA, K., M.A., *Lecturer in Sanskrit, The University, Allahabad, India.*

- 1933 \*CHATURVEDI, Sahityacharya Pt. Chatur Bhuj Dass, *Hindi Prabhaker, Dahi Wali Gali, Bharatpur, Rajputana, India.*
- 1933 \*CHAUDHARY, Karim D., B.Sc., C.E., M.I.B.E., *Batala City, Gurdaspur Dist., Punjab, India.*
- 1932 \*CHAUDHURI, Helish Chandra, *Zamindar, Shepurtown P.O., Mymensingh, Dist. Bengal, India.*
- 120 1929 \*CHAUDHURI, Himanshu Ch., M.A., B.L., *49/1B Harish Mukherjee Rd., Bhawanipur P.O., Calcutta, India.*
- 1923 \*CHAUDHURI, Sati K. Ray, M.A., *Zemindar, Noapara, Dist. JESSORE, India.*
- 1931 \*CHEMJONG, Iman Singha, *Headmaster M.E. School, P.O. Sukhia Pokhri, Darjeeling, Bengal, India.*
- 1921 \*†CHETTY, O. A. O. K. Chidambaram, *Banker, Pallatur, S. India.*
- F.E.M. 1932 CHINESE MINISTER, H.E. The, *The Chinese Legation, 49 Portland Place, W. 1.*
- 1918 \*CHIKEN-AKANUMA, Shin-shu, *Otani-Daigaku, Kuramaguchi, Kyoto, Japan.*
- 1914 \*CHOLMELEY, N. G., C.S.I., I.C.S. (ret.), c/o *Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 54 Parliament St., London, S.W. 1.*
- 1921 \*CHOWDHURY, Satis Chandra Chuckerbutty, *Zemindar, Dhalla Satish Lodge, Mymensingh, Bengal, India.*
- 1919 \*CLARK, Dr. Walter E., *Prof. of Sanskrit, Harvard University, 39 Kirkland Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*
- 1929 \*CLARKE, Mrs. C. H., *204 East 41st St., N.Y., U.S.A.*
- 130 1929 \*CLARKE, Miss Susan L., c/o *Miss A. A. Antrobus, Cranleigh, Wheatley, Oxford.*
- 1912 §CLAUSON, Gerard L. M., C.M.G., O.B.E., F.S.A., *25 Lansdowne Crescent, W. 11.*
- 1904 \*CLEMENTI, Sir C., G.C.M.G., *Government House, Singapore.*
- 1929 CLEMENTS, Miss Edith, L.R.A.M., *5 Nottingham Terrace, N.W. 1.*
- 1907 \*†COCHIN, H.H. Maharaja Sri Rama Varma, G.C.I.E., ol. *S. India.*
- 1910 \*CODRINGTON, Humphrey W., *43 Palace Gdns. Terrace, W.8.*
- 1920 \*COEDÈS, George, Prof., *Directeur de l'École française d'Extrême Orient, Hanoi, Indo-Chine.*
- 1920\*†§COOK, S. A., Litt.D., *Regius Professor of Hebrew, Cambridge University; 26 Lensfield Road, Cambridge.*
- 1919 \*COOKE, Richard, *The Croft, Detling, Maidstone.*
- 1906 \*†COOMARASWAMY, A. K., D.Sc., *Fellow for Research in Indian, Persian, and Muhammadan Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.*
- 140 1888 \*COUSENS, Henry, *3 Montacute Gardens, Tunbridge Wells.*
- 1919 COUSLAND, Mrs. (Gertrude), *Elm Lodge, 31 Kentferry Road, Northwood, Middlesex.*
- 1912 \*CRESWELL, Capt. K. A. C., *34 Sharia Hasan el-Akbar, Cairo, Egypt.*
- 1919 \*CRUM, W. E., *19 Bathwick Hill, Bath.*
- 1915 CUMMING, Sir John Ghest, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., *52 West Heath Drive, N.W. 11.*
- 1908 \*DAICHES, Dr. Samuel, *25 Cavendish Road, N.W. 6.*
- 1931 \*DALAL, Rustom D., *1 New Marine Lines, Bombay, India.*
- 1924 \*DALZIEL, Walter W., B.A., I.C.S., *District Judge's House, Monghyr, Bihar, India.*

- F.E.M. 1932 DAMRONG, Rājanubhāb, H.R.H. Prince, *Varadis Palace, Bangkok, Siam.*
- 1909 \*DANDOY, Rev. G. S.J., *St. Xavier's College, 30 Park St., Calcutta, India.*
- 150** 1930 \*DARBHANGA, Maharajadhiraja Kameswara Singha of, *Bihar and Orissa, India.*
- 1922 \*DAS, Ajit Nath, *24A South Road, Entally, Calcutta, India.*
- 1931 \*DAS, S. K., *Small Arms School, Pachmarhi, C.P., India.*
- 1931 \*DAS, Sukumar, B.Sc., *42A Akhil Mistry Lane, P.O. Amherst St., Calcutta, India.*
- 1928 \*DASS, L. ARJAN, M.A., LL.B., *Mujd-i-Am Press, Lahore, India.*
- 1931 \*DATTA, S. C., L.M.P., *M.O. in charge Sadar Hospital, Jessore, Bengal, India.*
- 1927 \*†DAVAR, Hans Raj, B.Sc., *Headmaster, Govt. High School, Murree, Punjab, India.*
- 1931 \*DAVE, T. N., M.A., B.T., Ph.D., *Deccan College, Poona, India.*
- 1915 \*DAVIES, Rev. Canon A. W., *14 Linton Road, Oxford.*
- 1924 DAVIES, Capt. C. C., Ph.D., *70 Longley Road, Harrow, Mdx.*
- 160** 1923 \*DAYAL, Babu Prayag, *Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow, India.*
- 1921 \*DE, Sushil Kumar, M.A., D.Litt., *Univ. of Dacca, Ramna, Dacca, India.*
- 1932 \*DEMIEVILLE, P., *Professor of Chinese, École des Langues Orientales; 4 rue Mignard, Paris XVI<sup>e</sup>.*
- 1931 \*DEO, Kumar Bejoy Pratap Singh, *Serai Kella, via Sini, B.N. Rly., B. and O., India.*
- 1931 \*DEO, Kumar Bidyadhar Singh, B.A., B.L., *Fort, Jeypore, Dt. Vizagapatam, India.*
- 1920 \*DEO, Maharakumar Sri Sudhansu S. Sing, *Sonpur Feudatory State, P.O. Sonpur Raj, via Sambalpur, India.*
- 1908 \*DESIIKA-CHARI, Sir T., *High Court Vakil, Cantonment, Trichinopoly, Madras, S. India.*
- 1912 \*DEVA, Prof. Rama, *The Gurukula, Mahavidyalaya, Kangri, P.O. Shampur, Bijnor, U.P., India.*
- 1920 \*DEVONSHIRE, Mrs. R. L., *El-Maadi, Nr. Cairo, Egypt.*
- 1904 \*§DEWHURST, Robert Paget, M.A., I.C.S., *Ifley Rd., Isis Hotel, Oxford.*
- 170** 1908 †DHANI NIVAT, H.H. Prince, *Minister of Public Instruction, Bangkok, Siam.*
- 1926 \*DHUROVA, Prof. A. B., M.A., *Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, Benares, India.*
- 1929 DICKSON, D. D., *66 Portland Road, Holland Park, W.*
- 1922 \*†DICKSON, Rev. Percy J., F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., *Belton Vicarage, Loughborough.*
- 1926 \*†DIKSHIT, K. N., *Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Indian Museum, Calcutta, India.*
- 1928 \*DILLON, Myles, *2 North Gt. George's Street, Dublin.*
- 1908 \*†DIN, Malik Muhammad, *Secretary, State Council, Tonk, Rajputana, India.*
- 1930 \*DINELEY, Mark, *The Priory, Berwick St. John, Shaftesbury.*
- 1923 \*DIVATIA, N. B., B.A., *Lecturer Elphinstone College, Marine Villa, 14th Road, Khar, Bombay, 21, India.*

- 1926 \*DIVEKAR, Sahityacharya Prof. Hari Ramchandra, M.A., D.Litt.,  
*Lashkar, Gwalior, C. India.*
- 180 1924 †§DODWELL, H. H., M.A., *School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C. 2.*
- 1894 HON. 1923 \*D'OLDENBURG, Serge, Ph.D., *Prof. of Sanskrit, Sec., Academy of Sciences, Leningrad, U.S.S.R.*
- 1926 \*DOSSIN, Georges, *Professor at Liège University; 24 rue des Écoles, Wambre près Liège, Belgium.*
- 1926 \*DOWARA, Jatindra Nath, B.A., *Asst. Superintendent, Lady Jane Dundas Hostel, 71-1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, India.*
- 1923 \*DUKES, Sir Paul, *Royal Societies Club, 63 St. James's Street, S.W. 1.*
- 1933 \*DUNNE, J. Heyworth, *80 Sh. el Kasr-al-Aini, Cairo, Egypt.*
- 1917 \*DUTT, Prof. Anakul C., *College House, Bareilly, U.P., India.*
- 1919 \*DUTT, Kamala P., M.A., B.L., *Tippera State, Agartala P.O., Tripura, Bengal, India.*
- 1926 \*DUTT, Kiran Chandra, Hon. Librarian, *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, 1 Lakshmi Dutt Lane, Bagh Bazar P.O., Calcutta, India.*
- 1917 \*DUTT, Lalita Prasad, *181 Maniktola St., Calcutta, India.*
- 190 1926 \*DUTT, Nepal Chandra, A.M.I.M.E., *State Engineer, Jaisalmer State, Peace Cottage, Jaisalmer, Rajputana, India.*
- 1931 \*DYER, Prof. W. E., M.A., *Raffles College, Singapore.*
- 1930 \*†EDMONDS, C. J., C.B.E., *Asst. Adviser, Ministry of Interior; Kerid al Pasha, Baghdad, Iraq.*
- 1905 \*EDWARDS, E., M.A., *Oriental Books and MSS. Dept., British Museum, W.C. 1.*
- 1925 EDWARDS, Miss E. D., *School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C. 2.*
- F.E.M. 1932 EGYPTIAN MINISTER, H.E. The, *The Egyptian Legation, 75 South Audley St., W. 1.*
- 1921 \*ELGOOD, Cyril L., M.A., M.D., M.R.C.P., *The Old Brewery House, Wareham, Dorset.*
- 1931 \*ELGOOD, Lt.-Col. P.G., C.M.G., *Villa Beata, Heliopolis, Egypt; Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.*
- 1897 §ELLIS, Alex. George, M.A., HON. LIBRARIAN, *32 Willow Rd., N.W. 3.*
- 1919 \*ELLIS, Miss M. F., *Little Dean, Glos.*
- 200 1930 \*ELSBERG, H. A., *Fuller Building, 57th St., & Madison Av., New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.*
- 1907 \*§ENTHOVEN, R. E., C.I.E., I.C.S. (ret.), *c/o Barclay's Bank, 54 Lombard St., E.C. 3.*
- HON. 1927 ERMAN, Dr. Adolf, *Geh. Reg.-Rat Prof., Peter-Lenne Str. 36, Berlin-Dahlem, Germany.*
- 1904 ETTINGHAUSEN, Maurice L., *Royal Societies' Club, 63 St. James's St., S.W. 1.*
- 1924 †EUMORFOPOULOS, George, *7 Chelsea Embankment, S.W. 3.*
- 1919 EVE, Lady, *(Whittoney Block), Menton, A.M., France.*
- 1922 \*FAIRWEATHER, Wallace C., *62 Saint Vincent St., Glasgow.*
- 1928 \*FARIDU, Professor Abid Hasan, M.A., *St. John's College, Agra, U.P., India.*

- 1921 \*FARMER, Henry George, M.A., Ph.D., "Dar as-Salām," Stirling Drive, Bearsden, Scotland.
- 1930 FAWCETT, Sir Charles, Kt., I.C.S. (ret.), 27 The Grove, Bolton, S.W. 10.
- 210 1901 \*FERGUSON, J. C., I.C.S., The Little Green, Richmond, Surrey.
- 1926 \*FEROZUDDIN KHAN, Miss Khadijah Begam, B.A. (Hons.), M.A., Professor of History and Oriental Languages, Govt. College for Women, Lahore, India.
- 1929 \*FEROZ-UD-DIN, Khan Sahib Maulvi, Municipal Councillor, 119 Circular Road, Lahore, Punjab, India.
- 1931 \*FERRAR, Lt. Col., M.L., C.S.I., C.I.E., O.B.E., Cheverall, Ingatestone, Essex.
- 1927 \*FERRARIO, Professor Benigno, Professeur titulaire de Linguistique à l'Université et Directeur de l'Institut d'Investigations Linguistiques, University of Montevideo; Casilla de Correos 445, Montevideo, Uruguay, South America.
- 1928 \*FIELD, Henry, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, U.S.A.
- 1926 \*FILIPPI, Sir Filippo de, K.C.I.E., La Capponcina, Settignano, Firenze, Italy.
- 1893 HON. 1923 \*FINOT, Louis, Chev. de la Légion d'honneur, Prof. Collège de France; Villa Santaram, Montée Gueyras Ste Catherine, Toulon, Var, France.
- HON. 1930 FISCHER, Geh. Prof. Dr. August, 40 Grassistr., Leipzig C.I., Germany.
- 1928 †\*FLEMING, Andrew, 3 Campbell Road, Parktown W., Johannesburg, S. Africa.
- 220 1923 \*†FOLLIN, Maynard D., Lock Box 118, Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A.
- 1922 \*FORREST, Surgeon-Commander J. A., R.N., 41 Goldington Road, Bedford.
- 1909 †§FOSTER, Sir Wm., Kt., C.I.E., 4 Reynolds Close, Hampstead Way, N.W. 11.
- HON. 1918 FOUCHER, A., 15 Rue du Maréchal Joffre, Scœaux, Seine, France.
- 1916 \*FRAZER, Sir J. G., O.M., F.R.S., Albemarle Club, 37 Dover St., W. 1.
- 1931 \*FRAZER, Mrs. R. W., c/o National Provincial Bank, 250 Regent St., W.1.
- 1931 \*FU, Prof. Shang-Ling, National Tsing Hua University, Peiping, Peking.
- 1926 \*FUKUSHIMA, N., c/o S. Nishigori, 34 Hikawachō, Akasaka, Tokyo, Japan.
- 1912 \*§FULTON, A. S., Oriental Books & MSS. Dept., British Museum, W.C. 1.
- 1931 \*FURLANI, Giuseppe, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor at the University of Florence; via Alfieri 10, Florence, Italy.
- 230 1921 \*FURNIVALL, J. S., c/o Grindlay & Co., 54 Parliament Street, S.W.1.
- 1899 §GAIT, Sir Edward A., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., The Croft, Park Hill, W. 5.
- 1921 \*†GAJENDRAGADKAR, A. B., M.A., Prof. of Sanskrit, Elphinstone College, Bombay, India.
- 1926 \*GALE, Ko Ko, B.A., Judge, Sub-divisional Court, Pegu, Burma.
- 1931 GAMAL EL-DIN, Amin, Inspector, Egyptian Education Office, 39 Victoria St., S.W. 1.

- 1924 \*GANGULI, P. Krishna, L.M.S., 12 Palmer Bazar Rd., Entally P.O., Calcutta, India.
- 1890 §GASTER, M., Ph.D., VICE-PRESIDENT, 193 Maida Vale, W. 9.
- 1931 \*GASTER, T. H., B.A., 193 Maida Vale, W. 9.
- 1922 \*GAUTAMA, Thakur L. S., M.A., L.T., Kavyatirtha Prof. of History, Uday Pratap Kashtriya College, Benares Cantt., India.
- 1912 \*GEDEK, Rev. A. S., Royapettah, Harpenden, Herts.
- 240 1921 \*GEHLOT, Babu C. Bhuj, D.D.R. (ret. Supt. of Forests), Gulabsagar, Jodhpur, Rajputana, India.
- 1919 \*GETTY, Miss Alice, 7 Avenue Foch, Paris, VIIIe.
- 1933 \*GHATAK, Prof. J. C., 4 Bolarum Bose Ghat Rd., Bhawanipur P.O., Calcutta, India.
- 1918 \*GHOSE, Nagendra Nath., B.A., 29/1 A. Madan Mitra Lane, Calcutta, India.
- 1931 \*GHOUSE, Dr. M. B., T. M. Ghouse's Dispensary, 151 Broadway, George Town, Madras, India.
- 1923 §GIBB, H. A. R., M.A., Prof. of Arabic, School of Oriental Studies; Drummond Lodge, Albion Road, Sutton, Surrey.
- 1921 GILBERTSON, Major G. W., 373 Holmesdale Road, S.E. 25.
- 1927 \*GILES, F. H., 156 Rajprarob Road, Bangkok, Siam.
- 1919 \*§GILES, Lionel, M.A., D.Litt., Dept. of Oriental Books, British Museum, W.C. 1.
- 1933 GINWALA, Lady, 38 Hyde Park Gate, S.W. 7.
- 250 1912 \*†GIPPERICH, H., German Consulate, Harbin, China.
- 1928 GLYN, The Hon. Mrs. Maurice, 2 Weymouth Street, Portland Place, W. 1.
- 1926 \*†GOGATE, S. V., 4 Nihalpura, Indore, C. India.
- 1926 \*GOLDSMITH, Mrs. S. I., Alexandra Club, 12 Grosvenor Street, W. 1.
- 1928 \*GOMAA, Mohamed Mahmud, School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C. 2.
- 1920 \*GOPINATH, Pandit Sir P. Kt., C.I.E., M.A., Rai Bahadur, Member of State Council, Jaipur, Rajputana, India.
- 1922 \*GOURLAY, W. R., C.S.I., C.I.E., Kenbark, Dalry, Galloway, N.B.
- 1927 \*GOVIL, Ram Sharan Lal, M.A., Head Master, Shri Umed School, Jodhpur, Marwar, India.
- 1922 \*GOWEN, Rev. H. H., D.D. (Univ. of Washington), 5,005, 22nd Avenue N.E., Seattle, Washington, U.S.A.
- 1910 \*GRAHAM, W. A., Plush Manor, Dorset.
- 260 1926 \*GRAY, Prof. L. H., Columbia University, 21 Claremont Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1918 GREENSHIELDS, Robert S., I.C.S. (ret.), 35 Clarges St., W. 1.
- 1893 \*GREENUP, Rev. Dr. Albert W., D.D., St. John's Cottage, Heath End, Nr. Basingstoke, Hants.
- 1884 §GRIERSON, Sir George A., O.M., K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., I.C.S. (ret.), HON. VICE-PRESIDENT, Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey.
- 1919 \*GRIFFITH, Prof. F. Ll., Sandridge, Boar's Hill, Oxford.
- 1919 \*GRY, M. L., Recteur à l'Université, 10 Rue La Fontaine, Angers, M. et L., France.
- 1897 §GUEST, A. Rhuvon, 1a Thornton Hill, Wimbledon, S.W. 19.

- HON. 1898 GUIDI, Prof. Ignazio, 24 Botteghe Oscure, Roma.  
 1921 \*GUILLAUME, Rev. Prof. A., *The Principal's Lodgings, Culham College, Abingdon, Berks.*  
 1928 \*GUPTA, K. Ramachandra, M.A., B.L., Advocate, 28 Audiappa Naick St., George Town, Madras, India.  
**270** 1926 \*GURTE, Y. R., B.A., *Inspector of Registration, II Division, Dhulia, Bombay Presidency, India.*  
 1894 \*GURDON, Lt.-Col. Philip R. T., C.S.I., *Spring Grove, Marden, Kent.*  
 1921 \*GURNER, Cyril W., I.C.S., *United Service Club, Calcutta, India.*  
 1921 \*GWYNN, R. M., M.A., *Prof. of Hebrew, Trinity College, Dublin.*  
 1929 \*GYANI, Ranchhodlal G., Asst. Curator, *Archaeological Section, Prince of Wales Museum of W. India, Bombay, India.*  
 1933 \*GYANI, Shiva Datta Purshottam, *Shaniwarwadi, Burhanpur, U.P., India.*
- 1923 HACHISUKA, The Hon. M., *Mita Shiba, Tokyo, Japan.*  
 1926 \*HAIG, Kerest, *National Liberal Club, Whitehall, and Villa Orion, Yechil Keuy, San Stefano, Constantinople; 10 Prothero Gardens, Hendon Central, N.W. 4.*  
 1898 §HAIG, Lt.-Col. Sir Wolseley, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E., M.A., *34 Gledstanes Road, W. 14.*  
 1909 \*HALLIDAY, Robert, *Mount Pleasant, Moulmein, Burma.*  
**280** 1929 \*HAMID, Abdul, *Manager Muslim Bank of India, Ltd., Sialkot City, Punjab, India.*  
 1921 \*HAMID, Ungku Abdul, *Johore-Bahru, via Singapore, S.S.*  
 1926 \*HAMIDULLAH, H.H. Nawab Khan, C.S.I., *The Palace, Bhopal, India.*  
 1915 \*HARGREAVES, H., *50 Waterloo Road, Bedford.*  
 1910 \*HARLEY, Prof. A. H., M.A., *Islamia College, Calcutta, India.*  
 1930 \*HARRASSOWITZ, Otto, *Querstr. 14, Leipzig.*  
 1919 HARRISON, Edgar, E., *12 Leopold Road, W. 5.*  
 1930 \*HART, Henry H., *328 Post Str., San Francisco, Cal., U.S.A.*  
 1932 HARVEY, Miss D. E., *9 Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W. 7.*  
 1927 \*HASAN, Khan Sahib Shaikh Md., B.A., P.C.S. (ret.), *Talwandi Musa Khan, Via Gupanwala, Punjab, India.*
- 290** 1932 \*HASAN, Syed Masud, *Dep. Collector, U.P.; P.O. Bhallia Buzurg, Dist. Kheri Lakhimpur, Oudh, India.*  
 1932 \*HASSAN, Hassan Ibrahim, D.Litt., Ph.D., Asst. Prof. of Islamic History, *Egyptian Univ., Cairo; 5 Rue Dessouk, Heliopolis, Egypt.*  
 1920 \*†HASSAN-KHAN, Haji M. Ghulam, Khan Sahib, Honorary Magistrate, *4 Sadar Bazar Lines, Camp, Karachi, India.*  
 1921 HAY, George E., *96 Olive Road, N.W. 2.*  
 1921 \*HAYASHI, H. E. Baron, *23 Kasumi-cho, Azabu, Tokyo, Japan.*  
 1926 \*†HAYWARD, Wyndham, *2240 Fairbanks Avenue, Winter Park, Florida, U.S.A.*  
 1929 \*HERAS, Rev. H., S.J., M.A., Director, *Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, India.*  
 1911 \*HERTEL, Prof. Johannes, *Denkmals-allee 110, Leipzig, Germany.*  
 HON. 1933 HERZFELD, Prof. Dr. Ernst, *University of Berlin, Germany.*  
 1928 HEYM, Gerard, *1 Crofton House, 32 Church St., S.W. 3.*

- 300 1923 \*HINDOL, Raja Bahadur Naba Kishore Chandra Singh, *Ruling Chief of P.O. Hindol, Orissa, India.*
- 1885 †HIPPISEY, Alfred E., late Commissioner Chinese Customs, 8 Herbert Crescent, S.W. 1.
- 1891 \*HIRSCHFELD, H., Ph.D., Lecturer on Semitics at Jesus' Univ. College, 195 Lauderdale Mansions, W. 9.
- 1926 HOLMES, Mrs., M.A., 56 Avenue Road, Regents Park, N.W.8.
- 1919 \*HOLMYARD, Dr. E. J., M.A., M.Sc., F.I.C., The Brow, Clevedon, Somerset.
- 1924 \*†HOLSTEIN, Maj. Otto, Apartada 1833, Mexico City, Mexico.
- 1889 §HOPKINS, Lionel Charles, I.S.O., The Garth, Haslemere.
- 1908 \*HORNELL, Sir William W., Kt., C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor, The University, Hong Kong, China.
- HON. 1902 HOUTSMA, Prof. M. T., Mahistraat 6, Utrecht, Holland.
- 1919 \*HOVTEMA, D. van, Delistraat 21, The Hague, Holland.
- 310 1928 \*HUNTER, G. R., M.A., Ph.D., Morris College, Nagpur, C.P., India.
- 1932 \*HUNT, Rev. E. S., The Lawrence Military School, Sanawar, Simla Hills, India.
- HON. 1909 HURGRONJE, Prof. C. Snouck, Rapenburg 61, Leiden, Holland.
- 1921 \*HUTTON, J. H., C.I.E., I.C.S., Old Hall, Dolau, R.S.O., Co. Radnor, Wales.
- 1908 \*†HYDE, James H., 18 rue Adolphe-Yvon, Paris, France.
- 1922 \*IKEDA, Chotatsu, 2476 Yato, Nakano, Nr. Tokyo, Japan.
- 1923 \*INCE, Arthur D., Proprietor, Messrs. Henderson Bros. & Co., Insurance and General Agents, Post Box No. 26, Moulmein, Burma.
- 1921 \*INGRAMS, Capt. Wm. H., Assistant Colonial Secretary, Mauritius; Savile Club, Brook Street, W. 1.
- F.E.M. 1932 IRAQI MINISTER, H.E. The, The Iraq Legation, 51 Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W. 7.
- 1921 IRWELL, Mrs. H., 8f Bickenhall Mansions, W. 1.
- 320 1920 \*IVANOW, W., c/o Lloyd's Bank, Ltd., Hornby Rd., Fort, Bombay, India.
- 1906 HON. 1923 JACKSON, A. V. Williams, L.H.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Prof. Indo-Iranian Languages, Columbia University, New York, U.S.A.
- HON. 1912 JACOBI, Dr. Hermann, Geh. Regierungsrat, Sanskrit Prof., 59 Niebuhrstrasse, Bonn, Germany.
- 1928 \*JAHAGIRDAR, R. V., M.A., Lecturer in Sanskrit, Karnatak College, Dharwar, India.
- 1922 \*†JAIN, Chhotlal, P. 25 Central Avenue North, P.O. Burrabazar, Calcutta, India.
- 1929 \*†JAIN, Jamina Prasad, M.A., LL.B., Sub-Judge, Danesh, Narsingpur, C.P., India.
- 1926 \*JAIN, Kamta Prasad, Bunker, Jaswantnagar, Dist. Etawah, U.P., India.
- 1927 \*JAIN, Madan Lal, M.A., Govt. High School, Muttra, U.P., India.
- 1929 \*JAIN, Sheo Charan Lal. B., Bunker and Rais, Jaswantnagar, Etawah, U.P., India.
- 1922 \*JAIN, Prof. S. P., M.A., Kayastha St., Panipat, Punjab, India.
- 330 1926 \*JAITLEY, Pandit Ram Krishna, Katra Nil, Delhi, India.

- F.E.M. 1932 JAPANESE AMBASSADOR, H.E. The, *The Japanese Embassy, 75 Portman Square, W. 1.*
- 1918 \*JAYATILAKA, Don B., B.A., *Advocate of Supreme Court, Ceylon Law Library, Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1920 \*JEFFERY, Rev. Prof. Arthur, M.A., B.D., Ph.D., *School of Oriental Studies, 113 Sharia Kasr-el-Aini, Cairo.*
- 1930 \*JHA, K. P., *Consulting Engineer, P.O. Colganj, E.I. Ry. (Loop), Bhagalpur, Behar, India.*
- 1882 \*†JINAVARAVANSA, Rev. P. C., *Buddhist Bhikshu (formerly Prince Prisdang), Dipaduttama Arāma, Kotahena, Colombo.*
- 1909 JOHNSTON, Edw. Hamilton, D.Litt., *The Manor House, Adderbury East, Banbury, Oxon.*
- 1904 §JOHNSTON, Sir Reginald F., K.C.M.G., C.B.E., *18 Mortlake Road, Kew Gardens, Surrey.*
- 1908 \*JOPP, Chas. H. Keith, M.A., I.C.S. (ret.), *c/o Lloyds Bank, High Street, Cheltenham.*
- 1928 \*JOSHI, Pandit Bhushan Ch., *Sewa-Ashram, Jhijarkh, Lachman Chauk, Dehra Dun, U.P., India.*
- 340 1911 \*JOWETT, Capt. Hardy, *63 Tung Tsung Pu, Hutung, Peking, China.*
- 1929 \*†KALSI, Raja Ravi Sher Singh, *Raja of Kalsia, Chachrauli, Kalsia State, Punjab, India.*
- 1929 \*KANAUJIA, Babu Sita Ram, B.A., *Headmaster, S. Hakim Singh High School, Dinda, Gujurut, Punjab, India.*
- HON. 1929 KARLIGREN, Bernhard, Ph.D., *The University, Göteborg, Sweden.*
- 1926 \*KASANIN, Prof. M., *c/o Dr. Jacob Kasanin, Howard, Rhode Island, U.S.A.*
- 1925 \*KATO, Rev. Bunno, B.Litt., *The Rissho-Daigaku, Osaki-Machi, Tokyo, Japan.*
- 1933 \*KAUL, K. K., M.A., *Headmaster, L. D. Meston High School, Ballia, U.P., India.*
- 1900 \*KAZI, Sir Azizuddin Ahmed, Kt., C.I.E., O.B.E., I.S.O., K.B., *Chief Minister, Datia State, C. India.*
- 1919 \*†KEITH, C. P., *308 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.*
- 1923 \*KELLER, Carl T., *80 Federal Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.*
- 350 1914 \*KENT, A. S., *c/o British-American Tobacco Co. Ltd., Peking, China.*
- 1928 \*KEWAL, Ganda Singh, *Khalsa College, Amritsar, India.*
- 1921 \*†KHAIRPUR, H.H. Mir Ali Navaz Khan Talpur, Mir of, *Khairpur, Sind, India.*
- 1926 \*KHAN, G. Md., A.C.P., *Kedah Educational Service, Alor Star, Kedah, Malay States.*
- 1911 \*KHAN, Mahomed Hasan, Khan Bahadur, *Finance Minister, Rampur State (Rohilkhand) U.P., India.*
- 1931 \*KHAN, Maulvi Matiur Rahman, *Khas Mahal Officer, Dakshui Shahbazpur Circle, Lalmohan, Dist. Bahrganj, Bengal, India.*
- 1930 \*KHAN, Md. Abdul Hameed, *Bait-ul-Hameed, Bahawalpur State, Punjab, India.*
- 1930 \*KHAN, Nawab Ali Md., M.A., LL.B., *Fellow of the Osmania University, Irem Manzil, Hyderabad, Deccan, India.*

- 1928 \*KHAN, Sarfaraz Hossain, Khan Bahadur, Member of Legislative Assembly, Patna City, B. & O., India.
- 1932 \*KHAN, Zafar Husain, B.A., C.T., F.R.G.S., Deputy Inspector of Schools, Abdul Aziz Rd., Lucknow, U.P., India.
- 360 1928 \*KHANNA, Diwan Harivansh Lal, M.A., Extra Asst. Commissioner, Amritsar, Punjab, India.
- 1926 \*KHANNA, Vinayak Lal, 137/D Boloram De St., Beadon St., Calcutta, India.
- 1931 \*KHASTGIR, Asok R., M.D., L.R.C.P., Khastgir Lodge, Giridih, India.
- 1923 \*KIBA, Rao Bahadur Sirdar M.V., M.A., Ministry of Commerce, Indore, C. India.
- 1909 \*KINGAID, C. A., C.V.O., I.C.S., Sec. to Govt. Bombay, Political & Judicial Dept.; c/o Grindlay & Co., 54 Parliament St., S.W. 1.
- 1919 \*KIRKPATRICK, Very Rev. A. F., D.D., Dean of Ely, The Deanery, Ely.
- 1916 HON. 1930 KONOW, Prof. Dr. Sten, Ethnographic Museum, Gimle Terasse 5, Oslo, Norway.
- 1906 \*KRENKOW, Prof. Dr. Fritz (Oriental Seminary, The University, Bonn am Rhein), St. Augustin, Siegburgland, Germany.
- 1930 \*KRISHNAN, Kumariyah Gopal, B.Sc., Physics Dept., University College, Rangoon, Burma.
- 1925 \*KRISHNASWAMY, P. A., British and Foreign Bible Society (Ceylon Auxiliary), The Bible House, Union Place, Post Box 67, Colombo, Ceylon.
- 370 1911 \*KROM, N. J., Ph.D., Prof. of Javanese Archaeology at the University, 18 Witte Singel, Leiden, Holland.
- 1931 \*KUMAR, Kumar Krishna, M.A., B.L., 30 Burtolla St., Calcutta, India.
- 1912 \*†LABBERTON, Dr. D. van Hinloopen, De Heerlykheid, Meentweg, Naarden, North Holland.
- 1928 \*LA FARGE, Mrs. Oliver, 205 East 60th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1931 \*LAHIEL, Rai N. M., Vidyavaridhi, 25b Townshend Rd., P.O., Bhawanipur, Calcutta, India.
- 1932 \*LAKSHMI, Miss V. T., M.A., L.T., Headmistress, Srimathi Kamalabai High School, Bangalore City, Mysore, India.
- 1904 \*LAL, Rai Bahadur Hira, B.A., Retd. Deputy Commissioner, Katni, Mureera, C.P., India.
- 1926 \*†LAL, Munshi Kanhaiya, M.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court, Krishna, Kunj, 99 Muthiganj, Allahabad City, India.
- 1910 \*LAL, Shyam, M.A., LL.B., Dep. Collector, Nawabganj, Cawnpore, India.
- 1915 \*LAME, Miss M. Antonia, 212 South 46th St., Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
- 380 1917 \*LANGDON, S. H., M.A., B.D., Ph.D., F.B.A., Prof. of Assyriology, 16 Lathbury Road, Oxford.
- 1880 HON. 1902 LANMAN, Chas. R., Prof. of Sanskrit, Harvard University, 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
- 1911 \*LAUFER, Dr. Berthold, Field Museum, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
- 1914 \*LAW, Bimala C., M.A., B.L., Ph.D., Zemindar, 43 Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta, India.
- 1931 \*LAWSON, David, 793 Broadway, New York City, U.S.A.

- 1901 \*LEADBEATER, Rt. Rev. C. W., *Adyar, Madras, India.*  
 1900 \*LECHMERE-OERTEL, F. O., *c/o Bank of Abyssinia, Addis Abbaba, Abyssinia.*  
 1927 \*LEEUWEN, Rev. Dr. N. D. van, *Holysloot 43, Amsterdam-Noord, Holland.*  
 1924 \*LE MAY, Reginald S., *Adviser, Ministry of Commerce and Communications, Bangkok, Siam.*  
 1880 †LN STRANGE, Guy, *63 Panton St., Cambridge.*  
**390** HON. 1917 LÉVI, Professor Sylvain, *9 Rue Guy de la Brosse, Paris V<sup>e</sup>.*  
 1912 \*LEVONIAN, Prof. Lootfy, *c/o The American Mission, Beirut, Lebanon, Syria.*  
 1927 \*LEVY, Reuben, M.A., *Lecturer in Persian, 250 Hills Road, Cambridge.*  
 1924 \*LIEBICH, Prof. Dr. B., *Parkstrasse 40, Breslau XVI, Germany.*  
 1926 \*LINDGREN, Miss E. J., M.A., *Newnham College, Cambridge.*  
 1879 §LOCKHART, Sir J. H. Stewart, K.C.M.G., LL.D., Hon. SECRETARY, *6 Cresswell Gardens, S.W. 5.*  
 1931 \*LOEWE, H., *85 Milton Road, Cambridge.*  
 1914 \*†LORIMER, Col. D. L. R., C.I.E., I.A. (ret.), *32 Parkway, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.*  
 1922 \*LUCAS, S. E., *Bank of China, Palmerston House, 34 Old Broad Street, E.C. 2.*  
 1909 HON. 1932 \*LÜDERS, Prof. Dr. H., *19 Sybelstr., Charlottenburg, Berlin.*  
**400** 1918 \*LUSY, Marino M., *Case Postale No. 104, Montreux, Switzerland.*
- 1900 \*MACDONALD, Duncan B., *143 Sigourney St., Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.*  
 1919 \*MACIVER, Capt. David R., M.A., *c/o British School, Valle Giulia, Rome, Italy.*  
 1926 \*MACKAY, Stephen Matheson, *5 Burgess Hill, N.W. 2.*  
 1933 \*McCULLOCH, R. L., I.P.S. (ret.), *c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., 6 Pall Mall, S.W.1.*  
 1894 §MACLAGAN, Sir E. D., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., M.A., *PRESIDENT, 188 West Hill, Putney, S.W. 15.*  
 1930 MACLEOD, Sir James M., K.B.E., C.M.G., *10 Vineyard Hill Road, Wimbledon Park, S.W. 19.*  
 1924 \*†McMILLAN, O. W., *Union Middle School, Canton, China.*  
 1917 \*MAHAJAN, Suryya Prasad, *Rais, Bunker & Zamindar, Murarpore, Gaya, Bihar, India.*  
 1931 †MAITLAND, H. Comyn, I.C.S. (ret.), *Barrister-at-Law, 1 Elm Court, Temple, E.C. 4.*  
**410** 1933 \*MAMOUR, P. H., LL.B., *68 Sharia Farouk, Alexandria, Egypt (20 Tavistock Place, Russell Sq., W.C.1.).*  
 1924 \*†MANEN, J. van, *c/o Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1 Park St., Calcutta, India.*  
 1930 \*†MANNADIAH, V. I., *Gul-i-Hind, Ootacamund, S. India.*  
 1889 \*§MARGOLIOUTH, D. S., M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., *DIRECTOR, Prof. of Arabic, Romney, Boar's Hill, Oxford.*  
 1914 \*†MARIELLE, Madame, *942 Croft Avenue, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.*  
 1904 MARSDEN, E., *Ind. Educ. Service, 12 Ellerdale Rd., N.W. 3.*

- 1901 \*§MARSHALL, Sir John, K.C.I.E., M.A., Litt.D., F.S.A., *Late Director-Gen. of Archaeology; special duty Arch. Dept., Taxila, Punjab, India.*
- 1927 \*MARTINOVITCH, Professor N., 450 W. 152nd St., *New York City, U.S.A.*
- HON. 1927 MASSIGNON, Louis, D.Litt., *Professeur au Collège de France, Rue Monsieur 21, Paris, VII.*
- 1927 \*MASTER, A., C.I.E., I.C.S., c/o *Imperial Bank of India, 22 Old Broad Street, E.C. 2; The Ridge, Malabar Hill, Bombay, India.*
- 420 1926 \*MATHUR, Manmohan, M.A., *Prof. of Persian, Hindu Sabha College, Amritsar, Punjab, India.*
- 1929 \*MATHUR, Radhika Narayan, B.A., *Inspector of Schools, Kalsia State, Chachruuli, Punjab, India.*
- 1904 \*†MAWJEE, Purshotam Vishram, *Malabar Hill, Bombay, India.*
- 1931 \*MAYDELL, Madame la Baronne Gérard de, *Hotel Lutetia, Boulevard Raspail, Paris.*
- 1927 †MAYNARD, Sir H. J., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., 18 Gilston Road, *The Boltons, S.W. 10.*
- 1905 \*MAZUMDAR, Bijaya Chandra, *Advocate, 33/3 Lansdowne Road, Calcutta, India.*
- 1925 MEAD, G. R. S., 21 Ovington Street, S.W. 3.
- 1907 \*MEADEN, Rev. Canon Anderson, Ph.D., F.R.S.L., *Stornoway Parsonage, Isle of Lewis.*
- 1932 \*MECKLAI, Ali Md., J.P., etc., 99 Esplanade Road, P.O. Box 585, *Bombay, India.*
- HON. 1928 MEILLET, Professor Antoine, 24 Rue de Verneuil, *Paris VII, France.*
- 430 1933 \*MENON, A. V. K., *Women's Christian College, Madras, India.*
- 1919 \*MERCER, Very Rev. Prof. S. A. B., Ph.D., D.D., *Trinity College, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.*
- 1923 \*MICHALSKI-IWIENSKI, Dr. St. F., *Section of Oriental Studies, Society of Sciences, Szpitalna 5, Warsaw, Poland.*
- 1921 \*MILLS, J. P., I.C.S., c/o King, Hamilton & Co., 4-5 Koila Ghat Street, *Calcutta, India.*
- 1909 \*MILNE, Mrs. Leslie, *The Manor House, Wheatley, Oxon.*
- 1922 \*MINGANA, Alphonse, D.D., *Manuscripta, 168 Middleton Hall Road, King's Norton, Birmingham.*
- 1932 \*MISRA, Pandit Kanahiya L., Sastri, "Prabhakara," *Vidyalankara, Sadhana Sadana, Deoband, Dist. Saharanpur, India.*
- 1923 \*MISRA, Pramath Nath, *Pleader, Maldah, Bengal, India.*
- 1928 \*MISRA, Sardar Jwala Sahai, Rai Bahadur, B.A., *Retd. Dist. & Sessions Judge, Katra Jaimal Singh, Amritsar, Punjab, India.*
- 1932 MITRA, Sir Bhupendra Nath, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., C.B.E., *High Commissioner for India, India House, Aldwych, W.C. 2; 59 Eyre Court, Finchley Rd., N.W. 8.*
- 440 1927 \*†MITTAL, Navin Chandra, B.Sc., F.G.S., *Prince of Wales College, Jammu, Kashmir, India.*
- 1928 \*MIYAMOTO, Shoson, *Faculty of Letters, Imperial University, Tokyo, Japan.*

- 1921 \*MOHAMMAD, S. Taj., M.A., M.Sc., *Deputy Director of Army Audit, Eastern Command, Meerut, U.P., India.*
- 1929 \*MOHEET, Munshi Fazl Abdul, *Osmania University College Library, Hyderabad, Deccan, India.*
- 1919 MOND, R., *Coombe Bank, nr. Sevenoaks, Kent.*
- 1923 \*MOORHEAD, J. H. M., *Oracley Wood House, Crawley Hill, Camberley, Surrey.*
- 1916 MORELAND, W. H., C.S.I., C.I.E., *Grey Roofs, Oak End Way, Gerrard's Cross, Bucks.*
- 1919 \*MORGENSTIERNE, Dr. Georg, *Prof. of Comparative Philology and Sanskrit at the University of Gothenburg; Viktoriagatan 20, Gothenburg, Sweden.*
- 1927 \*MORRIS, Captain J. M., *Central Power House, The Basrah Electric Supply Authority, Basrah, Iraq.*
- 1931 \*MORRISON, R. M. S., F.R.G.S., *The Shieling, Swarraton, near Alresford, Hants.*
- 450 1882\*†\$MORE, H. Ballou, LL.D., *Arden, Camberley, Surrey.*
- 1926 \*MOULE, Rev. A. C., *Trumpington Vicarage, Cambridge.*
- 1925 \*MUDALIAR, Prof. M. K., B.A., 44 Mulla Sahib St., *George Town, Madras, India.*
- 1933 \*MUDALIAR, E. L. Cundasawmy, 245 Sparks St., *Rangoon, Burma. American Baptist Mission Press of Rangoon (ret.).*
- 1929 \*MUKERJEE, Sardar Ashutosh, M.Sc., *Supt. of Education, Dewas Senior, C. India.*
- 1925 \*MÜLLER, Dr. Reinhold, *Einsiedel, Bez Chemnitz, Germany.*
- 1928 \*MULLO-WEIR, Rev. Cecil J., B.D., D.Phil., *The Manse of Orwell, Milnathort, Kinross-shire.*
- 1927 \*MULLICK, Promatha Nath, Rai Bahadur, Bharatbanibhusan, 129 Cornwall Street, *Shambazar, Calcutta, India.*
- 1922 \*MUNN, Rev. W., *The Vicarage, Dunston, Lincs.*
- 1929 \*MUNSHI, Rashid Ahmed A., B.A., *Ahmednagar, Bombay, India.*
- 460 1919 †MYRES, Prof. J. L., O.B.E., M.A., D.Sc., *New College, Oxford.*
- 1898 \*MYSORE, Col. H. H., Maharaja Sir Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., *of, The Palace, Bangalore, India.*
- 1911 \*†NABHA, H.H. Maharaja Gurucharan Singh of, *Kodaikanal, S. India.*
- 1933 \*NAHARSINHJI, Lieut. Maharaj S. S., *Saheb Bahadur of Chhota Udepur, Rewa Kantha Dist., Bombay Pres., India.*
- 1933 \*NAIDU, B. S., M.C.P.S., c/o Mr. V. Durgaya Naidu, *Kandasamy Banda Residency, Hyderabad, Deccan, India.*
- 1931 \*NAIDU, C. A., Hon. *Presidency Magistrate, Gokul Villa, Triplicane, Madras, India.*
- 1918 \*NAIR, Rao Sahib, Dr. Tellicherry Madhavan, Hon. *Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Moulmein, Burma.*
- 1929 \*NAISH, John P., B.A., D.D. (Lond.), B.Litt., M.A. (Oxon), *Lecturer in Hebrew & O.T., Mansfield College, Oxford; 14 Museum Road, Oxford.*
- HON. 1923 NALLINO, Prof. Carlo A., *Via Jacopo Ruffini 2, Rome 49, Italy.*

- 1928 NANDIMATH, S. C., M.A., Ph.D., *Karnatak Lingayat Education Society, Belgaum, India.*
- 470 1907 \*NARASIMHACHAR, R., Rai Bahadur, M.A., *Retired Director of Archaeology in Mysore; Malleswaram, Bangalore, S. India.*
- 1920 \*NARAYAN, Brij, M.A., *Military Accs. Service, c/o Allahabad Bank, Ltd., Lahore, India.*
- 1900 \*NARIMAN, G. K., *Mazgaon P.O., Bombay, India.*
- 1924 \*NATH, Professor Pran, *Sanatan Dharm College of Commerce, Nawabganj, Cawnpore, India.*
- 1930 \*NATH, S. C., M.B., 1 Roy Bahadur's Rd., Behala, *Calcutta, India.*
- 1926 \*NATHA, Professor Arjan, M.A., *Hindu Sabha College, Amritsar, Punjab, India.*
- 1920 \*NAVAGIRE, B. N., M.E., *c/o Navagire & Co., Trimbak Parasram Street, 6th Kumbharwada, Post No. 4, Bombay, India.*
- 1930 \*NELL, Dr. Andreas, *Queen's Hotel, Kandy, Ceylon.*
- 1923 NEWBERRY, Prof. Percy E., *Oldbury Place, Ightham, Kent.*
- 1933 \*NIBLETT, Capt. L. H., A.I.R.O., B.A., J.P., *Magistrate 1st Class and Sub-Judge, Bellevue, Nainital, U.P., India.*
- 480 1895 \*NICHOLSON, R. A., Litt.D., *Sir Thomas Adam's Professor of Arabic, 12 Harvey Rd., Cambridge.*
- 1933 \*NIGAM, N. P., *Private Secretary to the Hon. Rai Bahadur Raja Oudh Narain Bisarya, Bhopal, India.*
- 1929 \*NOBLE, Peter Scott, 172 Otley Rd., *Far Headingley, Leeds.*
- 1927 \*NOONE, Herbert Vander Vord, *c/o Société Générale, 8 rue Amiral Courbet, St. Nazaire sur Loire, Loire Inférieure, France.*
- 1922 \*NORTH-HUNT, Capt. H., *Malay C.S., Asst. Dist. Officer, Kota Baharu, Kelantan, British Malaya.*
- 1914 \*NOYCE, Sir Frank, Kt., C.S.I., C.B.E., I.C.S., *Hon. Member i/c Dept. of Industries and Labour, Inverarm, Simla, India.*
- 1931 \*NYGAARD, Arnvid, 1424 Massachusetts Av. N.W., *Washington D.C., U.S.A.*
- 1922 \*O'BRIEN-BUTLER, P. E., *Bansha, Plat Douet Road, Jersey, C.I.*
- 1926 \*O'DWYER, J. C., *British Consulate General, Frankfurt a/M, Germany.*
- 1919 \*†OKE, A. W., 32 Denmark Villas, *Hove, Sussex.*
- 490 1924 §OLDHAM, C. E. A. W., C.S.I., 21 Courtfield Road, S.W. 7.
- 1925 \*OPPENHEIM, Baron Max Freiherr von, Ph.D., *Savignyplatz 6, Berlin-Charlottenburg, Germany.*
- 1918 \*†ORMEROD, Rev. E. W., *East Woodhay Rectory, Newbury, Berks.*
- 1923 PAGE, Rev. Walter Sutton, B.A., B.D., *School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C. 2.*
- 1909 \*PAIRA-MALL, M.D., *c/o Nat. Bank of India, Amritsar, Panjab, India.*
- HON. 1930 \*PALACIOS, Prof. Miguel Asin, *Real Academia Espanola, Madrid.*
- 1926 \*PARANAVITANA, S., *Archaeological Survey, Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1924 \*PARANJPE, V. G., M.A., LL.B., D.Litt., *Prof. of Sanskrit, c/o Bai Jerbai Wadia Library, Ferguson College, Poona No. 4, India.*

- 1932 \*PARASHARI, Pandit Ganga Sahai (*Parashari Ram Niwas Bareilly, U.P.*), *Supt. Customs' Commissioner's Office, Tikamgarh State, C. India.*
- 1926 PARKER, Dr. W. Rushton, *Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, W. 1.*
- 500 1900 \*†PAHLA KIMEDI, The Raja of, *Ganjam, Madras, India.*
- 1928 \*†PAPIA, Y. R., B.A., I.C.S., *Civil Lines, Broach, India.*
- 1933 \*PARRY, N. E., I.C.S. (ret.), *Coombe Fishacre House, Ipplepen, Newton Abbot, Devon.*
- 1928 \*PATHAK, Shastry Sohan Lal, *Vidyabhusan Mandi Ram Das, Muttra, U.P., India.*
- 1911 \*†PATIALA, H.H. Maharajdhiraaja Sir Bhupindar Singh, *Mahindar Bahadur, G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I., G.B.E., of, Patiala State, Panjab, India.*
- 1926 \*PAUL, Chaudhury Pramathabhusan, M.A., B.L., *Krishnagar, Nadia, Bengal, India.*
- 1929 PAVRY, Jal Dastur C., M.A., Ph.D., *63 Pedder Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay, India.*
- 1931 \*PAXTON, E. H., B.A., *Lecturer, Faculty of Arts, Egyptian University, Giza, Egypt.*
- HON. 1923 PELLIOU, Prof. Paul, *Légion d'honneur, M.C., LL.D., Prof. au Collège de France, 38 Rue de Varenne, Paris, 7<sup>e</sup>.*
- 1919 PENZER, Norman M., M.A., *30 Harrington Gardens, S.W.7.*
- 510 1918 \*PERERA, Edward Walker, *Member of Council Ceylon Branch R.A.S., Walawwa, Kotte, Ceylon.*
- 1919 †§PEROWNE, E. S. M., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, *7 Great James St., W.C. 1.*  
F.E.M. 1932 PERSIAN MINISTER, H.E. The, *The Persian Legation, 11 Prince's Gate, S.W. 7.*
- 1905 \*PETERSEN, F. G., *Hotel Frydenlund, Copenhagen, Denmark.*
- 1909 \*§PHILBY, H. St. J. B., C.I.E., I.C.S. (ret.), *18 Acol Rd., N.W. 6; c/o Cox & King's Bank, Ltd., Waterloo Road.*
- 1929 \*PHILPOT, H. C. V., *Bengal United Service Club, Chowringhee Road, Calcutta, India.*
- 1926 \*†PIERIS, Paulus Eduard, Litt.D., *The Priory, Union Place, Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1929 \*PILLAI, T. S. Dandeesvaram, *Bodinayakanur, S. India.*
- 1919 \*PILLAY, G. Hurry K., *2 Phayre St., Rangoon, Burma.*
- 1911 \*PIM, Sir Alan Wm., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S., *Ridgeway, Headington, Oxford.*
- 520 1881 §PINCHES, Theophilus G., LL.D., *31 Coniston Rd., N.10.*
- 1920 \*†PITHAWALLA, Maneck B., *Principal Parsi Virbaji H. Sch., 20 Victoria Rd., Karachi, India.*
- 1916 \*POPE, Miss A. Ethel M., M.A., D.Litt., L.R.A.M., A.R.C.M., *Prin. Zenana Coll., Hyderabad, Deccan, India.*
- 1924 \*POPPER, Prof. Wm., Ph.D., *Univ. of California, Berkeley, Cal., U.S.A.*
- 1920 PORTER, Douglas D., *106 Highbury New Park, N. 5.*
- 1893 HON. 1920 \*POUSSIN, Louis de la Vallée, *Prof. à l'Université de Gand, 66 Avenue Molière, Uccle, Brussels.*
- 1918 \*POYNTER, Capt. Sir H. E., Bart., *c/o Johnson, Clapham & Norris, 28 O'Connell Street, Sydney, Australia.*

- 1928 \*PRASAD, Pande Jadunandam, M.A., Asst. Master, Secondary Training School, P.O. Mahendre, Patna, India.
- 1927 \*PRASHAD, Dr. Baini, Indian Museum, Calcutta, India.
- 1930 \*PURI, Lieut. Dewan Rameshwar Nath, c/o Rai Bahadur Dewan Gyan Chand Puri, Provincial Durbari, Sialkot, Punjab, India.
- 530 1931 \*QARNI, Md. Iftikhar Husain, M.A., LL.B., Asst. Master Govt. Inter. College, Jhansi, U.P., India.
- 1933 \*RAJPAI, Nand Lal, M.A., 15 Bailey St., Chenabji Gardens Estate, Lahore, India.
- 1899 \*RAM, Lal Sita, Rai Bahadur, Dep. Collector (ret.), 429 Muthiganj, Allahabad, India.
- 1929 \*RAM, Parashu, Rais, Harsdan, Meerut City, U.P., India.
- 1924 \*RAMADAS, G., B.A., Head Master, Board High School, Jeypore, Vizagapatam, India.
- 1919 \*RAMANA-SASTRIN, V. V., Ph.D., Vedaraniam, Tanjore, S. India.
- 1915 RANDLE, Herbert Niel, M.A., Ph.D., I.E.S., 10 Queen's Road, Richmond, Surrey.
- 1922 \*RANKIN, J. Thomson, I.C.S., Commissioner, Dacca Division, c/o Grindlay & Co., 54 Parliament St., S.W. 1.
- 1928 \*RANKIN, W. S. de Guibe, Superintendent of Education, Bimiu Kebbe, Sokoto Province, N.P., Nigeria, W. Africa.
- 1888 §RAPSON, E. J., M.A., Prof. of Sanskrit, 8 Mortimer Rd., Cambridge.
- 540 1932 \*RATNASURIYA, M. D., Guernsey, Galle Road, Bambalapitiya, Colombo, Ceylon.
- 1914 \*RAWLINSON, Prof. H. G., I.E.S., Principal, Deccan College, Poona, India.
- 1928 \*RAWSON, Rev. J. N., Serampore College, Serampore, Bengal India.
- 1929 \*RAY, Hem Chandra, c/o Department of History, Calcutta University, Calcutta, India.
- 1917 \*RAY, Babu Jitendra N., B.A., Post Box 6738, Calcutta, India.
- 1912 \*RAY, Sarat Kumar, M.A., Kumar of Dighapatiya, Dayarampur, Rajshahi, Bengal, India.
- 1931 \*RAZVI, Sayyid Manzoor Ahsan, M.A., B.L., Zemindar and Advocate, Gola Deryapore, P.O. Bankipore, Patna, B. and O., India.
- 1921 \*REU, Pandit Bisheshwar Nath, Officer-in-Charge Arch. Dept. and Sumair Public Library, Jodhpur, India.
- 1897 \*REUTER, J. N., Ph.D., 21 Fabriksgatan, Helsingfors, Finland.
- HON. 1923 RHODOKANAKIS, Nikolaus, Auss. Prof. der Semitischen Sprachen, Graz Univ., Universitätsplatz 5, Graz, Austria.
- 550 1910 RICHARDS, F. J., M.A., I.C.S. (ret.), 6 Lexham Gdns., W. 8.
- 1919 \*RICKETT, C. B., 27 Kendrick Rd., Reading.
- 1896 \*RICKMERS, Mrs. W. R., Unerlstr. 5, Munich, Germany.
- 1892 †RIDDING, Miss C. Mary, 12a Market Hill, Cambridge.
- 1923 †RIDDING, Miss E. C., c/o Westminster Bank, 74 High St., W. 11.
- 1893 \*†RIDDING, Rev. W. Caldecott, Bradley Rectory, Ashbourne, Derbyshire.
- 1931 \*RIDGE, Miss Lola, Box 184, Station D., New York City, U.S.A.
- 1933 \*RIZWI, S. Sifat Ali, Private Secretary to H.H. The Maharaja Sahib Bahadur of Charkhari State, India.

- 1910 \*ROBERTSON, Rev. Alexander, M.A., *Hislop College, Nagpur, C.P., India.*
- 1928 \*ROBERTSON, Edward, *Professor of Semitic Languages, University College of N. Wales, Llwyny, Holyhead Road, Bangor.*
- 560** 1923 \*ROBINSON, Theodore H., M.A., D.D., *University College, Cathay's Park, Cardiff.*
- 1919 ROCKSTRO, F. Braine, B.D. Lond., L.R.C.P. Lond., M.R.C.S. Engl., 12 Edge Hill, S.W. 19.
- 1921 \*ROERICH, Geo. N., M.A., *Naggar, Kulu, Punjab, India.*
- 1929 \*ROOKE, Major G. H., 24 York Avenue, Hove, Sussex.
- 1919 ROOKE, Mortimer, 6 Clement's Inn, W.C. 2.
- 1929 \*ROSENTHAL, F. B., *Chief Engineer, Nizam's State Rly., Secunderabad, Deccan, India.*
- 1894 §ROSS, Sir E. Denison, Kt., C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Lit., VICE-PRESIDENT, *School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C. 2.*
- 1932 \*ROTOURS, R. des, 2 rue Joseph-Bertrand, Viroflay, Seine-et-Oise, France.
- 1891 \*†ROUSE, W. H. D., Litt.D., *Histon Manor, Cambridge.*
- 1921 \*ROY, The Hon. Raja M. N., Chaudhury of Santosh, 1 Alipore Park Road, E. Alipore, Calcutta, India.
- 570** 1928 \*ROXDON, Rai Sahib Pandit Dharam Narain, *Leather Technologist Civil Lines, Cawnpore, U.P., India.*
- 1921 RUBENSTEIN, B., 55 Tufton Street, S.W. 1.
- 1872 \*†RUSTOMJI, C., *Smedley's Hydro Establishment, Matlock.*
- 1933 \*RYAN, Rev. J. C., 33 West Mall, Clifton, Bristol.
- 1924 \*SAGAR, Seth Prem, *Banker, 5 Ferozepore Road, Lahore, India.*
- 1933 \*SAHA, Gopal Chandra, M.Inst.P.I., *Industrial Engineer, Luxmi Stylo Pen Works, 16 Luchmikunda, Benares City, U.P., India.*
- 1927 \*SAID-RUETE, Seyyid Rudolph, 15 Kapuzinerweg, Lucerne, Switzerland.
- 1933 \*SANI, Sheikh Golam Md., B.A., B.Com., 160/163 Parja St., Amritsar, Punjab, India.
- 1930 \*†SARAM, Leslie de, *Brentham, Cambridge Place, Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1891 \*†SARDA, Har Bilas, M.L.A., *Civil Lines, Ajmer, India.*
- 580** 1928 \*†SARDESAI, V. N., 539 Narayan Peth, Poona, India.
- HON. 1923 SARKAR, Sir Jadu Nath, Kt., C.I.E., M.A., 9 Tonga Rd., Darjeeling, India.
- 1928 \*SAROJ, Dr. Swaroop Ch. Jain, M.H.B., *Jati Bhushan Kavi Shiromani, Saroj Sadan, Cawnpore, India.*
- 1928 \*†SARTON, Dr. George, *Editor of Isis, Harvard Library 185, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*
- 1902 †SASSOON, David S., 32 Bruton St., W. 1.
- 1926 \*SATHE, Purushottam Bal Krishna, B.A., LL.M., *Mimansa Bushana, Subordinate Judge, Balaghat, C.P., India.*
- 1930 \*SATTAR, M. Abdus, M.A., 1343 Zafar Bagh, Red Hills, Hyderabad, Deccan, India.
- F.E.M. 1932 SAUDI-ARABIAN MINISTER, H.E. The, *Royal Legation of Saudi-Arabia, 42 Eaton Place, S.W.1.*
- 1932 \*SAXENA, R. C., M.D., B.S., F.R.H.S., M.H.A., Jaunpur, U.P., India.

- 1926 \*SAXONA, G. L., L.C.P.S., *Medical Officer at Dispensary, Partabgarh (Oudh), India.*
- 590 1929 \*SAXENA, Mata Prasad, B.A., *Pleader, Chairman, Sarswati Sadan Library, Sital Ashram, Hardoi, U.P., India.*
- HON. 1923 SCHEIL, Père Vincent, O.P., *Prof. d'Assyriologie à l'École des Hautes Études, 4 bis, rue du Cherche Midi, Paris.*
- 1905 \*SCHRADER, F. Otto, Ph.D., *Holtenauerstr. 69, Kiel, Germany.*
- 1924 SCHWAIGER, I., 143 New Bond St., W.1.
- 1921 \*SCOTLAND, Patrick J., M.A., I.C.S., *Sub-Div. Magistrate, Bettiah Champaran, Bihar, India.*
- 1903 \*SEDDON, Charles N., M.A., *Lecturer in Persian and Marathi, 27 Northmoor Road, Oxford.*
- 1929 SEDGWICK, Mrs. W., 11 More's Garden, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
- 1923 \*SEIDENFADEN, Major Erik, 295 Ploam Chit Rd., Bangkok, Siam.
- 1923 SELIGMAN, C. G., M.D., F.R.S., *Prof. of Ethnology, Univ. of London, Court Leys, Toot Baldon, Oxford.*
- 1929 \*SEN, Amar, 4 Jadu Sreman Lane, Entally P.O., Calcutta, India.
- 600 1932 \*SEN, Kaviraj Hari Charan, Sahityaratna, H.M.B., M.S.B., Maradan Rd., Radhanathdham Chatra, Serampur, Hooghly, Bengal, India.
- HON. 1913 SERMONETA, Leone Caetani, Duca di, 5 N. Accademia dei Lincei, Rome 129, Italy.
- 1926 \*SETH, Rai Bahadur Kunwar Bisheshwar Dayal, B.Sc., *Taluqdari of Muizuddinpur, Kotra, Biswan, Dist. Sitapur, U.P., India.*
- 1930 \*SHAH, Chimanlal J., M.A., c/o Messrs. C. J. Shah & Co., Churchgate House, 30-32 Churchgate St., Bombay, India.
- 1932 \*SHAH, Madhavlal Hirnalal, Ghatkopar, near Bombay, India.
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- 1929 \*SHAH, Tribhuvandas L., 480 Mangaldas Buildings, Princess Street, Bombay, India.
- 1925 \*SHAN, Wee Tin, 67 Maung Khine St., Rangoon, Burma.
- 1933 \*SHARAR, Dewan A. A., Mayfair Court, Stratton St., W.1.
- 1920 \*SHARMA, Chaturvedi Dwarker Prasad, Sahityabhushana, Ed. Vaiditi Sarvastha, 758 Daraganj, Allahabad, U.P., India.
- 610 1926 \*SHARMA, M. H. Rama, 518 Hundred Feet Road, Malleswaram, Bangalore, S. India.
- 1925 \*SHARMA, Pandit P. L., A.R.I.B.A., Thomason Civil Engineering College, Roorkee, U.P., India.
- 1925 \*SHARMA, S. R., M.A., *Prof. of History, D.A.V. College, Lahore, India.*
- 1929 \*SHEHABUDDIN, S. M., B.Litt., Manager "Islamic Culture," Civil Service House, Hyderabad, Deccan, India.
- 1921 \*SHERMAN, M. L., B.A., LL.B., Registrar, High Court, Indore, C. India.
- 1933 \*SHRIVASTAV, Uma Shankar, B.A., LL.B., Sub-Judge, Chhindwara, C.P., India.
- 1931 \*SHRIVASTAVA, C. S., M.A., B.Sc., Pleader, Ballia, U.P., India.
- 1914 \*SHUTTLEWORTH, H. Lee, I.C.S., c/o Royal Societies' Club, 63 St. James's Street, S.W. 1.

- F.E.M. 1932 SIAMESE MINISTER, H.E. The, *The Siamese Legation, 23 Ashburn Place, S.W. 7.*
- 1926 \*SINIDIQI, Muhammad Zabayr, Ph.D., *Sir Asutosh Professor of Islamic Culture, Calcutta University, India.*
- 620** 1928 \*SIMPSON, Professor D. C., D.D., *Oriel College, Oxford.*
- 1929 \*SINGH, Braj Bhushan, I.C.S., *Joint Magistrate, Saharanpore, U.P., India.*
- 1907 \*SINGH, Kahan, *Sirdar of Nabha, Nabha, Punjab, India.*
- 1927 \*SINGH, Puran, M.B., B.S., *8/22 Pasha Lane, Basrah, Iraq.*
- 1924 \*SINGH, S. M. P., *Talukdar of Khapradih, P.O. Haidarganj, Fyzabad, Oudh, India.*
- 1929 \*SINGH, Thakur Rama Palat, M.A., *Hindi Professor, Udai-Pratap Kshatriya College, Benares Cantt, India.*
- 1932 \*SINGH, Thakur K.N., B.A., C.S.V.P., *Deputy Collector and Magistrate, Allahabad, U.P., India.*
- 1932 \*SINGH JI, Thakur Sobhan, B.A., B.L., *Munsif, P.O. Begusarai, Dt. Monghyr, B. & O., India.*
- 1895 \*†SINHA, Kunwar K. Pal, *Rao Kolla, P.O. Narki, Agra, U.P., India.*
- 1913 \*SINHA, Babu Rudra Datta, M.A., LL.B., *Vakil High Court, Lucknow, U.P., India.*
- 630** 1920 \*SIRCAR, Babu Ganapati, Vidyaratna, *69 Beliaghata Main Rd., Calcutta, India.*
- 1923 \*†SIRÉN, Prof. Osvald, *Lidingö Villastad, Stockholm, Sweden.*
- 1900 \*SKEAT, W. W., *Romelandfield, Ramsbury Road, St. Albans, Herts.*
- 1926 SMITH, Lt.-Col. G. McIver, C.M.G., *82 Cornwall Gardens, S.W.7.*
- 1925 \*§SMITH, Sidney, M.A., *Dept. of Egyptian & Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum, W.C. 1; 7 Fellows Road, Hampstead, N.W. 3.*
- 1920 \*SONPUR, H.H. Maharaja Sri Sir Bir Singh Deo, K.C.I.E., *of, Sonpur Feudatory State, via Sambalpur, India.*
- 1927 \*SOOD, Rai Sahib Tara Chand, *Jullundhur City, Punjab, India.*
- 1930 \*†SOOFI, Khan Bahadur Agha Muhammad Ali (*Foreign and Political Dept.*), *Mahalla Mustian, Jullundur City, Punjab, India.*
- 1920 \*SOOTHILL, W. E., M.A., *Prof. of Chinese, 4 Bradmore Rd., Oxford.*
- 1922 \*SPINE, Capt. Harold H. M. A.M.I.C.E., *Hillside, Groombridge, Kent.*
- 640** 1932 \*SRIVASTAVA, Kalika Prasad, B.A., LL.B., *Civil Judge, Datia State, India.*
- 1910 \*STAËL-HOLSTEIN, Baron A. von, *c/o Peking Club, Peking, China.*
- 1907 \*†STAPLETON, H. E., M.A., B.Sc., I.E.S., *Principal, Presidency College, Calcutta, United Service Club, Calcutta, India.*
- 1923 Hon. 1932 \*STCHERBATSKY, Th., Ph.D., *Académie des Sciences, Leningrad, Russia.*
- 1887 \*§STEIN, Sir Aurel, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc., F.B.A., *c/o British Consulate General, Bushire, Persian Gulf.*
- 1924 \*†STEPHEN, Miss D. J., *St. Andrew's House, Kilpauk, Madras, S. India.*
- 1905 \*STEVENS, George F. A., No. 6910 Dartmouth St., *Forest Hills, Long Island, N.Y., U.S.A.*
- 1921 \*STEVENSON, W. B., D.Litt., *Prof. of Hebrew & Semitic Languages, 7 College Court, The University, Glasgow.*
- 1912 \*STEWART, J. A., I.C.S., *c/o T. Cook & Son, Rangoon, Burma.*

- 1929 STOCKS, Mrs. de Beauvoir, c/o National and Provincial Bank, Oxford.
- 650** 1915 §STOREY, C. A., *The Library, India Office, S.W. 1.*
- 1912 \*STRAUSS, Dr. Otto, *Neue Gasse 8-12, Breslau, Germany.*
- 1928 STRONG, Mrs. W. S., *Meadbrook, Barnfield Road, Torquay.*
- 1931 \*SUBHAN, M. Abdus, B.A., Dip. Econ., M.A., *Principal, Muslim Boarding School, Deolali, Nasik Dt., Bombay, India.*
- 1923 \*SUFI, Khan Bahadur Agha Md. Ali, *British Residency and Consulate-General, Bushire, Persian Gulf.*
- 1925 \*†SUKET, H.H. the Raja of, *Sundarnagar, Suket State, Punjab, India.*
- 1893 \*†SVASTI SOBHANA, H.R.H. Prince, *Bangkok, Siam.*
- 1931 \*SWENSON, H., *Kuyuan, Kansu, China.*
- 1895 \*†§SYKES, Brig.-Gen. Sir Percy M., K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G., *18 Eastbury Court, Kensington Rd., W. 14.*
- 1897 \*TALBOT, Walter Stanley, C.I.E., *Glenhurst, Esher, Surrey.*
- 660** 1928 \*TALIB, Md. Siraj-ud-din, *4444 Barber Street, Puranihaveli, Hyderabad, Deccan, India.*
- HON. 1910 TALLQVIST, K. L., *Prof. of Oriental Literatures, Fabriksgasse 21, Helsingfors, Finland.*
- 1914 \*†TAMPI, Vatasser Sri Velayudhan, son of H.H. Maharaja of Travancore, *Trivandrum, Travancore, India.*
- 1930 \*TARAPOREVALA, Vicaji D. B., B.A., *Sunama House, 140 Cumballa Hill, Bombay, India.*
- 1897 \*†TATE, George P., *Clydebank, Ranikhet, U.P., India.*
- 1924 \*TAYLOR, Samuel, *Dept. of Agriculture, Sudan Government, Post Box No. 285, Khartoum, Sudan.*
- 1911 \*†TEAPE, Rev. Wm. Marshall, M.A. (Edin. and Camb.), B.D. (Camb.), *27 Fireglen Road, Winton, Bournemouth.*
- 1922 \*TENNANT, Hon. Mrs. Ruth, *St. Anne's Manor, Sutton, Loughborough.*
- 1898 \*†THATCHER, Rev. G. W., M.A., *Camden College, Sydney, N.S.W.*
- 1905 THIRLTE, James Wm., LL.D., *23 Borthwick Rd., E. 15.*
- 670** 1928 \*THOMAS, Bertram S., O.B.E., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
- 1917 \*†THOMAS, E. J., M.A., *Under Librarian, University Library, Cambridge.*
- 1924 \*THOMAS, Ed. Li. Gordon, F.R.A.I., *Buka, New Guinea.*
- 1898 §THOMAS, F. W., M.A., Ph.D., F.B.A., C.I.E., *Vice-President, Boden Professor of Sanskrit, 161 Woodstock Road, Oxford.*
- 1918 \*THOMPSON, Sir Herbert, Bart., *The Old House, Aspley Guise, Beds.*
- 1907 \*§THOMPSON, Sir John P., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., M.A., *20 Melbury Road, W. 14.*
- 1927 \*THOMPSON, M. S. H., B.A., c/o Imperial Bank of India, *Georgetown, Madras, India.*
- 1919 \*§THOMPSON, R. Campbell, M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A., *Trackways, Boar's Hill, Oxford.*
- 1922 \*TICKELL, G. Templer, *1 Jaffray Rd., Bromley, Kent.*
- 680** 1931 \*TIWARY, D., B.A., B.L., *P.O. Jamshedpur, via Tatanagar, India.*
- 1921 \*TOLKOWSKY, S., M.B.E., *111 Allenby Road, Tel-Avir, Palestine.*
- 1929 \*†TOMARA, R. S., Ex. S.A.S., Raj Vaidya, *Elgin Road, Delhi, India.*
- 1917 \*TRIPATHI, Prof. Deva Datta, Sahityacharya, *Patna College, Patna, India.*

- 1918 \*TRIPATHI, Pandit Ram P., Reader in Modern Ind. Hist., The University, Allahabad, U.P., India.
- 1926 \*†TRITTON, A. S., D.Litt., School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C. 2; 85 St. George's Square, S.W. 1.
- 1921 \*TROTT, A. C., British Legation, Teheran, Persia.
- 1919 \*TRUMPER, Lt.-Commander V. L., R.N.R. (ret.), Hon. Sec. Palestine Exp. Fund, Maison Mazarakis, Rue el Mokattam, Port Said.
- 1928 \*TUCCI, Professor Giuseppe, Member of the Royal Academy of Italy, 20 Via Tevere, Rome.
- F.E.M. 1932 TURKISH AMBASSADOR, H.E. The, The Turkish Embassy, 69 Portland Place, W. 1.
- 1912 \*§TURNER, Prof. R. L., M.A., Litt.D., M.C., Professor of Sanskrit, University of London; Haverbrack, Bishop's Stortford, Herts.
- 690 1919 \*UI, Prof. H., Seminary of Indian Philosophy, Tokyo Imperial University, Toyko, Japan.
- 1923 \*†VAIDYA, V. P., B.A., J.P., 18 Cathedral St., Bombay, India.
- 1919 \*VAISHYA, Ramji D., F.R.S.A., Sweet Cottage, Gwalior, India.
- 1923 \*†VARMA, Prof. Siddheshwar, M.A., D.Litt., Shastri, c/o Prince of Wales' College, Jammu, India.
- 1930 \*VESEY-FITZGERALD, S. G., M.A., I.C.S. (ret.), 5 Charlbury Rd., Oxford.
- 1926 \*VIRA, Pandit Raghu, M.A., D.Litt. et Phil., Model Town, Lahore, Punjab, India.
- 1921 \*VIRAN, S. S. Gnana, c/o Nat. Bank of India, Rangoon, Burma.
- 1931 \*VISWANATHAN, K., Natvar Boarding High School, Bansda, India.
- 1905 \*VOGEL, Prof. Dr. J. Ph., Ph.D., The University, Leiden, Holland.
- 1899 \*VOST, Lt.-Col. W., I.M.S., Leicester Lodge, 1 Medina Villas, Hove, Sussex.
- 700 1923 \*VRATI, H. Lal, B.A., L.T., Headmaster Anglo Vedic High School, Anupshahr, U.P., India.
- 1908 \*WACKERNAGEL, Prof. Dr. Jakob, University of Basle, Gartenstr. 93 Basle, Switzerland.
- 1892 \*†WADDELL, Lt.-Col. L. A., C.B., C.I.E., LL.D., Ardsley, Craigmore, Rothesay, Bute, Scotland.
- 1930 \*WADIA, Madame B. P., c/o "The Aryan Path," 51 Esplanade Rd., Bombay, India.
- 1923 \*WAH, L. H., I.F.S., A.C.F., Pyinmana, Burma.
- 1931 WAHBA, H.E. Sheikh Hafiz, Minister of Saudi-Arabia, 42 Eaton Place, S.W. 1.
- 1929 \*WAJID, Professor Khwaja Abdul, M.A., Intezami Press, Calcutta, India.
- 1932 WALES, H. G. Quaritch, M.A., Ph.D., Royal Societies' Club, St. James's St., S.W. 1.
- 1912 \*†WALKER, Rev. C. T. Harley, M.A., The Yews, East Hannay, nr. Wantage, Berks.
- 1928 \*WALKER, John, M.A., Dept. of Coins and Medals, British Museum, W.C. 1.

- 710 1926 \*†WALLESER, Professor Dr. Max, Goethestrasse 12, Heidelberg, Germany.  
 1919 \*WARBURTON, Rev. B. A., 90 Billinge Rd., Spring Bank, Wigan.  
 1916 \*§WARDROP, Sir Oliver, K.B.E., C.M.G., M.A., 49 Downshire Hill, N.W. 3.  
 1933 \*WATSON, G. L., I.C.S., 27 Dening Road, Jubbulpore, C.P., India.  
 1907 \*WATSON, H. D., C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S. (ret.), Windrush, Inkpen, Hungerford.  
 1929 \*†WEBSTER, Professor Hutton, 823 Tolita Avenue, Coronado, Cal., U.S.A.  
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## Early Aramaic Dialects and the Book of Daniel

BY H. H. ROWLEY

NEARLY six years ago, G. R. Driver published a paper in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*,<sup>1</sup> in which he examined some of the arguments dealing with the Aramaic of the Book of Daniel, which had been presented by Charles Boutflower in his work *In and Around the Book of Daniel*. Three years later, in the course of an examination of the relation of Biblical Aramaic to other early Aramaic dialects,<sup>2</sup> I took the opportunity of replying to a number of inaccurate or misleading statements and untenable hypotheses on the subject of the Aramaic of Daniel which appeared in the writings of certain defenders of the traditional date and place of origin of that book, including Boutflower. A rejoinder has now appeared from Boutflower's pen, dealing with a limited area of the field, in the form of a brief monograph, published under the title, *Dadda-'idri, or The Aramaic of the Book of Daniel*. In this little book Boutflower replies to Driver and myself, and presents what he feels to be new light on the subject. A superficial reading might leave the impression that there was some ground for his theory, but a little examination reveals such omissions and assumptions and such misuse of evidence as to vitiate the argument. Indeed,

<sup>1</sup> *The Aramaic of the Book of Daniel*, J.B.L., 1926, pp. 110–19.

<sup>2</sup> *The Aramaic of the Old Testament: A Grammatical and Lexical Study of its Relations with other Early Aramaic Dialects*.

the real issue is that of the validity of the evidence we possess, for fundamentally Boutflower seeks to set aside the evidence that has survived in favour of the evidence he assumes to have perished.

## I

In his earlier work Boutflower had seized on a suggestion made by the late R. D. Wilson,<sup>1</sup> and argued that the cuneiform transcription of the name Hadadezer provided proof that the phonetic substitution of *d* for *z* in Aramaic was much older than the sixth century B.C. To this Driver replied that as the root ՚*zr* = *help* is not found in Akkadian, while in that language *izru* = *a curse*, it was possible that the word had been deliberately altered by Assyrian scribes. The title of Boutflower's rejoinder indicates that it is in the transcription of this name that he finds his all-important clue to prove that the book of Daniel may still be held to have issued from the pen of a courtier of Nebuchadrezzar.

My criticism that the indirect evidence of the Assyrian transcription of a single name was precarious testimony on which to base far-reaching conclusions as to the dialect of Damascus is countered by the production of further testimony. This comes, not indeed from Damascus, but from Harrân. The same testimony is used to oppose Driver's suggestion of a deliberate alteration of the name of Hadadezer, for we have arrayed not only the names *Ata-idri*, *Au-idri*,<sup>2</sup> *Atar-idri*, *Bel-harran-idri*, *Ilu-idri*, *Milki-idri*, *Nashkhu-idri*, and *Si'-idri*, which appear in the Harrân Census, but also *Si'-dikir*, *Si'-ahadi*, and *Nashkhu-dimri*, where no question of the

<sup>1</sup> *Biblical and Theological Studies by the Members of the Faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary*, 1912, p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> This appears to be a misprint for *An-idri*. G. R. Driver tells me that it should really be read *DINGIR-idri*, for which Johns used the old reading, *AN-idri*. Boutflower's book, unfortunately, abounds in misprints, the worst instance being the Aramaic text on p. 47, where six mistakes occur in the five short lines copied from Torrey.

avoidance of *izru* could have arisen.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Aramaic evidence is adduced, from the Elephantine Papyri, in the form of the names נִשְׁבָעַדְּיָה and אֲחָעַדְּיָה. On this evidence the conclusion is built that the variation between *z* and *d* in Aramaic is not governed by the time factor, as has been supposed, but was geographical in its distribution. Boutflower appears, indeed, to have two theories, between which his mind is not clearly made up. For while sometimes he argues that from earliest times there existed in Aramaic both a dental and a sibilant dialect, the latter of which alone has left any still extant remains, save relatively late ones, at other times he argues that the dental dialect is the original type,<sup>2</sup> deserving alone to be called Pure Aramaic, and that wherever the *z* is found, it is the result of foreign influence. He would appear to hold that Damascus was the classic centre where this pure dialect was spoken in all its purity, though he has still been able to adduce nothing more than the foreign transcription of a single name from this district to support his view. He holds that this Pure Aramaic was spoken, however, not only at Damascus and Harrân, but much more widely. His theory of the date and origin of the book of Daniel requires him to include Babylon in the area of this dental dialect. He has therefore no hesitation in doing so. The fact that the surviving examples of Aramaic from this district, down to the end of the fifth century B.C., are in disagreement with his theory he frankly admits, but discounts the admission with the assumption that they were written by scribes whose native Akkadian usage, in the class of words affected, influenced them to follow the practice of their own tongue when writing Aramaic.

He faces the fact that no ancient specimens of this Pure Aramaic have survived, but attributes this to Moslem

<sup>1</sup> Most of these names, together with others from Mesopotamian texts, are noted by Baumgartner in *ZAW*, N.F., iv (1927), 95.

<sup>2</sup> In this improbable hypothesis Boutflower was anticipated by Jahn, who claimed, in defiance of the evidence, that נִשְׁבָעַדְּיָה is younger than נִשְׁבָעַדְּיָה (cf. *Die Elephantiner Papyri und die Bücher Esra-Nehemja*, 1913, pp. 18 f.).

destruction in the area where it was earliest employed. In view of the fact that no Aramaic inscriptions at all have been found in the area where he assumes the dental dialect to have been found in all its purity, he feels able to assume that had there been any they would have employed the *d*. He then claims some support by invoking the Minaean inscriptions to prove that the Arabic *z* goes back to ancient times in the Arabic group of languages, and by proceeding to hold this to be valid evidence for an ancient dialect of Aramaic employing the *d*.

He argues that the dialect of Tēmā was of the dental variety, and ascribes the fact that the inscription on the Tēmā stone uses *z* to the influence of Nabonidus and his Babylonian *entourage*, during that monarch's long residence there.

Turning to the Aramaic Papyri from Elephantine, he finds that while the pronouns employ *z*, the root-words predominantly employ *d*. He concludes that a *z*-dialect and a *d*-dialect were both represented in the colony, but that the original and dominant dialect was the one employing the *d*. The fact that, even in documents which use *d*, we find *z* in the pronouns is once more laid at the door of "foreign influence". The use of **נ** and **ו** in the Papyri, in classes of words that have **ו** and **שׁ** in early Aramaic inscriptions from other localities, is adduced as further evidence that the dialect of Elephantine was of the dental variety.

The theory that the presence of *z* in writings from districts that are held to have used an essentially dental dialect is due to foreign corrupting influence, Boutflower supports by the argument that the change from dental to sibilant is an easier one than that from sibilant to dental.

## II

The improbability of the theory is apparent from this summary of the arguments by which it is supported. For it will be seen that it rests on *a priori* arguments, on deductions

from silence, on the dismissal of evidence, and finally on what appears to be the more solid ground of fact in the limited field of the Papyri and of the Akkadian transcription of Aramaic proper names. The full weakness of the argument will become more apparent as we examine it more closely, and we shall find that its manifest improbability will give place to the certainty of its impossibility.

It is, from the outset, clear that the theory which requires us consistently to assume that all our surviving evidence is misleading, and to be replaced by speculation as to what the character of the dialects really was, labours under serious difficulty. We are told<sup>1</sup> that the Babylonian and Assyrian Aramaic which has come down to us represents, not the Aramaic that was actually spoken in that area, but the Aramaic that was miswritten by Akkadian-speaking scribes. Again, we are told<sup>2</sup> that the Tēmā inscription discloses, not the dialect of the district as it really was, but as miswritten under the influence of Nabonidus and his court.<sup>3</sup> We are further told<sup>4</sup> that the Egyptian Papyri unfold the Aramaic of Elephantine, not as it was in itself, but as corrupted by "foreign" influence. And for the evidence as to what these dialects of Assyria and Babylonia, Tēmā and Egypt were, in their uncorrupted purity, we are offered nothing but the evidence of a few proper names from Damascus and Harrān, and the rare use of *d* in the Papyri. The theory of scribal perversity reaches its climax in the assumption that when Assyrian scribes wrote Akkadian inscriptions, they preserved the true Aramaic usage in their transcription of proper names,

<sup>1</sup> *Dadda-'idri*, pp. 14 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Boutflower somewhat inconsistently says (*ibid.*) that the Tēmā inscription is "written in that dialect of the Aramaic which prevailed in Assyria and at Babylon", though he has claimed above that the dialect of Assyria and Babylonia was really dental, but was miswritten by Akkadian-speaking scribes. Here, as elsewhere, he does not seem quite to have made up his mind what his position is.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

but that when Assyrian and Babylonian scribes wrote Aramaic texts they followed the usage of their native Akkadian tongue.

Nor is our confidence in the argument increased by the further assumptions by which it is supported. Where evidence exists, as in the districts just mentioned, we are asked to set it aside. Where no evidence exists, we are asked to surmise what its character would be if it did exist. Thus we are told<sup>1</sup> that "it may be presumed that if we had ancient inscriptions from Damascus and the neighbourhood, we should find that the dental forms ܬ and ܶ, which we meet with in the late Palmyrene and Nabatean, are no creatures of yesterday, but have an equally long descent". But no valid case can be built on silence. It is true that Boutflower offers a plausible suggestion to account for that silence, attributing the absence of testimony to deliberate Moslem destruction, but whatever the reason may be, we cannot make good the absence of evidence by surmise.

Our misgivings are still further strengthened by the irrelevant fields to which we are carried, for we are taken to Minaean and Ethiopic. We are reminded that the Minaean inscriptions prove that the ՚ of Arabic goes back far in time. But no one has ever questioned or denied this. The point at issue is how ancient is the usage of ܬ in Aramaic, and no evidence from the Arabic group of languages can establish this. Boutflower argues<sup>2</sup> that because the *dh* and the *z* are both represented in ancient Semitic, the one in the Minaean and Sabaean inscriptions and the other in Akkadian, and because both are represented in modern Semitic, the one in Arabic and the other in Amharic, therefore both *d* and *z* were found in ancient Aramaic. While this is nowhere explicitly stated, its implicit assumption is the only possible justification for the introduction of this material. But the argument is a manifest *non-sequitur*. The undisputed fact that both *dh* and *z* were found in ancient *Semitic* in no way

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24-33.

proves that there were two dialects in *Aramaic*, a dental and a sibilant, existing side by side from the earliest times. It can no more prove this for Aramaic than for Hebrew or Akkadian.

### III

It may be frankly admitted, however, that the cuneiform transcription of the group of proper names, to which Boutflower has drawn fuller attention than his predecessors, does provide a real problem. It is now clear that Driver's suggestion of deliberate alteration, to avoid similarity with *izru*, is improbable. May it not be, then, that Boutflower is justified in assuming an early dental dialect for Damascus and Harrân, even if the evidence is so definitely against him in transferring it to Babylon? I think not.

In the first place, it is extremely precarious to argue the character of a dialect on such slender evidence as that of a few proper names found in a foreign transcript. And so far as Damascus, the supposed classic centre of this dialect, is concerned, the evidence still consists of a single such name. Let us see to what false conclusions a similar procedure would lead us elsewhere.

In *CIS.* ii, 77, which is dated by de Vogüé in the eighth or seventh century B.C., and which comes from Assyria, we find the name דָרְעֵדָר. Similarly, in *CIS.* ii, 87, we have a seal of uncertain locality, but in the Babylonian style, assigned by the same authority to the seventh or sixth century B.C., which reads שְׁמִישָׁעֵדָר. It is surprising that Boutflower did not adduce these names. Since they are written in Aramaic characters, they provide much more valid evidence of the usage of the Aramaic dialect of Assyria and Babylonia than the Akkadian transcription of the name of a king of Damascus can provide of the usage of the Damascus dialect. Yet if we should conclude, on the basis of these two names, that the Aramaic of Assyria and Babylonia, from the eighth century B.C. to the sixth, was of

the dental variety, we should make a demonstrably false deduction. For the usage of the Aramaic of Assyria and Babylonia, from the ninth century B.C. until the fifth, is uniformly with *z*, save in such isolated proper names, and against even these can be set other proper names, where *z* is found. Thus, in *CIS.* ii, 43, 1, we find אַבְנֵזֶר, in 43, 13 f. we find עַזְרָנָאֵל, and in 46 בָּעַלְעֹזֶר.

Similarly, as Boutflower himself reminds us,<sup>1</sup> we find that cuneiform inscriptions refer to a place *Khatarikka*, which is identified with the *Hadrach* of Zech. ix, 1. While this name is probably of non-Semitic origin,<sup>2</sup> and therefore does not belong to the class of words under examination, we might naturally conclude that it contained a dental. For here we have two foreign transcriptions, both in languages which normally have sibilants in whole classes of words where later Aramaic has dentals, and both have the dental here. The case is therefore stronger than that of *Dadda-idri*, where a single foreign transcription with the dental is known. Yet in the only surviving Aramaic inscription which mentions the place,<sup>3</sup> the name appears as *Hazrak*, and the local dialect is shown to be one which used *z* in those words in which *d* is found to replace it in the later Aramaic writings. And since foreign evidence would here so clearly mislead us as to the name of the city, what confidence can we have that foreign evidence

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Lidzbarski conjectures that the initial consonant is of Hittite origin. Cf. *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, iii, 175, n.

<sup>3</sup> The inscription of Zakir of Hamath. Lidzbarski (*ibid.*, p. 6) and Dussaud (*Revue archéologique*, xi (1908), p. 229) hold that it was originally erected at Hazrak, though before the place of discovery was disclosed, the former had surmised the possibility that it might not have been found in the place where it originally stood (*op. cit.*, iii, p. 175, n.). It was actually found at Afis, near Aleppo (cf. *Syria*, iii (1922), pp. 175 f.), which seems to be mentioned in the inscription (*b*, 11), and the writer in *Syria* (*loc. cit.*) holds that it was erected there, and not at Hazrak, conjecturing a second battle at Afis after the breaking of the siege of Hazrak, of which the inscription gives no indication. In any case there can be no doubt that it reveals the dialect of Hazrak.

can be relied on to preserve the native form of the name of the king of Damascus?

It must be remembered that we have the same name preserved for us in Hebrew sources as דְּדוּעֵר.<sup>1</sup> It is true that the reference there is not to the same person, but to an earlier Aramaean king of the neighbouring state of Zobah. It is also true that since the name reaches us in a Hebrew document, we cannot be sure that it presents the true native form. But precisely the same consideration applies to the form as preserved in Assyrian documents. It should be added that we have the same name in an Aramaic form, preserved on a seal, probably of the seventh century B.C., found at Saqqara in Egypt, which reads לְדָדוּעֵר.<sup>2</sup>

We may further note that while Boutflower has drawn attention to two proper names in the Papyri, in which *d* stands, they would provide a wholly misleading clue as to the nature of the dialect of Elephantine, even though they are found on the spot itself. For, as we shall see below, not only did that dialect in the fifth century B.C. show an overwhelming preference for *z*, but even in proper names the *d* was the less common usage.

A further illustration of the invalidity of Boutflower's method may be found in the Assyrian transcription of the names Damascus and Samaria. For the former the cuneiform texts have *Dimaška*, and the like, and for the latter *Samerina*.<sup>3</sup> Since the Arabic for Damascus is دمشق, and since Arabic ش normally corresponds to Hebrew ש and Aramaic שׁ or ס, the Biblical Hebrew form שְׂמִינִית may be relied on to preserve the correct Aramaic sibilant, while the Akkadian form does not. In this case, however, the usage followed in the cuneiform texts agrees with that of Akkadian, which normally has š, corresponding to Hebrew שׁ. But in

<sup>1</sup> 2 Samuel viii, 3; 1 Kings xi, 23.

<sup>2</sup> CIS. ii, 124.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to G. R. Driver for drawing my attention to this point, which seems excellently to expose the invalidity of Boutflower's argument.

the case of Samaria this explanation fails. The Old Testament presents us with שְׁמַרְן, and while by the normal rule the initial sibilant would appear in Arabic as س, in Akkadian it would be represented by š. The Akkadian transcription of this word, therefore, is out of accord with Akkadian usage in the class of words affected, and equally out of accord with Hebrew and Aramaic usage. It would be but a misleading clue, both as to the name of the capital of the Israelite kingdom and as to the character of the Hebrew dialect in the matter of sibilants. What confidence can we have, then, in the clue of *Dadda-idri* to give us either the true native name of the king or the true character of the dialect of Damascus?

It is therefore clear that we must wait until we have some much more solid evidence before we can build anything whatever on assumption as to what the character of the Damascus dialect really was.

#### IV

Is not the case of Harrân, however, much stronger? For here we find a whole array of names standing in cuneiform with *d*. On this, two things must be said. First, that even if it were definitely proved that the dialect of Harrân did employ the *d*, this would provide no proof that the dialect of either Damascus or Babylon employed the *d*. In the case of Babylon, there is direct testimony to the contrary, and while there is no direct evidence from Damascus, it is much more likely that its dialect was closely similar to the Aramaic dialects of the neighbouring Syrian states, whose inscriptions have come down to us, than that it was similar to the dialect of the more remote Harrân, if that were materially different.

And second, there is nothing that can really be called evidence that in Harrân a dental dialect of Aramaic was spoken so early. For while proper names may be significant of much, their evidence can only be used with extreme caution. They may reflect a variety of foreign influences, and be no evidence whatever of native usage, or they may be completely

misleading.<sup>1</sup> Migration and intermarriage may bring in foreign names. Thus, the names in *d* from Assyrian and Babylonian Aramaic inscriptions, and from the Papyri, tell us nothing until we know something of the persons who bore them. In the Papyri, in particular, we find so many influences reflected in the proper names that we could not affirm with any certainty that the *d* names noted were not of non-Aramaic origin, in the form in which they appear. Similarly, we can have no certainty that the *d* names found in Harrân, which was a great centre of trade, were not of non-Aramaic origin.

It is a curious fact that practically all the names collected by Boutflower contain the element *-idri*. It is true that he adduces three other names, but of these, *Si'-ahadi* has no evidential value, since Johns notes<sup>2</sup> that the reading of the crucial syllable *-di* is quite insecure, while *Si'-dikir* is connected by Johns with the Hebrew קָדֵר of 1 Kings iv, 9.<sup>3</sup> Neither of these can, therefore, be used with any security in the present connection. Nor is the third name, *Našhu-dimri*, much more secure. For there is no evidence that there was not a Semitic root *dmr*, beside the root *dmr* = *zmr*. Brockelmann, indeed, connects the Syriac whence comes = *admirabilis*, with such a root.<sup>4</sup>

## V

Enough has been said to demonstrate that the alleged dental dialect of Damascus and Harrân is as unproved as

<sup>1</sup> G. R. Driver points out, for instance, that in the Old Testament the name *Uriah the Hittite* has nothing to do with the divine name Yah, with which it seems to connect, and that it is quite distinct from the genuinely Hebrew name *Uriah*, which we find borne by Hebrew persons, but is the Mitanni name *Uria*, with the common hypocoristic ending *-ia*.

<sup>2</sup> *Assyrian Doomsday Book*, p. 30. So insecure is the name that Johns omits it from his Glossary of Proper Names.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* The reference I owe to G. R. Driver, who adds that this is perfectly legitimate, as *ki* is often substituted for *ki* in every period, while actually in texts from Harrân we have *Adad-lu-ki-di* (*ibid.*, No. 4, obv., iii, 13) beside *Si'-[lu]-ki-di* (No. 6, obv., i, B 7).

<sup>4</sup> *Lexicon Syriacum*, 2nd ed., p. 158. The reference is again G. R. Driver's, to whom I am indebted for much of the foregoing paragraph.

it is unlikely. Nevertheless, the curious fact of these names with *-idri*, and in particular of the name *Dadda-idri*, does call for some explanation, though none that is really satisfactory has yet been propounded. G. R. Driver makes a new suggestion, however, which seems to me to be wholly probable, and permits me here to present it. It is that these names are due to Arabic influence. So far as the Harrân names are concerned, he points out that one of the influences bearing on that great trading centre would be the intercourse with the Arab tribes of the desert, who spoke a dental rather than a sibilant dialect. It is not difficult to suppose that commercial intercourse should bring some settlement or intermarriage, sufficient to introduce some foreign forms of proper names, or even to corrupt the common speech, though of that we have no evidence.

But what of the name *Dadda-idri*? Here Driver suggests that the Assyrian scribes may have first learned the name from the lips of an Aramaean from Harrân, or of an Arab from the desert, and have written it down as they heard it.<sup>1</sup> The Assyrian armies must have availed themselves of the services of guides, from whose lips they may well have first learned the names of both places and persons. And since *-idri* is so common an element of Harrâni names, Hadadezer would as easily be given a dental character on the lips of a person from Harrân as on those of an Arab.

It is interesting to note that the form *Samerina*, noted above, would equally well be explained by the suggestion of an Arab guide.<sup>2</sup> For while Assyrians, Aramaeans, and Israelites would

<sup>1</sup> Experience shows that when once a foreign name has secured a place in a language the inaccuracy of its spelling or pronunciation, due to the medium through which it was first learned, is seldom corrected. Thus we speak of *Peking*, though the local pronunciation is more like *Bay-jing*.

<sup>2</sup> There are also a number of other names in Assyrian inscriptions, e.g. *Ursalimmu* for Jerusalem, *Asdudu* for Ashdod, *Iskaluna* for Ashkelon, and *Lakies* for Lachish. In the earlier period, Babylonian often substituted *s* for *š*, and in the Amarna Letters we find some confusion. Thus, we there find *Lakišu* in letters from Lachish, but *Lakisu* in the letters of *Abdi-biba*

hardly be expected so to pronounce the name, an Arab guide might well do so. In view, however, of the fact that we are told that in an earlier age the substitution of *s* for *š* was an Ephraimite solecism,<sup>1</sup> we cannot be sure that Samerina is not due to uneducated local pronunciation.

It may be asked what evidence there is of the existence of a specifically Arabic type of dialect in North Arabia so early. There are no actual North Arabic inscriptions early enough to warrant the assumption, but the South Arabian communities, which were essentially trading communities, seem to have had firm trading connections with North Arabia. Thus Margoliouth says that "the presence of Minaean inscriptions at El-'Ula in North Arabia would seem to show that their power was not confined to the South of the Peninsula",<sup>2</sup> while the Old Testament tells us of what was probably a commercial mission to Solomon from the Sabaeans, headed by their Queen.<sup>3</sup> It is to be noted, too, that when Sargon, in 715 B.C., made an attack against certain tribes of the Arabian Peninsula, the Queen of the Aribi in North Arabia, and It'amar of Saba, in South Arabia, both sent gifts to Sargon.<sup>4</sup> This would seem to indicate that in that age the North Arabians and the South Arabians were in close touch with one another. Further, when the North Arabians developed a script, it was derived from that of the South Arabians,<sup>5</sup> pointing again to the fact of much intercourse between the South Arabian communities and the North.

of Jerusalem. For Ashkelon, however, we find *Aškaluna*, both in *Abdi-hiba's* letters and elsewhere. Jerusalem is only mentioned in *Abdi-hiba's* letters, where *Urusalim* is found. But these names doubtless reached the Assyrian scribes by direct contact in the period of Assyrian expansion, when *š* would be the regular Assyrian usage—though surviving letters show that in the common speech *s* still stood sometimes by confusion for *š*.

<sup>1</sup> *Jg.* xii, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Hastings, *DB.* i, 133b.

<sup>3</sup> *I Kings* x, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Cambridge Ancient History*, iii, 58.

<sup>5</sup> Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, ii, 27.

Moreover, the Aribi, or Arabi, are frequently mentioned in Assyrian texts. At the battle of Karkar we find Gindibu the Arabian, with 1,000 camels, and thereafter there are frequent references to these tribes in the north of Arabia.<sup>1</sup> That they spoke a specifically Arabic type of dialect cannot be proved, but is highly probable. For while we know little beyond some proper names of states and kings, many of them offer easy Arabic etymologies.<sup>2</sup>

It is true that I have argued above that proper names cannot be accepted alone as a sufficient indication of the character of a dialect, and I must beware of following an argument here which I have disallowed there. But the cases are not quite parallel. For while I have argued that the dialect of Damascus cannot be held, on the strength of a single name in foreign transcript, to be seriously different from that of the neighbouring Aramaean communities, whose dialect is known to us, and while I have argued that the proper names of Harrân cannot prove a dental dialect of Aramaic to have been spoken there, and especially if these names can just as easily be traced to Arabic influence, in the case of the Aribi we have neither the evidence of neighbouring and kindred tribes to set against the suggestion that they spoke a dialect of Arabic, nor is it easy to see from what outside source names which yield an easy Arabic etymology could have reached them, to become the names, not only of persons, but of states.

But even if these names of an Arabic type among the Aribi are insufficient to establish the type of dialect spoken by the tribes, my case is sufficiently supported. For whether native to the Aribi or not, these names prove the presence in North Arabia of "Arabic" influence on proper names, and so support the possibility that the Harrân names may derive

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, i, 18, "Die Wüste im Westen und Süden des Zweistromlandes war schon im 9. Jahrhundert von 'Arabern' bevölkert."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Margoliouth, loc. cit., p. 133a; Streck, *Assurbanipal*, iii, 772.

from the same influence. Whether, then, through commercial relations with the great trading communities of South Arabia, or through intercourse with the Arab tribes of North Arabia, proper names of an "Arabic" character may quite well have reached Harrân, and the names *Dadda-idri* and *Samerina* may be due either to Arab guides from the desert or to the influence of the *-idri* names from Harrân and of local solecism respectively.<sup>1</sup>

## VI

Turning now to Boutflower's use of the evidence of the Papyri, we find that here he is no more convincing. He argues that while the pronouns almost invariably have *z*, the root-words generally have *d*, and that therefore the dialect was really of the dental variety. Driver and I had both argued that there was a gradually increasing use of *d* over the period of the Papyri, but this Boutflower definitely denies, maintaining that there was little, if any, change during the period.<sup>2</sup>

In support of this contention he divides most of the first thirty-five of the texts in Cowley's edition<sup>3</sup> into three groups, of nine, four, and eighteen, respectively. The first group comes from the period 495–455 B.C., the second from 447–435 B.C., and the third from 428–400 B.C. He notes that it is only in the second group that we find *d* in the pronouns. Accepting his group divisions, we find the following distribution of the alternative consonants under discussion:—

- (1) In the first group we find *d* 5 times, including two proper names,<sup>4</sup> against *z* 137 times, including 14 proper names;
- (2) In the second group we find *d* 9 times, of which none

<sup>1</sup> In view of the other names mentioned in a note above, the former would seem to be the more probable hypothesis.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, 1923, cited below as *AP*.

<sup>4</sup> I have not included here the name **תְּנִינָה**, which I discuss in a footnote below.

are proper names, as against  $\approx 35$  times, of which three are proper names:

(3) In the third group we find  $d$  8 times,<sup>1</sup> including one proper name, against  $\approx 226$  times, of which 20 are proper names.

From these figures it would appear that Boutflower is quite right, and that there was little difference between the proportions of the first and third of these periods. But when it is remembered that the Ahikar Papyri may, according to Cowley, be safely dated in the latter part of the century, and that the same authority ascribed the Papyri containing an Aramaic translation of the Behistun inscription to *circa* 420 B.C., and that the proportions of  $d$  to  $z$  in the former are 17 to 84, and in the latter 10 to 44, it would appear that there is real reason to believe that the  $d$  was gradually becoming more established.

The figures given above will surely suggest to the impartial reader that the evidence does not favour the theory that the  $d$  was the essential usage of the dialect. Let us return, however, to examine the first group more closely. In the eight dated texts of the group we find the following three words written with  $d$ , viz., בְּרֵב 2, 17, לְמַחְדָּח 8, 17, and דְּבָב 10, 9. To these must be added the two proper names נִשְׁבָעָדָי 2, 19, and אֲתַעֲדָרִי 2, 20.<sup>2</sup> In the same documents,

<sup>1</sup> Here I have not included **זכרנו**, *AP.* 34, 6, which Cowley doubtfully connects with **זכר** = *remember*. I should have included a reference to this word in footnote 4, on p. 20 of my *Aramaic of the Old Testament*.

<sup>2</sup> Leander (*Laut- und Formenlehre des Ägyptisch-Aramäischen*, 1928, p. 9) includes also the names יְאַדְנִיהָ, דְּנִיהָ and יְאַדְנִיהָ as belonging to this class. The last is miswritten (see note in *AP.* on 37, 17) for דְּנִיהָ. Sachau, however, holds (*Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine*, 1911, p. 8) that the form יְאַדְנִיהָ points to the root אַדְן (cf. *BH.* אַדְן = *lord*), and he is followed by Ungnad. Lidzbarski rightly, in my judgment, doubts this (op. cit., iii, 258), but holds, as Leander, that דְּנִיהָ and יְאַדְנִיהָ are two forms of the same name, noting the former as the younger. It seems to me much more probable that דְּנִיהָ connects with the root דְּנָה. In *BH.* we find the proper name דְּנָה in Neh. iii, 7, which is certainly not

on the other hand, we find זִילְךָ 50 times, זִילֵי 5 times, זִילְדָּי 7 times, זִילְדִּי twice, זִילְהָ twice, זִילְכִּי once, זִילְמָן 19 times, זִקְרָא 27 times, זִנְקָה once, זִבְמָה once, זִכְרִיהָ once, זִכְרִיהַ 4 times, and the proper names עִירִיהָ once, צִבְרִיהָ 6 times, יִצְבְּרוֹת 4 times, יִזְנִינִיהָ once, and יִזְנִינִיהַ twice. We thus find *d* 5 times, against *z* 137 times. If we add three further Papyri, which Cowley assigns to the same period, though they are not dated, the numbers are altered to 6 occurrences of *d*, including 3 proper names, and 155 occurrences of *z*, including 15 proper names. On the basis of these data, it can scarcely be maintained that the few examples with *d* exhibit the essential usage of the dialect in this period. And since the proportions of more than 25 to 1, including proper names, or more than 40 to 1, excluding proper names, were not maintained in the later documents, it would appear that Driver and I had some justification for the view that there was a tendency for *d* to be more used in the later texts.

Or, ignoring proportions, and looking only at the occurrences of *d* in the Papyri, we find that, apart from three proper names, there are 3 occurrences between 495 and 455 B.C., 9 occurrences between 447 and 435 B.C., 9 occurrences between 428 and 400 B.C. (including 2 in a duplicate document which Boutflower excluded from group 3, and which are therefore omitted above), 10 occurrences in the Behistun Papyri of *circa* 420 B.C., 17 occurrences in the Ahikar Papyri, which belong towards the end of the century, and only 4 other occurrences in Papyri that cannot be dated, and 2 on Ostraka.

## VII

We have not yet examined, however, the effort to set the root-words over against the pronouns, and the claim that it is in the former alone that the true character of the dialect

connected with יְהֹוָה, but which may with every probability be connected with יְהֹוָתָה. Cowley does not, I believe, discuss these names, but the fact that he transliterates *Yedoniah* in the one case and *Jezaniah* in the other would seem to indicate that he does not equate the two names.

is indicated. It is perfectly true that, apart from the demonstrative and relative pronouns and conjunctions, *d* is found more frequently than *z* in the ordinary vocabulary of the Papyri, but it is also true that Boutflower has not presented a fair statement of the case. On p. 20, after referring to the third of the above-mentioned groups and the further Papyri to which no date can be assigned, and also to the Ahikar and Behistun Papyri, he says: "In all these the pronominal words are written with sibilants throughout, while the root-words with scarcely an exception are written with dentals." To this he adds a footnote that "the only exceptions are נְדָב (*sic*; read נְדָב), 39, 4, and Ahikar, line 193; and נְכָר Ahikar, line 53". The reader could only conclude that these were the only exceptions in all the texts to which reference has just been made. There are, however, more numerous examples, viz. נְדָב AP 30, 12. 28; 31, 11; 39, 4; Ah. 193; נְכָר (verb), Ah. 53; נְבָרֶן (noun), 32, 1. 2; 61, 1. 10; 62, No. 1, 4; 63, 10. 12. 14; 68, No. 11, 2; עַזְוֹר 71, 23. In these particular Papyri, therefore, which contain 40 of the 52 occurrences of *d* that the Papyri present,<sup>1</sup> there are no less than 16 instances of *z* in root-words also found.

For the whole of the Papyri and Ostraka, the facts are that *d* is found in demonstratives and relatives 6 times, and in other words 48 times, whereas *z* is found in demonstratives, relatives, and conjunctions more than 650 times, and in other words 16 times.

Nor is even this a complete statement of the case. Boutflower quotes two proper names he has found with *d*, but he ignores the names in which *z* stands. Yet these again heavily preponderate. In dealing with Harrân and Damascus, he would give to proper names, even in foreign transcription, determinative significance in estimating the character of the

<sup>1</sup> As I have collected all the occurrences of *d* in Egyptian Aramaic, with references, in my *Aramaic of the Old Testament*, pp. 20 f., it is unnecessary to do so again here.

dialect. Yet here he ignores all but the two names which seem to lend some support to his theory. We may therefore restore the balance by noting that over against three proper names which have *d*, viz. נִשְׁבָעַדְרֵי AP 2, 19; 3, 23; 65, No. 15, אַתְּעַדְרֵי 2, 20, and עַדְרֵי 24, 37, we may set זְבוּר 5, 5 and 12 times else, זְבָרְאָא 22, 66, 67, 10, 3 and 20 times else, עַזְוִירָה 20, 6 and 7 times else, עַזְוִיר 23, 8, אַזְנִיתָה 52, 14, 17, אַזְנִית 12, 8; 66, No. 8, יְזִין 8, 6; 25, 17, and יְזִינִית 6, 9 and 8 times else. In the proper names, therefore, against 5 examples of *d* in three names, we are able to set a total of 60 occurrences of eight names with *z*.<sup>1</sup>

While, therefore, there is a predominance of 3 to 1 in favour of *d* in root-words, there is a predominance on the other side of 12 to 1 in proper names, and of more than a 100 to 1 in demonstratives, relatives, and conjunctions. And since the instances of these latter overwhelmingly outnumber the total of the proper names and the root-words, it is surely out of the question to confine attention to the root-words in determining the character of the dialect. Let it be further remembered that there is no instance of a text amongst the Papyri using *d* exclusively, but that a great number use *z* exclusively. In view of these incontestable facts, it can scarcely be disputed that the Papyri show us a dialect which is still dominantly using *z* but in which *d* is beginning to appear.

### VIII

But so far we have not dealt with Boutflower's introduction of the cases of the equivalence of נ and ש, and of ט and ס in certain classes of words. Concerning these there is no dispute. While in some early Aramaic inscriptions, as e.g.

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted, however, that if Lidzbarski and Leander are right in the derivation of תְּצִינָה, then the 32 occurrences of that name in its various spellings would have to be added, making the figures 57 as against 60.

the Zenjirli and Nérab inscriptions, we find **שׁ** and **שׂ**, as well as **תּ** in the cases we have so far been considering, in the Papyri we find **נַ** and **כַ**, with the exception of a single word. Boutflower attaches these cases to the occurrences of **תּ** in the Papyri to lend additional strength to his claim that these texts present us with an essentially dental dialect. Implicit in the argument is the assumption that the variations go together, and that a dialect that employed **נַ** and **כַ** might be presumed also to employ **תּ**.

This assumption is invalidated by the evidence. It is true that in certain early Aramaic texts we find **שׁ**, **שׂ**, and **תּ** uniformly employed, and that in Biblical Aramaic and late Aramaic we find **נַ**, **כַ**, and **תּ** uniformly employed. But that in no sense proves that the three cases belong together, and must be found together. The introduction of the cases of **נַ** and **כַ** cannot make the rarer occurrences of **תּ** in the Papyri normative for the dialect, or alter the fact that the evidence overwhelmingly proves that the usage of Egyptian Aramaic was predominantly **תּ**. Especially strong is this conclusion when the instances of **תּ** so greatly outnumber not alone the instances of **תּ** but the instances of **נַ**, **כַ**, and **תּ** combined.

Further, if the three dental usages and the three sibilant usages did really belong together and accompany one another, and if the dialect of Elephantine were a dental dialect infected by some foreign sibilant influence, we should be inclined to wonder how it came about that an infection which had spread so far into the field of the one dental had made so little mark in the sphere of the others.

An impartial examination of the evidence cannot fail to convince the student that Early Aramaic employed **שׁ**, **שׂ**, and **תּ**, but that gradually these gave place to **נַ**, **כַ**, and **תּ**, not, however, simultaneously. The evidence clearly indicates that the change from **תּ** to **תּ** was the last of the three, and that this change was in progress in the Elephantine colony in the fifth century B.C.

## IX

This, however, brings us to Ernest Sibree's dictum, which Boutflower quotes in support of his theory.<sup>1</sup> This is that the principle of least effort favours the change of dentals to sibilants, but is adverse to the change of sibilants to dentals. But this *a priori* argument is of no value whatever, and cannot be used to set aside the concrete evidence we have to the contrary here. For, as we have abundantly seen, the *d* was gradually securing for itself a stronger position in the Papyri.

Again, in the early Babylonian and Assyrian Aramaic writings we find *z*, but *d* appears in two Mesopotamian inscriptions, the earlier of which is dated by Pognon at about 200 B.C., in one of them beside *z*. In the later Aramaic of Babylon the *d* was regularly used. Even if Boutflower were right in assuming the *d* to have been the original usage, that was ousted by Akkadian-speaking scribes, the alleged principle of least effort, if relevant, should have furthered and established the position of the *z*. That the *z* was finally driven out before the *d* is proof that the process which is set down as an *a priori* improbability did actually take place.

We may further note that while the older inscriptions from Asia Minor use *z*, the Sardis bilingual of *circa* 400 B.C. employs *d* beside the *z*.<sup>2</sup>

Again, in one or two of our oldest Nabataean inscriptions we find *z*, but then it disappears and gives place to *d*. Here, once more, we find the two side by side in one text.

Surely it is significant that in all our old Aramaic texts, whether they come from Egypt, Arabia, North Syria, Asia Minor, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, or India, we find *z*, and that

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Baumgartner (*ZAW*, loc. cit., p. 95) adds a second inscription from Asia Minor which employs *d* beside *z*, given in *PSBA*, xxxv, 1913, p. 192. But this is the Cilician inscription more recently edited by Torrey in *JAOS*, xxxv, 1915–17, pp. 370–4, which closer study has shown to employ only *z*.

in no less than four cases, in districts so widely separated as Elephantine, Sardis, Hassan Kef, and Nabataea, our oldest examples of *d* in these areas are found side by side with *z*. When to this it is added that in all the later Aramaic that we know *d* was the normal usage, it is clear that the only possible conclusion is that the *z* was the older usage in Aramaic and the *d* the more recent.

It is gratuitous to assume that from early times there were two different usages in Aramaic, the one pure and the other corrupted by foreign influence, of which only the latter has left any surviving early remains and only the former any late remains. It is quixotic to make this assumption when we are told that the *z* would be unlikely to give place to the *d*, and its prospect of survival would therefore be the greater. On Boutflower's principles late Aramaic ought to have been a sibilant dialect.

## X

There is a further mutation to which we are referred. In certain groups of words we find a *p* in our oldest Aramaic inscriptions, but an *y* in the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra, and in all late Aramaic writing. Here it is observed that in Jer. x, 11 we find both standing side by side, and in the Papyri both usages are found, though the older usage greatly predominates. Here again we find the case of the two usages standing side by side in a single text.

Boutflower recognizes that the ancient inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria have *p*, but seeks to rescue himself from the embarrassment of the fact that Daniel consistently uses *y* by ascribing Jer. x, 11 to the reign of Jehoiakim, and by assuming that Ezra vi contains the *ipsissima verba* of an Aramaic decree issued by Cyrus. This merely begs the question. For neither of these statements can be taken for granted. Most scholars regard Jer. x, 11 as a gloss, while for the evidence that the Aramaic of Ezra is somewhat older than that of Daniel, but certainly younger

than the fifth century B.C., I can only refer to the full discussion in the work of mine against which much of Boutflower's present work is directed.

He omits to note that in the Aramaic endorsements on the documents of the Murashu Sons, which come from Babylonia and are contemporary with the Elephantine Papyri, the  $\text{פ}$  is still alone found. This would be an unpromising piece of evidence for the theory that Daniel, writing in Babylon in the sixth century B.C., used  $\text{י}$ . The evidence which has come down to us clearly indicates that this change began in the West. It was in progress in Egypt in the fifth century B.C., but it had not yet begun in Babylonia.

The change from  $\text{פ}$  to  $\text{י}$  and the change from  $\text{ת}$  to  $\text{ת}$ , therefore, were both in progress in Egypt in the period of the Papyri, while neither had begun in Babylonia in that age. Yet in Daniel both are completed. In both cases the earliest evidence we have of the later usage comes from Egypt,<sup>1</sup> and represents the newer usage securing for itself a place beside the older. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that both usages began in the West, and that even if we hold Daniel to have had its origin in Palestine we must recognize it to have been later than the Papyri, while if we wish to place its origin in Babylon it could only have been at a still later date that these two changes could have been completely carried through there.

## XI

No more convincing is Boutflower's discussion of a further point he introduces. This is the question of the use of  $\text{מ}$ - or  $\text{ת}$  for the termination of the pronominal suffixes of the second and third persons masculine plural. He again turns to the cognate languages to show that the  $\text{ת}$  is quite as old as the  $\text{מ}$ .<sup>2</sup> But once again I can only reply that the point

<sup>1</sup> Apart from the sporadic instances of proper names in *d*, which have been sufficiently discussed above.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 33 ff.

at issue is not how old the usage is in *Semitic* but in *Aramaic*, and that can be established only by Aramaic evidence.

Similarly, he once more assumes that the letter of Ezra vi, 6-12 was written in 520 b.c., in the precise words in which it now stands, and that the occurrence of  $\text{ת}$  once in that letter proves that the usage was known in the East in that year. He further assumes that the Palmyrene use of the  $\text{ת}$  dates from their ancient trade relations with Damascus, and that therefore the  $\text{ת}$  was the usage of Damascus. But conjecture is not proof, and there is no shadow of evidence to show either that the Damascenes used  $\text{ת}$  or that the Palmyrenes received any dialectic usage whatever from the Damascenes, or even that the Palmyrenes themselves used the  $\text{ת}$  in the days when Damascus was "the political capital of Aramaica and the centre of Aramaic culture". The earliest Palmyrene inscription we have dates from the year 9 b.c., and we have no knowledge at all of the usage of the Palmyrenes before that date.

So, too, the assumption that an *m* dialect and an *n* dialect stood side by side in ancient Aramaic is wholly unwarranted. It is based on the fact that we have the two usages side by side in the book of Ezra, even standing together in a single verse, and on the fact that there may be a few instances of  $\text{ת}$  in the Papyri. These instances are very few and very uncertain indeed. They stand in *AP* 16, 4; 34, 6, 7; 37, 4, 14; 82, 11. Sachau holds them to be feminine suffixes, and Cowley takes 16, 4 as feminine, while Driver treats 37, 14 as feminine.<sup>1</sup> Where the evidence is so uncertain it can hardly sustain the conclusion that "it is sufficient to show the existence of an *n* dialect" in Egypt.

Even if the instances in the Papyri were certain, they would no more prove the existence of two dialects than do the instances in Ezra. For if there were two dialects, they would not both be used by the same writer within the compass of a

<sup>1</sup> *JRAS.*, 1932, p. 81.

single verse. Clearly, at the time such verse was written, there were two uses within the one dialect, and the evidence but establishes that the dialect was changing. And since in the book of Daniel we find only the *n*, we can but conclude that in this respect the dialect was no longer in the stage of transition, but that the *n* had definitely taken the place of the *m*.

The Aramaic evidence tells us that in the kingdom of Zakir and at Zenjirli in the eighth century B.C., and in Assyria in the time of Ashurbanipal, the *m* was used. It also tells us that in Egypt in the fifth century B.C. the almost, and possibly quite, invariable use was *m*. If the occasional appearances of *n* were secure, they would be the earliest definitely datable instances of the usage. The Aramaic of Ezra has both *m* and *n* freely interchanged. The Aramaic of Daniel, however, has only *n*. It is perfectly true that the Nabataean inscriptions still use *m*, but since it is known that the change from *z* to *d* reached the Nabataeans much later than it did any other district of which we have knowledge, their conservatism in this other respect occasions little wonder.

In any case, a usage whose first—and doubtful—non-Biblical occurrences belong to the fifth century B.C., yet which is found to be invariably employed in the book of Daniel, must still provide embarrassment to the view that that book dates from the sixth century B.C. And if the linguistic argument is to be allowed any weight at all, then the evidence can only point to the fact that Daniel is later than Ezra in this respect.

## XII

I may take this opportunity of dealing briefly with some corrections and would-be corrections of my work that Boutflower throws into the Addenda pages at the end of his book. On p. 43 he draws attention to my error in referring to the conservative view of the book of Daniel as "more than a century" older than the oldest Papyrus, and points out

that I should have said "forty years". My error was a real one, of which I can offer no explanation. Happily, my argument is unaffected by the correction.

On the previous page he criticizes my statements about the use of **ל** to mark the direct object in the Papyri. He suggests that I had overlooked the example in *AP* 5, 9, and in denying my statement that the usage is found more frequently in the later Papyri than in the earlier, he remarks that I cite but one instance from the *Ahikar* Papyri. As I professed to cite but examples, no error can be laid at my door in not quoting every instance. I had neither overlooked 5, 9, nor had I failed to find more than one instance in the *Ahikar* texts. For examples may be found in lines 1, 48, 72, 76, 77, 118, 136, 176. Since the usage is, as Cowley notes,<sup>1</sup> not common in the Papyri, these eight examples, together with the ones I have quoted in the statement criticized, should be sufficient to establish the accuracy of my note that it stands more frequently in the later Papyri than in the earlier.

On the other points to which he refers, Boutflower does not question my accuracy, but endeavours to explain away the facts to which I had drawn attention. A good illustration is the case of the use of **מלך** before the royal name with which it stands in apposition, in the book of Daniel. Boutflower urges that in formal and historical documents, and in humble address, the word **מלך** stood after the royal name, whereas in simple narrative and intimate conversation it stood before. As an example of intimate conversation he instances Dan. ii, 28. It is scarcely likely that, in the circumstances depicted in that chapter, Daniel would in his address to the monarch refer to him in an intimate fashion, or would fail to treat him with all the dignity due to his position. Nor is it clear why ii, 46, v, 9, and vi, 10 should be set down as "simple narrative", while

<sup>1</sup> *AP.*, p. 14.

iii, 1, say, should be held to require "stately and formal style". When Boutflower goes on to add that the reason we never find the word **מלְכָא** standing first in the Papyri is that they contain no passages which can be described as simple narrative or intimate conversation, he is letting his theory cause him to forget the facts. For surely the Tale of Ahikar is as deserving of the name of "simple narrative" as the chapters of Daniel quoted, and we might even more reasonably expect Ahikar to refer to his monarch, in private conversation with a third party, in informal terms, than Daniel to use such terms in addressing the monarch himself. Yet in lines 47, 50, 51, 53 we find the alleged formal usage.

It is interesting to observe that while Boutflower would thus discount the evidence on this point as of no significance at all for the dating of the Aramaic of Daniel, the late Archdeacon Charles claimed that on this ground alone he could definitely and decisively date it.<sup>1</sup> I was much more restrained in granting it significance, without attributing to it decisive significance, and I still hold that as Charles presses it much too far, so Boutflower yields it far too little.<sup>2</sup>

### XIII

It is, therefore, manifest that Boutflower's case fails at every point. For

(1) In the complete absence of *Aramaic* evidence from Harran and Damascus, we are quite unable to determine the character of the Aramaic spoken at either;

<sup>1</sup> *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, 1929, p. ci.

<sup>2</sup> I here append two further corrections: (1) G. R. Driver notes that Boutflower's explanation, on p. 45, of the name Rimani-Adad as "Rimmon is Adad" is mistaken. It means "Have mercy on me, Adad", the first element connecting with the Hebrew root **רִמּוֹן**. (2) An error in my own work may be corrected. On p. 139, line 17, the word **שְׁתַיִם** has somehow got with two words from Ezra, instead of standing in the following line with two from Daniel. This correction involves the transposition of the words "three" in line 16 and "two" in line 17, and the substitution of "three" for "four" in footnote 6.

(2) Even if we could establish that character, we could not transfer it to Babylon in the teeth of the surviving evidence;

(3) The incursions into the cognate languages cannot establish Aramaic usage;

(4) The assumption that *d* was the original Aramaic usage requires a wholly unnatural interpretation of the evidence, and especially that of the Papyri;

(5) The assumption that wherever *z* is found it represents foreign corruption rests on no evidence, and is supported only by an *a priori* argument which would, if valid, require the final triumph of the *z* instead of the *d*;

(6) The assumption that no text can be trusted to determine the usage of the locality from which it emanated at the date when it was written, but that we must uniformly suppose that writers either perversely followed the custom of some other language, or revived a usage which is supposed to have been anciently used but of which we have no relevant evidence, rests on a fundamental persuasion of the invalidity of all evidence that could only make all discussion fruitless;

(7) Since, in the three cases examined, our ancient Aramaic texts have *τ*, *ρ*, and *ω*, while our later texts have *θ*, *γ*, and *φ*, and since in each case the earliest non-Biblical instance of the latter usage in Aramaic that has come down to us appears beside the former, we can only conclude that the former was really the earlier usage in Aramaic, and gradually gave place to the latter.

It is thus certain that Boutflower's theory encounters such difficulties that it has no chance of acceptance. And even if the theory were sound, it would hardly do the work for which it is created. For he tells us that his purpose is to remove one of the obstacles to the conservative view of the date and authorship of the book of Daniel. But even if, as he supposes, Damascus and Harrân used a dental dialect, which was originally spoken in Babylon, but which our existing inscriptions from Babylon prove to have been corrupted by Akkadian influence, we should still be at a loss to understand

why Daniel, whose own native Hebrew was a sibilant dialect, and who found around him a sibilant dialect of Aramaic so aggressive that it imposed itself from Babylon on distant Têmâ, should restore the assumed original usage. The assumption that the so-called Pure Aramaic was spoken in Damascus in the ninth century B.C. offers no reason whatever why Daniel should have used it in Babylon in the sixth century B.C. The recognition that the book of Daniel is unrepresentative of the usage of the locality from which it is held to have emanated in the age to which it is ascribed, and in particular of the court circles in which the author is held to have moved, can hardly be held to be in itself a vindication of the age and provenance to which it is assigned.

124.



## **Tarikh-i-Muhammad Arif Qandahari**

BY SRI RAM SHARMA

**TARIKH-I-MUHAMMAD ARIF QANDAHARI** is often cited as an authority in many extant works of Mughal history. Sir Henry Elliot, however, failed to secure even a fragment of the work and had to content himself with a note based on the citations in other histories. Nor did his editor Professor Dowson succeed any better. Thus the History of India as told by her own historians (vol. vi) contains a very brief note on the very sketchy information available at the time.

Fortunately a fragment of the work was discovered some years ago in the State Library of H.H. the Nawab of Rampur. Sir Jadu Nath Sarhar succeeded in getting a transcript of the MS. in question. I am very much indebted to him for allowing me to use his copy of the MS. That the MS. in question is obviously a fragment is clear from the fact that there are cross-references to a history of the reign of Humayun,<sup>1</sup> which, however, is missing. It is not possible to be confident as to the end. The MS. in question is the portion of the work dealing with Akbar's reign. It begins with Akbar's birth and closes with the account of a great fire at Fathpur Sikri in A.H. 987 (1579-1580). That this closes a section of the work is obvious by its ending with a prayer as is usual elsewhere in this work. It is possible that the author did not live to complete any later portions of this work, but that he intended to do so is clear from certain references in the MS.

An examination of the MS. in question reveals the fact that Muhammad Arif had attached himself to Bairam. When, in 1560, Bairam fell out with the emperor Arif accompanied him in his final march to Gujarat and was

<sup>1</sup> p. 34.

present at his deathbed. After Bairam's death he carried out his intention of going to Mecca on a pilgrimage.<sup>1</sup> This done he returned to India and lived in Bihar for some time. In 1577-8 (A.H. 985) he came from Bihar and was presented to Akbar.<sup>2</sup> Presumably then he became an imperial servant and passed his days as a contented servant of the empire. The book seems to have been written probably before Akbar launched on his policy of toleration. Though the Jizya was remitted during the period Arif deals with, the remission finds no place in the book which represents Akbar as a devout Muslim. Probably Arif wrote his work before Akbar had time to develop his religious policy. If so, this fragment represents the last part of Arif's complete book, which ends with the year A.H. 987 (1579-1580). That the work was completed within the life time of Akbar is evident from the so frequently recurring prayers and their form. It is clear that the author did not outlive the emperor.

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<sup>1</sup> pp. 97-9.

<sup>2</sup> p. 379.

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## The Origins of the Aryan Gods

BY A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

IT is inevitable that efforts should constantly be made to arrive at results regarding the origin of the gods who appear in developed form in the Vedic literature and the Avesta. It is true that for many purposes inquiries of this kind are unimportant. It matters comparatively little for the understanding of the religion of a people to be able to trace its evolution, for what is essential is to know what views the worshippers of a defined period had of their gods, and these may be very different from the opinions to which they should logically have advanced. But it is always possible that a new theory of origins may cast some light on features of religion which remain obscure, and the many divine epithets of the Veda which are still unexplained encourage efforts at further elucidation. It is therefore not unsatisfactory that Professor Rudolph Otto should have worked in detail at his effort to clear up the picture of the Vedic pantheon by endeavouring to apply to it the speculations on the origin of religion which have attracted of late years considerable attention in their attractive presentation in *Das Heilige* and *Das Gefühl des Überweltlichen*.

Professor Otto naturally combats energetically the popular idea that Vedic deities owe in many cases their being to the effects produced on the minds of the people by the great phenomena of nature, such as the sun, the sky, the storm winds, and so forth. We must look to man's feelings for the explanation of the conception of the divine, and we find it in the specific and *a priori* faculty of apperception of a power which may best be termed a numen in order to avoid the misleading implications of other terms. This feeling has various characteristics<sup>1</sup>; it is more than mere terror, it is marked by a sense of otherness, rather than of mere wonder;

<sup>1</sup> *Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier*, pp. 1-15.

it is a consciousness of might, which involves respect ; there is a feeling of the presence of power, which may be expressed as wrath (*manyu*), or as glowing flame ; there is majesty, and victorious power, and, by a natural dualism of aspect, wrath and mercy are associated. From this feeling in its various aspects it is possible to trace the development of the conception of the divine. It may be within man himself. The Keśin of the *Rigveda* (x, 136) bears within himself the numen, as do such priests as the Atharvans, Angirasas, Bhṛgus, and so forth.<sup>1</sup> Or it may be regarded as situate outside man, whether in nature or the animal world or in the world of ideas. But these are merely the occasions of the manifestation of the numen, not the causes of its existence.

Applied concretely the principle may be illustrated by the case of the Maruts.<sup>2</sup> They are normally regarded as the storm gods, and their character as divine is traced to the effect on the mind of early man of their enormous power and terrible characteristics. But this is a false view. Two considerations are overlooked by those who hold this belief. In the first place, men living close to nature are not likely to be so impressed by natural phenomena as to ascribe to the Maruts those characteristics of anger and fury which are assigned to them in the *Rigveda*. Secondly, the storm winds when reckoned as Maruts are thought of not merely as dreadful, but as demonic. The latter character is not a result of experience, but is, in Kantian phraseology, imposed on the winds as a category *a priori*. The storm winds are reckoned demonic because man knows before he encounters them what the demonic is. In the same way we are not to think that primitive man derived his belief in hostile powers from the phenomena of the cold of winter and the heat of summer, the onslaughts of disease, and the attacks of human foes ; rather was he afraid of invisible demonic powers, and only later did he locate his enemies in natural events.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 39, 40.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 12, 107.

The theory, of course, is essentially *a priori*, and so evades possibility of proof or refutation. But it must be admitted to rest on very weak foundations. It is easy to refer to the sense of terror and of uncanniness which we have all felt in a wood at night,<sup>1</sup> but it is impossible to say whether, after the many thousands or hundreds of thousands of years that man has developed on the earth, our modern feelings even in the case of the alleged primitive savages have much in common with the feelings of those men who first evolved the conception of the divine. Again it is quite impossible for us to estimate the effect on the minds of early men of such phenomena as those of nature in India; it certainly seems natural that early tribes should see powerful divinities in such phenomena as the storm winds, or in the mighty sun. Nor is the contention that the capacity to regard a phenomenon as demonic must be *a priori* conclusive as to the operation of that capacity. Professor Otto seems too much inclined to regard the power to demonize as subjective and independent of the occasion of its application. It is as logical, arguing *a priori*, to hold that the apperception of an object as possessed of a numen is possible only because of the specific character of the object, which for some reason or other evokes in the perceiver the apperception of demonic character. That things which are strange and terrible evoke in us feelings of reverence and worship is at least as tenable a view as that we apply these feelings only secondarily to such objects.

In application to individual cases, it may be doubted if the new theory aids us to any more satisfactory views than we at present hold of the great gods of the Veda. Viṣṇu is now explained<sup>2</sup> not as a great nature deity, but as the sum of viṣṇu numina, which are characterized by the completeness with which they are immanent in the forms they assume, as contrasted with the temporary *rūpas* of Rudra. The later relations of Viṣṇu to the Tulasi plant, the Nyagrodha tree,

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 22-4; cf. Sir Alfred Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, i, 18; *RV.* x, 146 (Aranyāni).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 83-91.

the Śālagrāma, are essentially akin to the *bhedābheda* relations of Viṣṇu to the world in the later Vaiṣṇava dogmatic. The name is to be explained by the fact that the numen slips into (*viś*) each object, or, if that etymology is dubious, the same result can be derived by adducing the root *viś*<sup>1</sup> and such terms as *yati-veṣa*, "the outer appearance of a *yati*." A *viṣṇu* is that which has as its outer appearance, for instance, the Śālagrāma. This enables us to explain the terms *Nara*, *Narottama*, and *Nārāyaṇa*, or *Puruṣottama* applied to Viṣṇu. A *Nara* is the numen as spirit which enters an object; a tree which is permeated by such a spirit is a *druma-nārāyaṇa*. A *Narottama* is that which has in the highest degree the character of a *Nara*, a numen. It is easy, hence, to understand the doctrine of the *Avatāras* of Viṣṇu, or his identification with the sacrifice, for is he not the immanent numen in the rite, the Brahman<sup>2</sup> itself? A natural extension of intuition by the seers, to whom we owe our theology, is the conception of Viṣṇu as the *antaryāmin*, and his close connection as the essential element with a world in which he is immanent and which, therefore, is real, and no mere *māyā*. No doubt such a view is possible, but there is plainly nothing whatever to give it a preference over the traditional doctrine of Viṣṇu; on either theory all his traits can be explained, and on the view that he is at first a nature god a much more plausible account of his origin is attainable than on the view that he is the immanent numen, found sporadically in many objects.

Varuṇa, of course, ceases to be a nature god.<sup>3</sup> He is born of the numinous apperception of disease in man and beast; by the dualism essentially present in such apperceptions the sender of disease is also the remover of it, and with the development of society the god becomes deeply concerned

<sup>1</sup> More normally the name is derived from *viś* "be active", used of the sun; Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Otto connects this word with the idea of "height" as elevation, a characteristic of the numen. The sense is, however, quite uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> See *Das Gefühl des Überweltlichen*, pp. 124 ff.

with the punishment of sin and the vindication of morality. This view is supported by denial that the Aryans or the Indo-Europeans knew a sky god. We learn<sup>1</sup> that *dyau* means not "sky" but "god", *mahi dyaus*<sup>2</sup> is the forerunner of Mahādeva, and the name *Ekadyū*<sup>3</sup> means "he who reveres one god", not indeed a monotheist, but a devotee of an *īṣṭadevatā*. This is a peculiarly unsatisfactory doctrine, and the denial of an Indo-European sky god is clearly wholly unnecessary even on Professor Otto's theory. There is no reason whatever, even if that account of divine origins were sound, why the process of creating heavenly gods, which he admits went on later, should not have been completed by the period of Indo-European unity, and we would be saved the effort to explain away Dyaus. On the other hand, Apollo as *Apopellōn* is brought into close connection with *Varuṇa*,<sup>4</sup> an approximation which seems to have little to commend it.

In the view of Professor Otto<sup>5</sup> the numinous fancy of the Aryans was prone to see in the horse and the ox the presence of the divine. This in his view is the explanation of the figures of *Dadhikrā* and *Dadhyañc*, and of the *Aśvins*; we must lay aside any explanation of these names from natural phenomena. *Dadhikrā* is the stallion who brings about the production of milk in the mares. Later this figure is given the name *Dadhikrāvan*, no longer the horse, but a subject which possesses the horse or mare. The name is significant of the development of a numen. The numen is first apperceived in the horse, but it is more than the horse; it is not so much that the horse possesses it as that it possesses the horse, and it naturally comes to be associated with the rest of numina, finally with the *Rta* itself, the principle of natural and moral order, which is apperceived as a numen.

<sup>1</sup> *Gottheit und Gottheiten des Arier*, pp. 31, 103-5.

<sup>2</sup> *RV.*, x, 133, 5. See also x, 132, 4.

<sup>3</sup> *RV.*, viii, 80, 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Das Gefühl des Überweltlichen*, p. 191.

<sup>5</sup> *Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier*, pp. 73-6. For a different view, see Keith, op. cit., pp. 189, 190; for the agent affix -van, see Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, § 177.

But the obvious objection to this history is that there is not the slightest reason to suppose that Dadhikrā and Dadhikrāvan have any difference in sense ; the suffix in the latter is not -vat, which doubtless has a possessive sense, but -van, to which can hardly be ascribed any such force. Nor are the Aśvins horses in the Veda. Indeed, Professor Otto traces<sup>1</sup> them back to the primitive yoke of cattle in which a numen is apperceived by pastoral people to exist, an idea later changed to that of steeds. The useful qualities of the Aśvins, on this view, are to be traced back to their capacity to aid man by the homely products of the ox and cow ; their wondrous car is no heavenly apparition but an Apotheke ; its three wheels remind us that a three-wheeled cart is an early development from the primitive two-wheeled vehicle. True Sūryā is their wife in the *Rigveda*, but that must not deceive us ; it is a late idea, the product of the tendency to associate gods with the sky, though why this tendency should arise is not clearly explained. In fact, the original idea is of honey as the Īrjāni<sup>2</sup> of the Aśvins, their wife, for the power of a god is hypostasized as his wife, as in the case of Śacī as the wife of Indra. The name Nāsatya is claimed at last to have the necessary explanation ; it refers to the broad noses of the Indian cattle. This rather interesting conception is hardly borne out by the evidence adduced, the reference in the epic<sup>3</sup> to the *nāsatyam janma* as opposed to the *āndajam janma* of Brahman, for that merely refers to the creation of the *śabda-brahman* by Viṣṇu who blows it out through his nose. The epic in a very late passage<sup>4</sup> calls the Aśvins sons of Mārtanda born by exodus through the nose of Samjñā, and hence called Nāsatya and Dasra. The true sense of Nāsatya is presumably “healer”.

It is difficult also to accept other of the suggested meanings

<sup>1</sup> *Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier*, pp. 76–81.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 80 ; *RV.*, i. 119, 2. For the formation see Macdonell, op. cit., § 193.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahābhārata*, xii, 348, 39.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., xiii, 150, 17.

of Vedic divine names. Rudra, of course, is a numen, and perhaps we are to see in the name, if it means "howler",<sup>1</sup> a reflex of the fact that, when man has consciousness of a numen, he tends to hallucinate himself into the belief that he hears a strange sound. More tempting, but unlikely, is the proposal<sup>2</sup> to understand *narāśamṣa* as meaning "banning ghosts", a function which might well be ascribed to Agni, while the chief Vṛātya might well be styled *nṛśamṣatama* as "best of spirit-banners". *Vasu* and *deva*<sup>3</sup> alike appear as uncanny "Glutwesen" and the latter are best explained, as by the commentator on the *Atharvaśiras Upanisad* as *svadehaprabhaya dyotanavantas*. Yet there is really no conceivable ground for banishing the *devas* from connection with the sky, and that *vasu* has anything to do with flame is certainly not probable. Nor is it at all clear that the prayer to Agni<sup>4</sup> to destroy the *mīradevas* really means "stürmischen deva's", for the term may perfectly well mean "those who take *mūras* as their gods", on the analogy of *śiśnádeva*. That the *dakkhinī* of the Buddhist texts is the Vedic Dakṣinā as used of Uṣas is far from plausible.<sup>5</sup>

Professor Otto makes a fresh attempt<sup>6</sup> to deal with the myth of the incest of the sky god with his daughter—perhaps Uṣas, which has troubled many before him. He sees ingeniously in it the result of the misapprehension of an old Dravidian<sup>7</sup> conception of a bisexual being (*narīnara*), from which comes the world. This being was conceived as Rudra, and Rudra is Mahādeva, which in earlier times was doubtless

<sup>1</sup> *Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier*, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 29. The compound is held to contain *āśamṣa*, but this is unlikely.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 31. For *vasu* "good", see Walde, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch*, i, 310.

<sup>4</sup> Keith, op. cit., p. 75. See *RV.*, vii, 104, 24; x, 87, 2, 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier*, p. 54, n. 1. It is not clear to what term reference is meant.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

That the idea is non-Aryan is not certain; see Keith, op. cit., pp. 619, 620. That it is old Dravidian is unproved, and that Mohenjo-daro reveals Dravidian civilization is purely speculative.

Mahādyau, and, when the heaven came to be called *dyaū*,<sup>1</sup> this led to a fatal misinterpretation. The old myth, legitimate in the case of a bisexual being, was no longer understood ; sky has no bisexual connections, and instead the meaningless legend of relations of incest with his daughter Uṣas arose. Is this explanation any more plausible than the suggestion<sup>2</sup> of a misunderstood nature myth ? It involves far more implausibilities and large assumptions. Again, while there are traits common to Rudra and Wuotan, it is far from probable that in the epithet *drāpe* we are to see a parallel to the mantle of Wuotan wherein he envelops himself to make him invisible.<sup>3</sup>

The *Śatarudriya*<sup>4</sup> supplies Professor Otto with much of his inspiration and frequently is adduced to aid his argument. But it is plain that he under-estimates the importance of two clear facts. In the Vedic literature we have the product of a time of active religious thought and of a marked tendency to pantheistic conceptions,<sup>5</sup> and of a period when there was widespread belief in the existence and activity of spirits of the dead. There is nothing in the litany which cannot be explained when these facts are borne in mind, nothing which requires us to go back to the making of religion and the working of the numinous fancy of primitive man.

<sup>1</sup> The view (*Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier*, p. 103) that Dyaus Asura means "Gott" and "Gottherr", not "Heaven, the lord", is very implausible.

<sup>2</sup> The myth may be due to a confusion of the relations of Dyaus and Uṣas with those of Dyaus and Pṛthivi; cf. Maedonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 119; Oldenberg, *SBE*, xlvi, 78; notes on *RV.*, i, 71, 5; x, 61, 5-8.

<sup>3</sup> *Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier*, p. 64; *TS.*, iv, 5, 10, 1; *VS.*, xvi, 47. The word seems to be a -i agent noun from the causative of *drā-*; cf. *kārpi* (*VS.*); Maedonell, *Vedic Grammar*, § 131 (2).

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., pp. 137-149. The late character of the litany is shown by the ascription of the god, Śiva, of the epithet *śipitīṣṭa* which is clearly a style of Visnu. Professor Otto tries a new derivation, the numen immanent in the organ of generation (cf. *sepa*), but this has no special plausibility. The sense was probably lost even to the earliest Vedic seers.

<sup>5</sup> The treatment of such ideas as *triṣṭi* in *AV.*, vi, 38 (*Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier*, pp. 147-9) suggests a conscious philosophy rather than primitive thought.

## An Interpolation in some MSS. of the Bṛhatkathāmañjari

BY M. B. EMENEAU, Yale University

AT the end of their edition of Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathāmañjari (*Kāvyamālā* 69) Śivadatta and Parab print an appendix of 78 *ślokas*, which purports to be the twenty-fourth story of the *Vetālapañcavimśati*. It was not found in their MSS. but was supplied to them by T. S. Kuppūsvāmī from a Tanjore MS. Speyer in his "Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara" (*Verh. d. K. Ak. v. Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afd. Lett.*, N.R. viii, 5, p. 14, n. 1) says that he has "a strong presumption that this portion does not belong to the work of Kṣemendra". That such is the case can be proved conclusively.

It has not been noted, so far as I can find, that this story is nothing but an abstract of Bāṇa's Kādambarī fitted out with an introduction and a concluding riddle to make it conform to the plan of the *Vetālapañcavimśati* and inserted before the twenty-fourth story of the accepted text. The complex plot of the Kādambarī is given with much compression (so compressed, indeed, is the abstract that at times it can hardly be followed without reference to the Kādambarī itself), but with very close fidelity to the original. Only one or two minor divergences in detail have been noticed. The characteristic *alamkāra* of the original is omitted almost entirely, as may be expected in an abstract containing only seventy-eight *ślokas*. I have been able to find only one instance where a simile of the original has been retained. This is in verse 13 of the abstract. The sage Jābāli is thus described : *abjaja ivā 'parah* ; in the Kādambarī (Peterson's ed., p. 43, line 20) he is said to be : *aparam iva nalināsanam*.

What we have, then, in this *pariśista* is a compression of the Kādambarī written in *ślokas*. Schönberg, in working on Kṣemendra's *Kavikāṇṭhābharaṇa* (*SWA*. 106, 477-504),

discovered that Kṣemendra had written a Padyakādambārī, i.e. a versification of the Kādambārī. As no MSS. of this work seem to have come to light, we must depend for our knowledge of it on the quotations which Kṣemendra himself gives in the Kavikāntābhārāpa. These are found in 3. 5, 3. 10, 4. 2, 4. 4, 5. 2, 5. 5, 5. 13, and of those quoted in full by Schönberg none are *ślokas*. Their metre is enough to show that our abstract is not the Padyakādambārī.

The question of the authenticity of the ascription of the abstract to Kṣemendra must now be treated. Internal evidence is lacking in the story itself. Kṣemendra in the Br̥hatkathāmañjari was making an abstract of a work now lost, the Br̥hatkathā (whether Guṇāḍhya's work or a reworking of that work, is of no importance for our present purpose). His method of composition varied considerably in different parts of the Br̥hatkathāmañjari. The Pañcatantra section was cut to the bone in the narrative, and no ornament was added. In the Vetalapañcavimśati section, on the other hand, Kṣemendra condensed less violently, though still to a considerable extent, but compensated by adorning the narrative with ornamental descriptions. The abstract of the Kādambārī shows a treatment similar to that of the Pañcatantra. Clearly, in the absence of any uniformity in Kṣemendra's handling of the Br̥hatkathā, no argument can be based on the way in which the Kādambārī was treated in the making of this abstract.

The introductory *śloka* that was provided for the abstract sheds some light on the problem. Each story in the Vetalapañcavimśati is connected with the frame-story by a verse or several verses describing how the king returned to the tree, put the *vetāla*-inhabited corpse on his shoulder again, and set out on the road again to go to the ascetic, whereupon the *vetāla* began to tell him another story in the series. The monotony of the repetition of these events is to some extent lightened by providing a different set of verses on each occasion. There is no example in the usually accepted

text of Kṣemendra where the verses introducing one story are verbally identical with those introducing another. In most of these verses the *vetāla* utters some slight sentiment, praising the king's wisdom or attempting to dissuade him from further efforts ; these likewise are never identical in different stories. The introductory verse for story 24 of the accepted text is as follows (9. 2, 1183 ; the text I give is based on MS. materials) :—

*punah skandhasthitah prāha nirbandho 'yam mahāmate  
bhuñkṣva gatvā śriyam rājan no ced ekām kathām śṛṇu*

The verse provided for the abstract is :—

*punah skandhasthitah prāha nirbandho 'yam aho nu te  
bhuñkṣva gatvā śriyam rājan no ced ekām kathām śṛṇu*

This practical identity (which might prove to be absolute identity if more MSS. were used) is suspicious. It seems to imply that an interpolator, in inserting the abstract of the Kādambarī, either negligently or deliberately borrowed the introductory verse of the story which even in his completed MS. followed the abstract and had the same verse.

The MS. evidence also speaks against the authenticity of the *pariśiṣṭa*. It is found in three MSS. that I have read, viz. my GQT.<sup>1</sup> G is India Office Library, Burnell MS. 447, and is a copy of Tanjore Palace MS. 4880. Q, a copy of a MS. in India, is very close to G, and, though I am unable to ascertain what MS. it represents or even where the copy was made, it is evident that it and G stem from the same MS. source. T is a copy of Tanjore Palace MS. 10218 and belongs textually with two other Tanjore MSS., the copies of which I denote by R and S. This group RST is close to the group QG, and the two groups agree generally in differing from the Nepal MS. P. It seems probable, then, that the *pariśiṣṭa* was inserted (perhaps by a Tanjore scribe) in a MS. from

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller account of these MSS. see my article "Kṣemendra as *kavi*", JAOS., 53, part 2, pp. 124-143.

which G and Q stem, and found its way also into T from the former group of MSS.

Consideration of the contents of the other versions of the *Vetālapañcavimśati* clinches the argument against the authenticity of the *pariśiṣṭa*. Uhle (*AKM*, viii, 1) published an "anonyme Recension" of the *Vetālapañcavimśati*, which he recognized correctly as a prose abstract of Kṣemendra's version. This abstract agrees exactly in the subject-matter and the order of the stories with Kṣemendra's version in its accepted form. It contains no trace of the abstract of the *Kādambarī*. Furthermore, Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*, which is based on the same *Bṛhatkathā* as Kṣemendra's work, in its *Vetālapañcavimśati* has nothing corresponding to this abstract. Śivadāsa's version of the *Vetālapañcavimśati*, while it differs widely from the two *Bṛhatkathā* versions, has no story based on the *Kādambarī*. The version by Jambhaladatta differs from the other versions in that it contains twenty-five stories told by the *vetāla* together with an introduction and conclusion giving the frame-story, while the other versions have only twenty-four stories told by the *vetāla*, the conclusion of the frame-story making up the total of twenty-five stories. Its twenty-five stories include twenty-two stories which have their counterparts in the other versions and three stories which occur in no other version. The plot of the *Kādambarī* is not found in this version.<sup>1</sup>

We may conclude, therefore, that the *pariśiṣṭa* was no part of Kṣemendra's work. Its interpolation was undoubtedly due to the same fact which led Jambhaladatta to give the *vetāla* twenty-five stories, viz. the discrepancy between the title of the collection ("the twenty-five stories of the *vetāla*") and the fact that only twenty-four were told by the *vetāla*. The interpolated story was inserted at the most natural

<sup>1</sup> My thesis "Jambhaladatta's Version of the *Vetālapañcavimśati*" (presented in 1931 at Yale University in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and not yet published) in its introduction treats this matter of the stories included in Jambhaladatta's version.

place, at the end of the twenty-third story and just before the final story to whose riddle there was no answer.

As the MSS. which I have used give a text somewhat different from that of the edition, I add it here together with textual notes. The few textual difficulties are discussed in the notes. The printed edition in general agrees with QT against G both in readings and in the inclusion of a number of lines omitted in G. At the end T and G omit the riddle, though their final verse implies it, and Q and the edition supply it.

<i>punah skandhasthitah praha nirbandho 'yam aho nu te bhunkṣva gatvā śriyam rājan no ced ekām kathām śrṇu</i>	1
<i>śrimān vetravatītiramekhalāyām mahābhujah</i>	
<i>nagaryām vidisākhyāyām kṣmāpatih śūdrako 'bhavat</i>	2
<i>tasmai kadācid āsthāne caṇḍālapatiputrikā</i>	
<i>upāyanikṛtam ratnam dadau sarvavidam śukam</i>	3
<i>rājñā kṛtaphalāhāraḥ sa prṣṭah svakathām niśi</i>	
<i>uce dīrghā 'sti venī 'va deva vindhyātavī bhuvah</i>	4
<i>tasyām pampāsarastire madodāra ivo 'nnatah</i>	
<i>śukakotinivāso 'sti jīrnah śālmalipādapah</i>	5
<i>tasmin vṛddhaśukasyā 'ham jātachinnagateḥ sutah</i>	
<i>prasavaklesanirjīvajanānīsnēhavarjitaḥ</i>	6
<i>tātena dviguṇasnehāt pakṣagarbhād anujjhitaḥ</i>	
<i>dhṛto 'ham janānīsnēhāc chuṣkausadhiphalāmbubhiḥ</i>	7
<i>ekadā śabaravrātaih samnipātair ivo 'tkātaih</i>	
<i>kānane mrgayāyātaih sarvaprāṇibhaye kṛte</i>	8
<i>aprāptavanyapisitas tam samāruhya śālmalim</i>	
<i>ekaś cakāra śabaraḥ sthavirah śukasamkṣayam</i>	9

1a *tataḥ skandhugataḥ* G, Q illegible; *'yam mahān hi te* Q. b *na ced* GT.

2a *"vatiliremekh"* QT, *"vatikūlammekh"* G, *"vatipūramekh"* ed.; *mahi-*  
*patih* ed. b *'bhavat* T ed., *'vasat* G, Q illegible.

3b *upāyanicakāraḥ 'kan ratnam sareḥ* ed.

4a *sa kathām* GQ. b *bhuvi* T.

5a *madoddhata* ed. b *jīrnāśāl* GQ.

6b *"jīvā janānī pañcalām yayau* ed., *"jananīklesavarj"* QT, *"sneha-*  
*nirjitaḥ* G.

8b *mrgayāsaktaḥ* ed.

tātām vidhāya nirjvām paksāchādītamattanum  
 kṣitikṣiptaiḥ śukair anyais tam ādāya jagāma saḥ 10  
 aham tu tātāpaksāntarlambamānatanus cyutah  
 nicaye jīrṇaparṇānām puṇyaśeṣena rakṣitah  
 tataś ca tatsaraḥ snātum prāptena munisūnum  
 hārītanāmna nito 'ham kṛpayā svatapovanam 12  
 jābālir janakas tasya tatrā 'bjaja ivā 'paraḥ  
 sa sarvān vismītaḥ prāha mām ālokya mahāmuniḥ . 13  
 svasyai 'va karmaṇaḥ pākam snehād anubhavaty asau  
 śrutvai 'tan munayas tam ca papracchur mama ceṣṭitam 14  
 so 'bravīd ujjayinyākhyā purī ramyā 'sty avantiṣu  
 vidhātūr vividhāścaryanidhānānām ivā 'vadhiḥ 15  
 tārāpāḍābhidhas tasyām babhūvā 'vanivāsavah  
 devī vilāsavaty asya śukanāsaḥ ca mantravit 16  
 nirapatyatayā "rtāyāḥ patnyāḥ śokena duḥkhitah  
 svapne 'paśyat sa tadvaktram pravisantam niśākaram 17  
 vilāsavaty athā "nandam ivā 'sūta janapriyam  
 candrasaṁdarśanāt svapne candrāpāḍābhidham sutam 18  
 patnī ca śukanāsasya putram prāpa manoramā  
 vaiśampāyananāmānam svapnābjaprāptisūcitam 19  
 kumārasyā "ptavidyasya jananyāḥ śāsanād abhūt  
 kanyakā patralekhākhyā tāmbūladalavāhinī 20  
 yauvarājyābhiṣekārdraḥ kumāraḥ so 'tha śaktimān  
 varṣatrayam mahāsenāḥ pṛthvīm babhrāma digjayī 21  
 kadācid uttarāśānte mrgayārthī cacāra saḥ  
 abdhijanmānam āruhya hayam indrāyudhābhidham 22  
 sa dṛṣṭvā kiṁnaradvandvam manoharatarākṛti  
 vegāj jighikṣan nā 'jñāsil laṅghitām vipulām bhuvam 23

11a "āntalamb" QT, "āntām lamb" G.

12a tataś ca tatsaraḥ sn G, tatas tatsarasi sn ed., QT illegible. b svām tapovanam GT.

13b sarvān vismītaḥ ed., sarvavismītaḥ Q. sarvān vismītaḥ T, sarva-vismītaḥ G.

14b munayab sarve papr ed.; papraccha GQ.

16a "āvanivāsavah ed., "āvanivāsakah T, "āvanivāsasaḥ G, Q illegible. b mantrakṛti T.

19a putram . . . 20a "vidyasya omitted in G. 19b svapne 'bjā' ed.

21 is omitted in G. b digjayī ed., digjayīm Q, diggadhīm T.

23a "kṛti ed., "kṛtim Q, "kṛtiḥ TG.

tasminn aranye dīrghādhvaśrāntah kailāsabhūbhṛtaḥ prāpā cchodasarah pārvē sphāṭikasyandasundaram āśvāśitāśvah salilais tatra śuśrāva susvaram	24
dūrād gītadhvanīm tyaktaśaspair ākarnītām mrgaiḥ gatvā sudūram so paśyac caturmukhaśivālaye	25
kanyām mūrtimātīm śambhoś cūḍācandrakalām iva drṣṭvo pavīṇayantīm tām harām tadviratau śanaiḥ	26
so pṛeṣhaj janmavṛttāntām nivedya svakathām purāḥ sā sāmnā prāha hañso sti gandharvādhipatir girau	27
hemakūṭe sa mām gauryām mahāśvetām ajījanat sarah snātum idam mātrā saha samprāptayā mayā	28
drṣṭau munisutau kāntau puṇḍarīkakapiñjalau puṇḍarīkah sa me karne svakarṇād divyamañjarīm	29
cakāra kautukārtāyāś cittavṛttim jahāra ca āhūtā chatravāhinyā tato ham mātur ājñayā	30
nā jñāsiṣam svabhavaṇam prāpya kā ham idam ca kim tadīyasuhṛdā bhyetya manmathavyagrata tada	31
tathā me kāthitā tāpād yātā ham tatpadam yathā gateā vyaṣuṇ priyam drṣṭvā tatrā ham maraṇodyatā	32
bhavitā priyalābhas te bhīr me ty uktā sudhānśunā puṇḍarīkam gr̄hītve ndau prayāte sakapiñjale	33
sthitā smi na sahe dāham taddhyānavratasamnyutā suhṛc citrarathākhyo sti gandharvendrah pitur mama	34
madirāyām priyā tasya jātā kādambarī sutā tayā madduhkhatulyatvād vivāhe niyamah kṛtaḥ	35
tām preṣitā bodhayitum sakhi taralikā mayā iti smṛtinavibhūtaśokayā kāthite tayā	36
śrutvā saṅkrāntatatpīdaś candrāpiḍo nayan niśām prātar jñātvā mahāśvetā tatas taralikāgirā	37
atyantadurgrahām eva sakhiṁ citrarathātmajām	38

24a vane tu ed. for aranye. b "cchodam sarah ed.; pārvam QT; "kasyandasund" G, "kasyasasund" T, "kasvachasund" ed., Q illegible.

25a āśvāśitā ca G, Q illegible. b tyaktagrīśair ed.

27a tatas ed. for harām.

28a nāmnā ed. for sāmnā.

31a "dhārinīyā ed. for "vāhinyā.

32b tāpād yātāham T, tasya gataham G, yātāhatāham Q, tasya gatāham ed.

33b uktā T, uktvā G ed., Q illegible.

<i>gandharvanagarāścaryadarśanapranayārthinam</i>		
<i>candrāpīḍam samādāya kādambarīyās padam yayau</i>		39
<i>candrāpīḍo 'pi gandharvapure ratnagrhe sthitām</i>		
<i>kādambarīm nayanayor dadarśa pramadapradām</i>		40
<i>tayoh sakautukākūtavilokanaratotsave</i>		
<i>manah parasparapremasūtrasyūtam ivā 'bhavat</i>		41
<i>premodyānāt kumāro 'thā "krīṣṭah svanagarīm yayau</i>		
<i>pituh sāsanalekhena pavanene 'va ṣaṭpadāḥ</i>		42
<i>tvarayā nyastasainyābdhim dṛṣṭvā prāptam sutam nrpaḥ</i>		
<i>kim vaiśampāyanam tyaktvā saṃprāpto 'sī 'ty abhartsayat</i>		43
<i>paścāt sainye samāyātē tatrai 'vā 'vasthitam vane</i>		
<i>vaiśampāyanam ākarnya śukanāsah śaśāpa tam</i>		44
<i>candrāpīḍam prabhūm tyaktvā janakam mām ca durjanāḥ</i>		
<i>sthitas tatrai 'va pakṣi 'va śukapāṭhi śuko 'stu sah</i>		45
<i>kādambarīviyogārtah suhṛdaṁ dūrvartinam</i>		
<i>candrāpīḍas tam anveṣṭum prayayau sāsanāt pituh</i>		46
<i>mahāśvetāśramam prāpya sāśrudhārām adhomukhīm</i>		
<i>vaiśampāyanavṛttāntam apṛcchat sā 'bravīc ca tam</i>		47
<i>āviṣṭa iva saṁślesām yayāce capalah sa mām</i>		
<i>śukavac cāṭukṛṇ nūtaḥ śāpena śukatām mama</i>		48
<i>tvam mitram iti vijñāya paścān mohāndhyam āgatā</i>		
<i>śrutvai 'tad duḥsahataram candrāpīḍo 'bhavad vyasuḥ</i>		49
<i>kādambarī priyam śrutvā mahāśvetāśrame sthitam</i>		
<i>sahitā 'bhyāyayau pūrvamsthitayā patralekhayā</i>		50
<i>vijñitatām priyam dṛṣṭvā moham kādambarī yayau</i>		
<i>indrāyudham samādāya patralekhā 'viśat sarah</i>		51
<i>tadai 'va sarasas tasmād udatiṣṭhat kapiñjalaḥ</i>		
<i>abhyetya sa mahāśvetām prītyā pr̥ṣṭas tayā 'bravīt</i>		52

41a "kākūtāvil" T, "kātkrośavil" G, "kākrīṣṭavil" ed., Q illegible.

42a 'thāk" T ed., 'tha k" GQ.

45b śukas tu sah ed.

48b mayā ed. for mama.

49a tvām T ed., tvām G, Q illegible; āśritā ed. for āgatā.

50b sahitābhyāyayau ed., sahitābhyām yayau MSS.; pūrvamsthā QT, pūrvasthā G ed.

51b samāruhya T.

52a tīrād G for tasmād.

utkṣiptapuṇḍarīko 'sau pr̄stah paścān mayā divi mām uvāca śasāñko 'ham śaplaś tvatsuhṛdā 'munā	53
mattulyavyathayai 'vā "rtim yāsyasy aparajanmani mayā ca pratiśapto 'yam tvam apy evam bhavisyasi	54
śāpāntāvadhi tasyā 'pi deham asya svamanḍale madvañśyā hi mahāsvetā jāmātā tatpatir mama	55
śrutvā 'ham etac candroktam puṇḍarīkapitūr muneḥ śvetaketoh padam gantum pravṛttas tatkathārpakah	56
vaimānikah khe vrajatā mayā vegena lañghitah aśapan mām javodagras turaṅgas tvam bhavisyasi	57
tato 'ham abdhau patitah kṣaṇād aśvah samutthitah indrāyudhābhidhah prāptah candrāpīḍasya vāhatām	58
adhunā muktaśāpo 'ham gacchāmi śvetaketave vaktuṁ vṛttāntam ity uktrā yayau vyomnā kapiñjalaḥ	59
kūdambarīn labdhāsamijñām pravestuṁ vahnim udyatām varṣann ivā 'mṛtaṁ candrah provāca gaganasthitah	60
tvam candrakāntaparyāñke deham rakṣā 'sya nirvyathā acirāt prāptajīvo 'yam bhavisyati patis tava	61
śrutvai 'tad gaditam khe ca samśayāśvāsitāśayā candrāpīḍaśārīrasya paricaryāparā 'bhavat	62
deśāṁ tatas tam sahitah śukanāsena śokavān patnyā vilāsavatyā ca tārāpīḍah samāyayau	63
vaiśampāyanatām yātaḥ puṇḍarīkah kṣitāv ayam iti jābālikathitam śrutvā jātiḥ smṛtā mayā	64
kapiñjalo 'tha mām etya samāśvāsyā 'viśan nabhaḥ mahāśvetāśramām gantum udyato 'ham cyutah śramāt	65
buddhaś cañḍālajālena prāptah kutsitapakkaṇam cāñḍālakanyayā tatra kṣipto 'ham hemapañjare	66

53a °kṣiptap° T, °kṣiptah p° G ed., Q illegible.

54b mayāpi Q.

55a tasyā ed., kṣyā MSS.; deham asya svamanḍale ed., dehamadhyasya  
manḍale G, dehasya . . . svamanḍale T, Q illegible. b madvanśajā mah° ed.

57b javodagram ed., javodattam G; turagas ed.

58b °yudho 'ham samprāptah G.

59b uktvā ed., uktā GQ, T omits line.

62a samśayāśe° ed., sauśayāśv° T., sāśvayāśv° Q, sātayāśv° G.  
b °caryāratā ed.

66a cāñḍāla° ed.; °jālena G ed., °jātena Q, °jatalena (sic) T.

<i>na vedmi hetunā kena devasyo 'pāyanikṛtaḥ</i>	
<i>śukene 'ttham kathitayā kathayā saha sā kṣapā</i>	67
<i>kṣayām yayau smayene 'va smeravismēratārakā</i>	
<i>kādambarīm smaran kṣība iva rājā samīkṣya tām</i>	
<i>papraccha prātar āhūya caṇḍālīm sā 'py uvāca tam</i>	68
<i>devah kumudvatikāntas tvam śāmkaraśiromaṇih</i>	
<i>kādambarī virahiṇī smaryatām smarabāndhava</i>	
<i>mūtā 'ham puṇḍarīkasya padmā lakṣmīr asaṁśayam</i>	69
<i>vaiśampāyanatām yātaḥ śāpād esa guroḥ śukah</i>	
<i>adyā 'pi capalaḥ śāpabhītyā 'yam parirakṣitah</i>	70
<i>prāptā caṇḍālatā rājan janasparśabhayān mayā</i>	
<i>ity uktvā sā 'viśad vyoma tejaḥpiñjaritāmbarā</i>	71
<i>jīvam ca dayite smṛtvā jahatuḥ śukaśūdrakau</i>	
<i>candrāpīdah ksane tasmin sahasā 'vāptajīvitah</i>	72
<i>kaṇṭhe kādambarīm cakre ratnaśayyāsanotthitah</i>	
<i>puṇḍarīkaś ca tatkāle nirgataś candramāṇḍalāt</i>	73
<i>mahāśvetām samabhyleya cakre harṣasudhāplutām</i>	
<i>haṁsacitrarathāv etya gandharvādhipatiḥ tataḥ</i>	74
<i>duhitroś cakratuh prītyā vivāhotsavamaṅgalam</i>	
<i>kathayitve 'ti vetaḥ papraccha vasudhādhipam</i>	75
<i>anurāgo 'dhikāḥ kasya rājann eteṣu kathyatām</i>	
<i>rājā tam avadan manye candrāpīdo 'nurāgavān</i>	76
<i>suhṛdvṛttāntam ākarṇya yasya cetas tadā 'sphuṭat</i>	
<i>iti śrutvai 'va vetaḥ gatvā punar alambata</i>	77
<i>nṛpo 'pi tam gr̥hītvā "śu prāyād atulavikramah</i>	
	78

68b tām uvāca sā ed.

69b smarabāndhava T, smarabāndhavā G, smarasundara ed., Q illegible.

70a padma l° asaṁśayā ed.

72a *tejap*° ed.; *"bari* G.74a *"kāle nir*° ed., *"kālañir*° MSS.75b *"maṅgalam* ed., *"maṅgalah* T, *"savam udhvute* G, Q illegible.

76 and 77 are in Q ed. only; 78b is in GT only.

76a *dharaniपalim* ed. for *vasudh*°.77a *abruvin* ed. for *avadan*.77 Q is illegible from a *drapi* through b *cetas*, and reads for the end of b *tayāsphuṭam*.78a *ity uktau rasa veta*° G.

## Coins of the Ilkhānis of Persia

BY RICHARD BURN

(PLATE X)

IN 1930 the joint archaeological expedition of Oxford University and the Field Museum, Chicago, examined the extensive ruins now known as Abū Sudaira, three miles south-east of the central mound at Kish. Mr. Reitlinger excavated this site at his own expense. A large city was discovered, which, although it contained no traces of Accadian culture, is of interest as being in the style of the Ilkhāni rulers of Persia and Mesopotamia. This attribution is entirely confirmed by the coins found on the site, which have been placed in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. They number altogether 100 (and some fragments), of which two are silver and the rest copper. Unfortunately they are in a bad state of preservation, and only about a third can be ascribed to definite rulers with some certainty. The earliest is (1) a small copper coin of the Khalifas (wt. 32 grains, .75"), but neither the mint nor the date can be read. Next in order is (2) a copper coin which Mr. Thorburn, who has examined part of the find, suggests may be a coin of the Seljūq ruler Kaiqubād (A.H. 616-634) (wt. 33 grains, .85"), and the attribution, though not certain, is approximately correct so far as period is concerned.

The remaining coins which are capable of identification belong to the Ilkhāni rulers of Persia and 'Irāq. They may be classified as in the table on p. 832.

All the rulers of the regular line are represented except Gaikhātū (690-4), and Arpā and Mūsā (736). In addition there are coins of Muḥammad Khān and Sulaimān Khān, two of the later puppets set up by rival generals.

The history of the Mongol rulers of Persia and 'Irāq is well-known. In the middle of the twelfth century some of their troops had been called in by the ruler of Khwārazm to help in his rebellion against Sanjar, the last great Seljūq

king, but the dynasty of Khwārazm was short-lived and fell before the savage raids of its former helpers. In the first quarter of the thirteenth century Chingiz Khān devastated northern Persia. It was his grandson Hūlāgū Khān who returned south of the Oxus in 1256 and pursued his career of conquest and devastation through Persia and 'Irāq, sacking Baghdād and putting to death the Caliph, and sustaining no check till 1260, when he was defeated in Syria by the Mamelukes of Egypt.

Date of reign

A.H.		R	Æ
654	Hūlāgū . . .	. . .	1
663	Abāqā <sup>1</sup> . . .	. . .	4
680	Aḥmad . . .	. . .	1
683-690	Arghūn . . .	. . .	2
694	Bāidū . . .	. . .	1
694	Ghāzān Maḥmūd . .	. .	2
703	Ūljāitū . . .	. . .	7
716	Abū Sa'īd . . .	. . .	10
736	Muhammad <u>Khān</u> . 1	1	1
740	Sulaimān <u>Khān</u> .	. .	1
	Doubtful . . .	. . .	4
		—	—
		2	33

The dynasty of Ilkhānis thus founded acknowledged the supremacy of the great Khān and lasted nearly 100 years before rival generals began to set up puppet rulers and divide the land. Though the Mongols were pagan, Chingiz Khān had been tolerant of both Christianity and Islam, and the coins of these rulers even before Aḥmad, third of the line, became a Muslim, bear the *kalimā*. And although their massacres were almost incredibly brutal, they selected from the survivors men of talent as their ministers and patronized learning in all its existing branches. Their coins are thus not without

<sup>1</sup> Names are transliterated from the coin inscriptions; literary forms sometimes vary.

taste, and except for those which bear inscriptions in Mongol character, are usually inscribed in Arabic. They present a great variety of types, and the influence of the Persian ministers who served the Ilkhānis is marked by the Shi'a formulas used.

In a few years after the death of Abu Sa'id, five minor dynasties ruled in Persia and 'Irāq till thirty years later Timūr swept all away.

As all the later coins which can be deciphered belong to the Ilkhānis, it is reasonable to suppose that they were deposited soon after the latest dates of the rulers whose names are found on them. Muhammad Khān was killed in 738, and Sulaimān, who married Sātī Beg, usurped power in 740. The find was thus probably buried between 1340 and 1350.

Ten of the coins show the place of mintage. Five were struck at Baghdād, three at Hillā, one at Sultānia, and one at Sultānia or Shīrāz. From the fact that most of these coins were struck in the neighbourhood it may be inferred that Abū Sudaira was a place of small importance with little trade.

While the coins add nothing to the political history of the dynasty, they are valuable in extending the knowledge of its numismatic importance. The silver coin of Ahmad, with Mongol inscription, is not represented in the British Museum, which also has no copper coins from the Baghdād mint of Hulāgū, Bāidū, and Abū Sa'id. The same mint is found here on the silver coin of Muhammad Khān resembling B.M.C. 280, the mint name on which is obscure. While the Persian title of *pādishāh* or *bādshāh* was hitherto known only on coins of Abāqā and Arghūn, it now appears to have been borne by Ghāzān Mahmūd also. Other matters are noted in the descriptions of the coins which follow.

Weights have been shown in grains and size in decimals of an inch. The coins of this series in the British Museum have not been weighed, and most specimens in this find are in such poor condition that it is not safe to base on them the scheme adopted by these rulers.

## 3. HÜLÄGÜ

654-663

Baghdād. Date doubtful.

هولا كو الخان

بغداد

Kalima in pentagon.

Margin illegible.

Margin illegible.

Æ. Wt. 59. .85.

ست و خسین  
و ست مایه  
The last two lines on the obverse may read ست و خسین  
و ست مایه, but this is doubtful. The coins differ from  
B.M.C. No. 38.

## 4-7. ABĀQĀ

663-680

Date and mint illegible. Rectangular.

بادشاه

محمد

علم ایلخان

رسول الله

الا عظیم

Margin ?

اباقا خلد

Margin ?

Rect. Æ. Wt. 76. .8 × .7.

69. .8 × .8.

62. .75 × .75.

60. .8 × .75.

Three similar coins are almost defaced, but one has  
صلی الله علیه below the Kalima. Cf. B.M.C. No. 58. A fourth  
(wt. 65, .9) has قا[ن] and باد. Coins of a rectangular  
shape are not mentioned in B.M.C., but No. 27 (b), p. 25,  
of the Constantinople Catalogue (A.H. 1318) is of this form.

## 8. AHMAD

680-3

In Mongol characters—

Khaghana

الله

(? d)arugha

لا اله الا

Ahmadu

الله محمد

deledkeguluk

ك

ك

sen.

رسول الله

Margin illegible.

و سلمه

Margin illegible.

Æ. Wt. 32. .9.

This silver coin of Ahmad, first read by Mr. Thorburn, appears to be unique. [Pl. X, 8.]

## 9. ARGHŪN

No mint or date.

In Mongol letters—

Khaganu

الله

darugha

لا اله الا

Arghunu

ك

الله محمد

ك

deledkeguluk

رسول الله

ارغون

و سلمه

Margin ?

Æ. Wt. 67½. .9.

[Pl. X, obverse.]

The inscription on obverse is identical with that of a number of silver coins (cf. B.M.C. 60), but the name ارغون does not appear in Arabic letters in the only copper coin with Mongol inscription in the B.M. (No. 80).

10

Mongol inscription.

? Kalima in centre.

Margin illegible.

Æ. Wt. 58. .9.

## 11. BĀIDŪ

694

Mint Baghdād. Date?

In Mongol characters—

Khaganu

darugha (minister)

Baduin

deledkeguluk

بادیو

Kalima in circle.

Margin... بخداد ...

Æ. Wt. 57. .85. [Pl. X, 11.]

Cf. B.M. 88a, which has no mint.

## 12-13. GHĀZĀN MAHMŪD

694-703

Mint and date illegible.

بادشاه غازن (?)

Kalima (? in pentagon).

السلطان الا عظيم

صلي

غزان محمود

الله

Left عليه

Below وسلمه

Two specimens. Æ. Wt. 61, 60. .8, .9. [Pl. X, 13.]

The words لله اجله, which appear on most of the copper coins of Ghāzān Mahmūd in B.M.C., are not visible. The title بادشاه, which is clear, is used there only on coins of Abāghā, but Tiesenhausen notes that it also occurs on a coin of Arghūn (Collection of General Komaroff, p. 27), and No. 82 (p. 59), Constantinople catalogue, records it on a coin of Ghāzān Mahmūd. The name appears to read غزان instead of غازان.

14.  $\bar{U}LJ\ddot{A}IT\ddot{U}$ 

703-716

Mint Shirāz or Sultāniya.

In frame of uncertain shape. In circle.

ملکه ؟

عد

اوچایتو

لیه

خلد الله

Margin illegible.

Margin illegible.

 $\text{\AA. Wt. } 26\frac{1}{2} \cdot 8.$ 

Below the word عدله on reverse is the letter ش or س followed by other letters, which may be part of Sultāniya or Shirāz. The type differs from B.M. 165 and 170.

## 15

Mint and date illegible.

In octagon with curved sides. Kalima and below.

علی ولی الله

غیاث الدین

 $\text{\AA. Wt. } 51 \cdot 9.$ 

والدين اوچایتو شلطانا

خلد الله ملکه

Cf. B.M.C. Add. 156p, p. 106.

## 16

Mint and date illegible.

In circle surrounded by dots. In square.

اوچایتو

لا اله الا

محمد السلطان (?)

الله محمد

Lion passant to right.

رسول الله

Margin illegible.

 $\text{\AA. Wt. } 38 \cdot 9.$

17

Mint and date illegible.

اوجایتو س(?)

Kalima in square.

(?) محمد خلد الله ملکه(?)

Margin illegible.

Lion to left. Setting sun  
above.

Æ. Wt. 23. .8.

Cf. B.M. 162.

18

No mint or date.

In small circle, lion passant  
to left.

In small circle, sun radiate.

Margin (read from outside) in  
bold letters ... خدا بندلا ...  
Not in B.M.

Margin as on obverse

... ابو بکر عمر ...

Æ. Wt. 29. .75. [Pl. X, 18.]

19

In quatrefoil.

? Kalima in area.

السلطان

Margin ?

الاعظم غیاث الدین

والدین . . .

Margin ?

Æ. Wt. 31. .9.

Mr. Thorburn suggests that the third line contains the name  
اوچایتو.

20

Mint and date illegible.

In quatrefoil.

Kalima in square.

اوچایتو . . .

... خلد ملکه . . .

Sun radiate.

Æ. Wt. 29. .8.

Margin ?

Mr. Thorburn reads the obverse doubtfully as ابو معید, but the name اوچایتو seems clear. The first word of the third line may be سلطان.

## 21. ABŪ SA'ID

716-736

Baghdād, [7]3(?)1.

In waved lozenge. Illegible.

الا عظم

سلطان

بغداد

ضرب

Margin . . . . . احد و تلشين . . . . AE. Wt. 57. .95. [Pl. X, 21,  
obverse.]

Not in B.M. catalogue.

## 22

Baghdād. No date.

Figure of bird or animal Kalima in circle.  
under arch.

Margin.

سنة

ضرب بغداد السلطان

Above . . . &gt;

و سلمه

الا (عظم؟) ابو سعيد . . .

AE. Wt. 46. 1.

This coin has probably been double struck, but the original impression cannot be deciphered.



## 27

Mint ? Date 7 x x.  
In wavy circle.

السلطان

أبو سعيد

Kalima in square.

Above ضرب.

Right وسعيه

Below lion passant to right. AE. Wt. 31. -9.

In B.M.C. the only copper coins of Abū Sa'īd with a lion (Nos. 264-5) show lion to left, not to right.

## 28

No mint. Date 7 x x.

السلطان

أبو سعيد

Kalima in square.

Above ضرب.

Right سعيه

AE. Wt. 46. -9.

[Pl. X, 28.]

Not in B.M.C.

## 29

أبو سعيد

الله

رسول محمد

?

Margin illegible.

AE. Wt. 26. -7.

## 30

No mint or date.

In ornamented octagon.

السلطان

أبو سعيد

خلد ملکه

Kalima in square within outer circle.

In upper segment ابو بكر.

AE. Wt. 43. -85.

A broken coin. Reading of obverse uncertain, but the coin resembles B.M. 274.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Thorburn suggests السلطان الا عظم. The type appears to be unpublished.

## 31. MUHAMMAD KHĀN

736-8

Baghdād. 738.

In scalloped border with six loops, enclosed in circle, surrounded by dots. In scalloped border without loops, in circle, surrounded by dots.

فی سنه	سنه
السلطان العالم	الله
محمد خلد الله	لا اله الا
ملکه و دولته	محمد
رسول الله	رسول الله
	عثمان

Æ. Wt. 20½. · 75. [Pl. X.]

Cf. B.M. 280, the mint on which, however, is not legible.

## 32

Mint illegible. (7)38.

In circle of dots.

In small circle.

سنه	الله
السلطان	لا اله الا
المظفر محمد	محمد
خا خلد (ملکه؟)	رسول الله
.....	Margin illegible.

Æ. Wt. 28½. · 75. [Pl. X.]

There is no coin resembling this in B.M.C., and the *lagab* المظفر is not found on coins in the B.M., which present only العادل and العالم for Muhammad Khan.

## 33. SULAIMĀN KHĀN

743-4

In circle	ن (ا) طا	In small circle. Bird. (? Peacock to right.)
	سلن	Margin . . . حمد رسول . . .
Margin ?		Æ. Wt. 18½. ·6. [Pl. X.]
	Not in B.M.	

## 34. ANONYMOUS

Mint Sultāniya. No date.

In circle, surrounded by dots,  
enclosed in double plain  
circle with another circle  
of dots outside.

سلطان

اين

Æ. Wt. 5. ·75. [Pl. X, 34.]

There is no coin like this in B.M.C. It has no trace of the name of a king or date. Kūfī letters are found on coins of Abū Sa'íd, cf. B.M.C. No. 173.

## 35. ?

No mint. Date [6]87 [? 9].

In circle : Goose to left with Illegible.  
head turned back over  
body.

Margin و (or سع (سع . . .  
. . . مازين)

Æ. Wt. 18. ·55. [Pl. X, 35,  
obv.]

36. ?

Kalima.

Kalima.

Margin illegible.

Margin illegible.

Æ. Wt. 35. ·9.

The coin has the appearance of being double struck.

37. ?

Centre illegible.

Centre illegible.

Margin      سعاد

Margin      سعاد . . .

Æ. A quarter of a coin.

160.



8



11



9 OBVERSE



28



13



18



21 OBVERSE



28



23



31



32



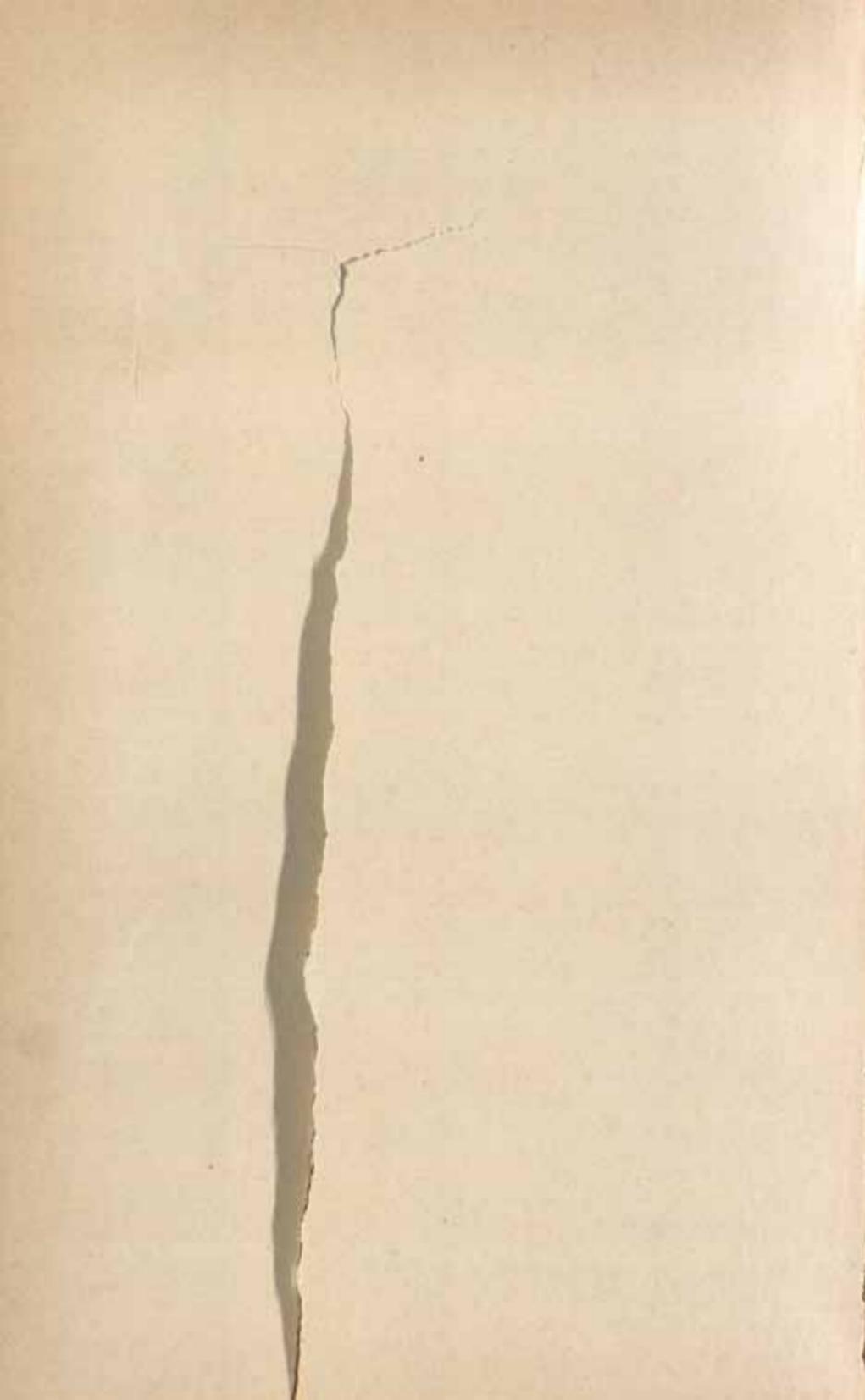
33



34



35 OBVERSE



## Specimen of a Khambu Dialect from Dilpa,<sup>1</sup> Nepāl

BY STUART N. WOLFENDEN

THE language specimen here reproduced was brought in to me while in the Darjeeling neighbourhood in 1931, having been taken down in the recently revived Limbu alphabet by an educated Limbu, by name Iman Singha Chemjong,<sup>2</sup> direct from the dictation of the speaker himself. Though pressure of work on other languages of the "pronominalized" group prevented my seeing the actual speaker, who was off in another part of the hills, there is no difficulty in placing the dialect with its nearest relatives in the *Linguistic Survey*. It is, without doubt, a form of Rūngchhēnbūng, and a near relative of Wāling. To the former the *Linguistic Survey* was able to devote, through lack of material, only some two pages,<sup>3</sup> to the latter, for the same reason about a page and a half,<sup>4</sup> no specimen being available in either case. I, therefore, give what follows as a small supplement to our knowledge of this little-known form of speech.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Village about 7 miles WNW. of Bhojpur, in the Tahsil of Bhojpur (No. 4, East). See Vansittart, "Gurkhās" (*Handbooks for the Indian Army*), Calcutta, 1915, p. 207 (and 190).

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to this same young man for much information of a linguistic nature, both upon his own language and upon others of the Eastern Nepal area. I found him a most careful worker. The present specimen was first taken down in the Limbu script only, then again, independently, in this same script with an interlinear English translation. Then the two versions in the Limbu script were collated, corrected, and checked over again with the original speaker as to the meaning, the whole being then rewritten, checked once more, and finally brought in to me. We then went over it together, clearing up any doubtful points.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. iii, pt. i, pp. 360-1.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. iii, pt. i, pp. 357-8.

<sup>5</sup> The only original material dealing with what the *Linguistic Survey* terms the "Minor Khambu Dialects", among which that under discussion belongs, is that published by B. H. Hodgson, first in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xxvi (1857), then in his *Miscellaneous Essays*

## PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON

Ak° ma-nā ha-bān a-čā-sī yūn-nā-nā-čī. A-čā  
 One man (of) two sons were Son  
 sī-bī-rī-pā-ā a-pā lō “ā-pō, ań-kā dyēm-tōk-nā  
 younger father (to) said “O father, my share  
 ań-kā pū-ă-n-nā”. A-čā pā-ā yān-čā dyēm-yān-nā  
 me give”. His father wealth shares into  
 hā-kū-pa-čī. A-čā sī-bī-rī-pā-ā kō-sō a-bā-gā<sup>1</sup> kū-yū-kī  
 divided. Son younger his share taking  
 mā-hī-dā kā-rā. Kō-rān-kā kō-tēn-dā jūwā<sup>2</sup> mē-tā-kī  
 far off went. That country in gamble playing  
 a-yān-čā jā-rā-kē-sū. Kō-rān-kā mō-kō tēn-dā  
 his wealth threw away. That (time) that country in  
 sań-sāk-wā lū-wā. Mō-kō ma-nā sā-ā sū-ā-kī mō-kō  
 famine occurred. That man hunger feeling that  
 tēn-dā tō-pān kīm-dā čā lak-tā-sī kā-rā.  
 country (of) big house at food to work and beg went.  
 Mō-kō kīm-dā-ō tō-pān ma-nā-ā mō-kō ma-nā bāk čā-i-sī  
 That house of big man that man pigs to feed  
 ēüt-tū. Bāk čān-tā-nā-lō sā-ā mēt-tū-kī mō-kō ma-nā-ā  
 sent. Swine feeding while hunger suffering that man  
 bāk čā čā-mā mūt-tān-čīn. Nēn-kī bāk hān-mā-nā-kā  
 pig's food to eat wished. But pig's owner of  
 kū-sā-kī čā-mā mā yē-rū. Kōn-kī mō-kō ma-nā mūt-tān-čīn  
 afraid being to eat not could. Then that man thought

*Relating to Indian Subjects*, vol. i, pp. 176-215. Rūngchhēnbūng is briefly dealt with in both of these. Building upon Hodgson, W. W. Hunter gave vocabularies in his *Comparative Dictionary of the Languages of India and High Asia*, London, 1868, and in the *LSI.*, vol. iii, pt. i, pp. 340-373, is a brief consideration of these dialects based on the same source. Other than this, no materials seem to be available.

<sup>1</sup> N. भाग् bhāg.

<sup>2</sup> N. जुवा jūwā.

*am-pā-ō kīm-dā kōk cā-mā kē-b'āk°-nā tōk°-nā;*  
 my father's house in rice to eat much find (I) shall  
*añ-kā ò-dā sa-mā mū-nā-nā. Hēn-lō añ-kā pūk°-nā*  
 I here starvation (of) dying am. Now I arise will

*lōn-nā-kī am-pō-ō kīm-dā kāt°-nā. Nēn-kī*  
 run away will (and) my father's house (to) go will. Then

*lōn “a-pō añ-kā ām-kō bū-sit pāp<sup>1</sup>*  
 say I (will) “O father I thee before sin

*mū-wān, nī-nā-mā bū-sit pāp<sup>1</sup> mū-wān,*  
 have committed, God before sin have committed,

*añ-kā ām-cā ò-i-sō mā ãn; añ-kā ām-kō*  
 I thy son so to be called not am (I); me thy  
*cūt°-mā cā mū-wān-nā”. Ón mū-tān-cīn-kī mō-kō ma-nā*  
 separated son make”. This thinking that man

*pū-wā lōn-tā-kī û-pā û-dā kā-rā. Ú-pā-ā û-cā-ā*  
 arose running his father towards went. His father his son

*kā-nō tōk-tū-kī lām-sū kāt-tū-kī hēp-tū-lā-wa*  
 coming seeing road in going (him) embraced (and)  
*nū-nū-mā lāk-tū-mā mēt-tū. Kōn-kī mō-kō ma-nā-ā*  
 joyfully kissed did. Then that man

*û-pā-ā kān mēt-tū dūm “a-pō añ-kā ām-kō*  
 his father (to) coming did said “O father I thee

*bū-sit pāp<sup>1</sup> mū-wān, nī-nā-mā bū-sit pāp<sup>1</sup>*  
 before sin have committed, God before sin

*mū-wān, añ-kā ām-cā ò-i-sō mā ãn. Añ-kā*  
 have committed, I thy son so to be called not am. Me  
*ām-kō cūt°-mā cā mū-wān-nā.” Nēn-kī û-pā-ā arū<sup>2</sup>*  
 thy separated son make.” But his father other

<sup>1</sup> N. पाप pāp.

<sup>2</sup> N. अरु aru.

naukar<sup>1</sup>-čī lō-čī " a-nyāk<sup>2</sup> tit° tā-rā-nūm-kī hūm  
 servants asked " new clothes bringing put  
 mēt-tā-nūm, čū-kū-sī-mā-dā čōk-ī-mā wā-tā-nūm, a-lān-dā  
 upon (him), finger on ring put, feet on  
 jūttā<sup>3</sup> pū-wā-nūm, čū-ō pit°-čā sē-rā-nūm. Kōn-kī čam  
 shoes put, (and) fat calf kill. Then eat(ing)  
 dū-mūm-kī nūn-nū-mā mūn-nē, dā-nā-kī ō-kō añ-čā  
 drinking merry let (us) be, because this my son  
 mā-sā ō lā-sā-tā sā-ā ō kōn-tā-kī-tā ".  
 lost who (was) come (back has), dead who (was) is saved".

Kō-bēn tūp-sūn čā rā-pā-kā-dā yūn-ān-yān.  
 That time (at) elder son field in was.

A-nām-pak kīm-dā lā-sā-nā-lō kīm čak-dā tā-lō  
 Evening (in) house to coming while house near from  
 kīm-dā čā-mā lū-wā lāk-mā lū-wā ē-nū. Mō-sā-ā  
 house in singing sounds dancing sounds (he) heard. He  
 ak-tā naukar<sup>4</sup> bū-tū-kī " Dī-mū-mū-yān kīm-dā yān-mā-kī "  
 one servant calling " Happening house in what (is)"  
 sē-nū. Naukar<sup>4</sup>-ā yañ-nā " Ām-nī čā tā-yūn-čā,  
 asked. Servant replied " Thy brother come having,  
 ām-pā-ā čū-ō pit°-čā sē-rū-kī čā-mā dūn-mā  
 thy father fat calf killed having eating drinking  
 mū-mū-yān ". Ö-kō dūm ē-nū-kī a-čā tūp-sūn  
 merry-making (is) ". These words hearing son elder  
 kāk° nī-nā rū-ā. Kīm-dā kāt°-mā čūn-tā. A-pā  
 very angry became. House into to go refused. Father  
 lām-sū bā-tū-kī lēm-tū sōn-tū. Nēn-kī a-čā  
 road in come having (him) enter (to) entreated. Then son

<sup>1</sup> N. नौकर naukar.

<sup>2</sup> N. नया nayā ?

<sup>3</sup> N. जुत्ता juttā.

<sup>4</sup> N. नौकर naukar.

t'üp-sün-ā yan-nā “Kā-nō! ań-kā ōn-tā-lō kā-nā-nēn  
 elder said “Behold! I so long thee with  
 yū-nā-nā ām-kō ām-dūm dī-čān ań-kā nā-rak mān  
 staying (while) thy commands I never not  
 mō-yük-nā. Kā-nā ań-kā yā-wā kāk-čā-čī ak°-nī  
 disobeyed. (Yet) thou my friends (with)  
 yak-ā-čā mū-wā-nīn yān-mā-kī ak-tāk° pīt°-čā čū-ō-čān mān  
 merriment to make even one calf fat not  
 pat°-yük°-nā. Nēn-kī ō-kō ām-čā sīp-pā ha-sō yān-čā  
 gavest (me). But this thy son all wealth  
 čū-mū-kī tā-yūn-ā. Kā-nā kō-sō nī-nī-dā pīt°-čā čū-ō  
 finished having come has. Thou him for calf fat  
 sē-rū-kī nūn-nū-mā ta-mū-yēn”. Nēn-kī a-pā-ā  
 killed having merry are making”. Then (the) father  
 yań-nā “T'üp-sün-pā ań-kā-ā mūn-kū yān-čā ha-sōn čā-sōn  
 said “Elder son (the) me owned wealth all  
 ām-kō nā. Nūn-nū-mā kān-nū-mā mēt-tin čin-nē.  
 thine is. To be glad rejoicing making good (it) is.  
 Dē-nā mō-lōk ō-kō ām-nī čā mā-sā-sū ō  
 Because this thy brother lost who (was)  
 lā-sā-kā sā-ā ō Kōn-tā-kī-tā.”  
 come (back has) (and) dead who (was) is saved.”

For comparison with allied dialects on which such observations are offered in the *Linguistic Survey* (vol. i, pt. i), the following may be gathered from the above.

#### PRONUNCIATION

The language possesses so-called “checked” finals corresponding exactly to the same sounds heard in dialectical Tibetan. They are here written *k°* and *t°*. The following occur: In *k°*: *ak°* “one”, *ak-tāk°* “one”, *dyēm-tōk°-nā* “share”, *kē-b'āk°-nā* “much”, *tōk°-nā* “find (I can)”, *kāk°* “very”, *pük°-nā*

"arise (I will)", *mān pat<sup>o</sup>-yūk<sup>o</sup>-nā* "not gavest (thou me)". In *t<sup>o</sup>* (in addition to the last example):—*čūt<sup>o</sup>-mā* "separated", *fič<sup>o</sup>* "clothes", *pīt<sup>o</sup>-čā* "calf", *kāt<sup>o</sup>-mā* "to go", and *kāt<sup>o</sup>-nā* "go (I will)".

The Indian cerebrals *t* (ट), *d* (ड), and *r* (ढ) occur, but it is doubtful if they are original to the language. Probably they have crept in from Nepālī. The same is probably true of the aspirated sonants *f* (N. फ़) and *b* (N. ब़), as also (except in the case of prefixes) of the indeterminate vowel here written *a*<sup>1</sup> (as in "America"), the Nepālī अ. Further than this it only remains to observe that *ā* represents the sound of *a* in German *Mann*, not that of *a* in English *pan*.

### PREFIXES

These occur with substantives and are of two kinds:—  
(a) pronominal, (b) non-pronominal.

(a) The pronominal prefixes are of the following forms:—  
1st person *añ-*, as in *añ-čā* "my son", and *am-*, as in *am-pā*, *am-pō* "my father". The latter form is probably for *añ-* under influence of following *p*, but the specimen gives us nothing definite to decide the point. Second person *ām-*, as *ām-čā* "thy son", *ām-pā* "thy father". Third person *ū-*, as *ū-pā* "his father", *ū-čā* "his son", and *a-*, as in *a-yāñ-čā* "his wealth". In the case of the 3rd person we seem to meet with *ū* used as an independent element in the sense of "him" (accusative) in *ū-pā* *ū-dā* "his father him towards".

(b) As a non-pronominal prefix of no apparent meaning we have *a-* in:—*a-lāñ* "foot", *a-nām-pak* "evening", *a-čā* "son", *a-pā* "father". Certain Nepālī words taken into the language also appear to be provided with this element, as

<sup>1</sup> *ma-nā* "man" is thus probably for *mū(-nā)* in agreement with Thāmi *mi*, Tibetan *mi*, etc. There appears, in fact, to be some tendency for *a* and *i*, or *i*, to interchange, for within the dialect here under consideration we have both *añ-kā* and *īñ-kā* "I", and in Limbu both *añ-gā* (*LSI.*) and *īñ-gā*, the latter being the more usual according to my informants. In this case the vowel, whether *a* or *i* is probably a meaningless prefix, the original pronoun having been \*ñā, or some such monosyllable.

*a-b'ā-gā* (N. भाग् *bhāg*) "share", *a-nyāk* (N. नया *nayā?*) "new". It is probable that this prefix corresponds to Tibetan non-pronominal *ওঁ* 'a<sup>1</sup>'. Before vocatives there appears to be a distinct prefix *ā-*, as in *ā-pō* "O father".

### SUBSTANTIVES

Gender does not seem to be specially marked, though the materials are insufficient to establish the point.

Number, which, theoretically, in this language takes three forms—singular, dual, and plural—is largely unindicated. As against the unmarked singular, however, the dual sometimes suffixes *-sī*, as in *ha-bān a-čā-sī* "two sons". The plural in the specimen seems to be unindicated, the substantive standing in singular form. Thus *bāk* is "pig", or "pigs", *tīt* "clothing" or "clothes", *a-lān* "foot" or "feet", *jūttā* "shoe" or "shoes". This is probably due to the fact that number is also indicated in the verb, and a dual or plural verb still makes its meaning clear even if the substantive is loosely used in the singular. It is probable that in *ā-pā-ā . . . naukar-čī lō-čī* "his father . . . the servants asked", the system is logically worked out in the dual *-čī*, in which both verb and object stand. This, however, is not at the moment certain.

Case relations are fairly regularly shown. Both nominative and instrumental appear to suffix *-ā*, as *a-čū pā-ā . . . hā-kū-pa-čī* "his father . . . divided (the wealth)", *a-čā tūp-sūn-ā yañ-nā* "the elder son said". Elsewhere, no suffix is employed for these cases:—*tūp-sūn čā rā-pā-kā-dā yāñ-ān-yāñ* "the elder son was in the field", *kā-nā . . . nūñ-nū-mā ta-mū-yēñ* "thou . . . art making merry".

The locative takes *-dā*, as in *mō-kō tēn-dā* "that country in", *a-lān-dā* "feet upon", *Kim-dā* "house in".

<sup>1</sup> See the writer's *Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology*, § 60 (p. 69), and § 64 (for Kachin), § 103 (for the Bōdō and Nāgā languages), §§ 185-6 (for Kuki-Chin), and § 216 (for Burmese).

The accusative appears to stand unmarked :—*mō-kō ma-nā . . . ēt-tyū* “that man . . . (he) sent”, *naukar bū-tū-kī* “calling a servant”.

The genitive is built upon the locative in *-dā* by adding *-ō*. *mō-kō kim-dā-ō tō-pān ma-nā* “that house of, the big man (i.e. owner)”, or is constructed with *-ō* alone :—*am-pā-ō kim* “my father's house”. Elsewhere the genitive is by position only—probably the oldest form : *pit°-cā* “calf” (lit. “cow's offspring”), *añ-kā dyēm-tōk-nā* “my share”.

The dative either stands unmarked, like the accusative, as in :—*añ-kā pū-añ-nā* “(to) me give”, *a-cā . . . a-pā lō* “the son . . . (to) the father said”, or takes the locative suffix *-dā* :—*am-pō-ō kim-dā kāt°-nā* “my father's house to go (I will)”.

Other relations are expressed by means of various suffixes :—*sū* “on”, “in,” as in *lām-sū* “in the road”; *-nēn* “with”, as in *kā-nā-nēn* “thee with”, etc.

### ADJECTIVES

Adjectives can either follow or precede their substantives :—*pit°-cā cū-ō* “calf fat”, *a-cā sī-bī-rī-pā* “son younger”, or *tūp-sūn cā* “elder son”, *tō-pān kim* “big house”. Where the suffix *-ō* occurs, as in the first example, it is probable that we have to do with a relative clause in which a verb is understood (*v. inf.*).

### NUMERALS

The present materials give us very little information on these. We have, however, *ak°*, *ak-tā*, and *ak-tāk°* “one”, and *ha-bān* “two”. The presence, or otherwise, of suffixed generic particles cannot be determined from the specimen. We may surmise the former existence of a numeral for “two” approaching closely to Bāhing *nik-sī*, Dūngmāli *hī-čī*, Limbu *nē-čī*, etc., from the dual suffix *-sī*, *-čī*. But this no longer appears to function independently in the language.

## PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns are as follows :—

	Singular	Dual	Plural	Prefixed Form	Other Possessive Forms
1st person .	<i>añ-kā</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>añ-kā-čā</i>	<i>añ-kāñ-kā</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>añ-, am-</i>	
2nd person	<i>kā-nā ām-kō</i>	<i>kā-nā-čī</i>	<i>kā-nāñ-čī</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>ām-</i>	<i>ām-nī</i>
3rd person .	<i>mō-kō</i>	<i>mō-kō-čī</i>	<i>mō-kō-čī</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>ū-, a-</i>	<i>a-čū kō-sō</i>

The demonstrative pronouns are :—*ō-kō* “this”, *mō-kō* “that”. The first element of *ō-kō* can function independently, as in *ō-dā* “here” (lit. “this at”). It can also form relative clauses (*v. inf.*).

Demonstratives precede their substantives :—*mō-kō ma-nā* “that man”, *mō-kō tēn-dā* “that country in”, *ō-kō ām-čā* “this thy son”.

VERBS<sup>5</sup>

The verb in this language, as in those related to it, should theoretically run through three numbers—singular, dual,

<sup>1</sup> *in-kā* is said to be an alternative form.

<sup>2</sup> Exclusive form (*v. Hodgson, Miscellaneous Essays*, i, p. 184).

<sup>3</sup> Hodgson (*loc. cit.*) gives *kā-nā-nī* or *kā-nā nā*. The form here given looks like a dual. This is probably the case, as duals function very frequently in related languages where plurals should properly be employed.

<sup>4</sup> *Sic!* Properly a dual form. Hodgson (*loc. cit.*) has no plural for the 3rd person, remarking that the “third pronoun, like nouns, transfers sign of number to adjective or verb”. Cf. *LSI.*, iii, 1, p. 287, where in Limbu “the dual and the plural of the third person have the same form”, both being duals in *-čī*.

<sup>5</sup> In the remarks that follow I shall have occasion at times to draw upon two non-objective verb conjugations obtained from the same source as the specimen. As their analysis would take more space than at present seems advisable, without in any great degree illuminating the verb types in the specimen, I am holding them over for some future time. Examples adduced here, but not found in the specimen, are consequently to be referred to that source.

and plural—for both subject and object. In practice, however, only a fraction of the forms involved appear to be used.

There appear to be no particular elements in the verb indicating singular or plural number, but in the dual we meet with *-cī*.<sup>1</sup> This may indicate a split in the verbal action either at the subjective or objective end—a dual act, that is, at one of its termini. Naturally, when the dual act involves both subject and object, the same element is introduced, but once only for the two. In the specimen above we have the following :—  
 (a) Dual subject, *ha-bān a-čā-sī yūn-nā-nā-cī* “two sons were”;  
 (b) Dual object, *a-čū pā-ā yān-čā dyēm-yān-nā hā-kū-pa-cī* “his father wealth (two) shares into divided”. It is possible, also, that *-sī* may indicate dual purpose in *lak-tā-sī* “(to) work and beg”. This form, however, is not entirely clear to me, as it appears from *bāk čā-i-sī*, “for the purpose of feeding the pigs”, that *-sī* may indicate infinitive of purpose.

The occurrence of elements indicating the subject and object following the verb root is a matter of some doubt, particularly in the case of the former. In the imperative, however, the 1st person object seems to be infixated as *-ān-* in *añ-kā pū-ān-nā* “(to) me give”, *añ-kā . . . mū-wān-nā* “me . . . make”. In the finite verb the occurrence of such suffixes is a matter of more uncertainty. Such a form as *mū-nā-nā* “dying (I) am”, appears likely to contain a first personal element, but this is negatived by such a case as *yūn-nā-nā-cī* “they two were”. The whole matter needs more light than the writer can at the moment throw upon it.

The verb substantive appears to be (1) *yūn*, or *yū*, as in *mō-kō yūn* “he is”, *yūn-ān-yān* “(he) was”, *añ-kā yū-nā* “I am”, *mō-kō yū-nā* “he was”. (2) *nā* which appears to function as a suffix irrespective of time (past, present, or future), in, e.g., *mū-nā-nā* “dying (I) am”, *tōk°-nā* “find (I) shall”, *ya-nā* “(he) replied”.

<sup>1</sup> Evidently from the same old word for “two” as that mentioned above under numerals.

It seems impossible from the material to positively identify any elements of a temporal nature.

The imperative termination appears to be *-nā*, as in *añ-kā pū-añ-nā* “(to) me give”, *mū-wāñ-nā* “make (thou me)”. When addressing three or more persons *-ā-nūm* is suffixed, a euphonic consonant intervening between it and the preceding root. Thus *hūm mēt-tā-nūm* “put ye (clothes on him)”, *wā-tā-nūm* “put ye (a ring upon his finger)”, *pū-wā-nūm* “put ye (shoes upon his feet)”, *sē-rā-nūm* “kill ye (a calf)”.

The simple infinitive takes the suffix *-mā*, as *čā-mā* “to eat”, *kāt<sup>o</sup>-mā* “to go”. An infinitive of purpose seems to be formed in *-i-sī* :—*bāk čā-i-sī* “for the purpose of feeding the pigs”.

The first of two verbs appears to be treated as a species of conjunctive participle, and is provided with the suffix *-kī* :—*kū-yū-kī . . . kā-rā* “taking (it) . . . (he) went”, *jū-wā mē-tā-kī . . . jā-rā-kē-sū* “(in) gambling . . . (he) threw away (his wealth)”, *kū-sā-kī čā-mā mā yē-rū* “being afraid, to eat he was not able”.

The negative verb takes *mā* “not”, before it :—*mā añ* “not am (I)”, *čā-mā mā yē-rū* “to eat not was able”. In other cases this becomes *mān* :—*kā-nā . . . mān pat<sup>o</sup>-yūk<sup>o</sup>-nā* “thou . . . gavest (me) not”.

#### WORD ORDER, RELATIVE PRONOUN, ETC.

The position of the adjective has already been discussed. The demonstrative pronoun precedes its substantive :—*ō-kō ām-čā* “this thy son”, *mō-kō ma-nā* “that man”. This position of the demonstrative, and that of the adjective when preceding its substantive, is evidently due to Nepālī influence.

The demonstrative *ō*, mentioned under pronouns, following a word functions in a relative sense :—*ō-kō ām-nī čā mā-sā-sū ō . . . sā-ā ō* “this thy brother who (*ō*) was lost . . . (and) who (*ō*) was dead”. It is the equivalent of other suffixes with the meaning of “the one who”, “that which”, in other

Tibeto-Burman languages,<sup>1</sup> and thus parallels Tibetan *-ba*, as, e.g., in *čū-ō* "fat", T. *tso-ba*. In such cases as this last, it stands in more intimate relation to the preceding word, and has practically lost any actual meaning of its own, just as has likewise the Tibetan suffix.

<sup>1</sup> See *Morphology*, §§ 105-6, and p. 25, n. 1.

# Notes on Sumerian Etymology and Syntax

BY S. LANGDON

## I

### ŠANDANAKU "Gardener"

VON SODEN, *Die Akkadischen Synonymenlisten*, I, iii, 7, has *tūgal-nu-giš-šar* = *šá-an-da-na-ku*, after *nu-giš-šar* = *nu-ka-ri-bu* "gardener". VAT. 9558 Rev. i, 23 has *šá-an-dan* = *šá-an-da-na-ku*, after *nu-giš-šar* = *nu-karib*. Meissner, *Beiträge*, i, 85, n. 77 is to be corrected. This is not *šandabakku* "librarian". *šá-an-da-na-ak kiri si-ha-ti* "The gardener of the garden of desires", Ebeling, KAR. 158, p. 274, 35. So correct JRAS. 1921, 188, 35; Ebeling, *Berliner Beiträge*, i, 3, p. 24, 35. The early form is *GAL-NI* (*sa-an-ta-na*) = *sandanaku*, RA. 21, 178, ii, 15; earliest occurrence *Dél-Per.* 14, 121, No. 88, ii, 1, where Legrain fixed the meaning. *GAL-NI*, CT. 10, 49, 12247, 5-6; RA. 21, 24, No. 26, 5; YOS. i, 12, iii, 4 (early text); ZA. 29, 79; VS. 16, 85, 8-12; 118, 6; Reissner, TU. 12, iv, 6; other references, p. 10. See Dossin, RA. 21, 182. Strass, *Warka*, 48, 10. *GAL-KAK* only in late texts, YOS. vi, 10, 11; i, 45, ii, 27; JRAS. 1917, 724, 20; Strass, *Nbk.* 22, 12; 72, 14; Sidney Smith, *Senecherib*, I, 54. *KAK* is, therefore, an error for *NI*. [See also Landsberger, ZA. 41, 189.]

## II

### É-SAL (*áma*, *ame*, *ām*) = *maštaku*

The original sign for *maštaku* "chamber, room, sanctuary", is  *amá*, CT. 15, 8, 4; 15, 24; 12; Chiera, *Crozer*, No. 1, iv, 2 *amá-kalam-ma-ka* = iv, 28. Var.  (*ama*) *kalam-ma* = *maštak mātu*, CT. 17, 33, 8. CT. 11, 28 A 31 has another

false variant  (ām) = *maštaku*, Sgl. B<sup>1</sup>, for which the Assur text VAT. 9715 Rev. ii, 15 has  (ām), Meissner, *Beiträge*, ii, p. 82, n. 1. The form  glossed [a]-me = *maštaku*, Poebel, PBS. v, 106, Rev. 16. This form I shall designate as *áma*.

At Lagash in the Lugaland period  has been interpreted by Allotte de la Fuye, RA. 7, 143; 9, 143, as "house of the woman", i.e. house of the wife of the patesi. Now it is certain that *ama*, *amá* = *maštaku* is usually used for the chamber of the mother goddess in one of her temples. So Reisner, SBH. 14, 7 = Langdon, SBP. 74 = *Babyl. Lit.*, p. 36; CT. 15, 8, 4; 15, 24, 12; Zimmern, *Kultlieder*, 19; E-ulmaš *amá-zu-[ta]*, OECT. vi, 37, 7. *ama-na pi-el-lá-na* = *maštaki-šu* [sic!] *ša ulte'u*, Her (Ishtar's) sanctuary which has been defiled, Clay, *Morgan*, iv, 9, 13. See for *amá* as Ishtar's sanctuary, SBH. 97, 67; 113, 22; 116, No. 61, Rev. 6.

It would be strange if É-SAL = *maštaku* of the syllabary is not the same as É-SAL at Lagash. Cf. é *E-SAL gan é* É-SAL-ka *\*Ba-ú egir-ba* "The temple of the sanctuary, the field of the temple of the sanctuary, Bau its lady", Th.-Dangin, SAK. 50, ix, 12-13. Hence read é-áma *gan é-áma-ka*.

In AJSL. 33, 197, 241,  (a-ma) = *maštaku*, and l. 242, R (gloss broken away) = *bítu rapšu*. With é-áma-ka cf. é-amá-na-ka = *ina bit maštaki-ša*, SBP. 32, 22, where "house of her chamber" refers to the temple of Ishtar in which her harlots dwelled.

*amá* = *maštaku* in Ebeling, KAR. 97, 8 refers to the sanctuary of Ninurta, and to Enlil, 16, Rev. 7. In view of the connexion between É-SAL and Bau at Lagash, and the constant use of *amá*, *ama*, for the sanctuary and temple of Ishtar, it is probable that *áma* at Lagash actually refers to the temple of Bau. I know of no passage where this regular meaning of É-SAL, E × SAL, is not suitable.

## III

## THE SIGN BU-DOUBLED CRISS-CROSS

VAT. 9711 Obv. i, 9 = Meissner, *Beiträge*, ii, 86, 25, has a sign called *si-ir-min-na-bi gi-lim-mu-u*, i.e. doubled criss-cross. This is not the sign SAI. 689, discussed in PSBA. 1914, 105, but RA. 15, 107. In VAT. 9711, the copy placed at my disposal by Howardy, has *giš* ([u]-nu) = *udugu* "weapon", loan-word from *giš-* (*ú-dug*) = *kakku*, MAG. iv, iii, 3, 10, 241; glossed also *ši-ta* = *kakku*, l. 243. In VAT. 9711, i, 10-11, two ideograms glossed *ú-nu* = *udugu*, Meissner, *ibid.*, ll. 26-7. Then follow and , both probably explained by [*udugu*]. Now the gloss on these signs is read *lid-da* by Meissner, and Howardy's copy also has *lid-da*. Since one of these ideograms, *giš-* MAL, is regularly read *ši-ta* = *kakku*, it is altogether probable that is really , and *ši-da* is a variant of *ši-ta*. *lid* is a Semitic value of this sign and not expected in a Sumerian word.

## IV

*sig-úz* = *šarti enzi* "fleece of a she-goat"; also *šartu* "hair of humans". Meissner, SAI. 8266, entered CT. 14, 9, Rev. 14 as (*si-ir-ti*) <sup>amēl</sup> *sig-úz*, apparently taking it for a title; *sig-úz* is rendered *šar-ti en-zi* "fleece of a she-goat", RA. 14, 10, 31. This is certain from Poebel, PBS. v, 132 Obv. ii, 14 and Rm. 609 Rev. iii, 3 (RA. 14, 11), [*šar-]ti en-zi*. The natural rendering of CT. 14, Rev. 14, is *ši-ir-ti amēli šarti enzi* "Hair (?) of man, fleece of a she goat". I do not understand the Sumerian, ? -AL-NITAH.

On the other hand (*sig* + *úz*) seems to be a confusion for (*munšub*) = *šartu*. See the Babylonian form in Clay, YOS. i, 53, 187 = 35, 5, 22. So in KAR. 94 Obv. 9, commentary on *Maklū* i, 132, *sig* + *úz imlišu* where the passage in *Maklū* has *sig-mu imlusu*, i.e. *šarti imlišu* "my hair". Same passage, KAR. 80, Obv. 32, *šar-ta imlušu*,

"they plucked the hair"; also on duplicate RA. 26, 21; *šar-ti im-lu-šu*, Gray, *Shamash*, Pl. v, 19. It is, therefore, uncertain whether *šartu* or *šarti enzi* (not *šipât enzi*) is the reading in *Šurpu* v-vi, 103 + 110.

Since *sig* + úz = *munšub* is it possible that <sup>a</sup>*mīt**sig* + úz in CT. 14, 9, Rev. 14 = *gallabu* "barber"? Cf. *kuš-munšub* = *gallabu*, CT. 19, 30, K. 4580, Rev. 9, and SU (mu-zí-ir)-*munšub* = *šabsú* "barber", RA. 17, 169, K. 11196, 5. Hence *ši-ir-ti gallabi*? in CT. 14, 9. See also *sig* + uz *irti-šu* "hair of his breast" and R *kap-pa la-te-šu* "hair of the 'wings' of his cheeks", KAR. 307, Obv. 13; R *su-ha-ti-šu* "hair of his *suhātu*", l. 7.

## V

## ARÛTU "relatives, relations"

King, *Boundary Stones*, 6, 20, *šaplanu a-ru-ta-šu mē kašuti aij ušamhir*, was rendered by Steinmetzer, OLZ. 1920, 149, "Beneath in his nakedness may he (Shamash) not provide him with fresh water". But Poebel, PBS. v, 102, Obv. iv, 4-8, has PAP(pa) = *rabû*, *ašaridu*, *a-ru-ú-tum*, *ra-a-du*, *abûm*. The general sense of pap, pa(p) is "male relative". *rādu* = *ra-du* = *ma-ar* "son", ii Raw. 30, No. 3, 2, is the same word as *rīdu*, *rēdu* "heir", apparently for *rādi'u* > *rādu*. It is, therefore, obvious that *arûtu* means "relatives" and the passage in King's *Boundary Stones* means "Beneath may (Shamash) not cause his relatives to receive cool water", i.e. in the lower world. *i-na a-ru-ti irši-tim mē [kašuti . . .]*, Ebeling, KAR. 184, p. 42, 48, "among the relatives in the lower world [cool] waters . . ." Ebeling, *Tod und Leben*, 82, n. b), approximately right *Geistern* "spirits". Another word is *a-rá* = *a-ru-tū-um* "counting, multiplication", Poebel, PBS. v, 148, 19, or read *a-ru-û-um*, loan-word. The derivation of *arûtu* is unknown to me. A prayer to the ghosts of a family has, *a-na a-ru-ti-ku-nu mē ka-su-ti lu-uš-ki*,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Tod und Leben*, p. 132, 50, unpublished var. *luč-ki* (*nakû*) "I will offer".

"I will give cool water to your relations to drink", KAR. 227, Rev. iii, 23.

## VI

## UKKIN-SUB "a title"

**乌鲁**-RU is usually employed as a title of Nannar, the Moon-god. <sup>a</sup>Ukken(en)-RU, CT. 24, 30, iv, 8; Var. 18, 12, <sup>a</sup>UKKIN (un-ki-en) without RU; also Schroeder, KAV. 51 Obv. 20 and CT. 25, 32, 9. [<sup>a</sup>ukken](en)-RU = <sup>a</sup>Sin ša ud-da-zal-lá,<sup>1</sup> i.e. ukken-RU explained by "Sin of the morning light", CT. 24, 39, 21. The phrase, therefore, seems to mean "He that brings light to the hosts of mankind", taking RU as *sub*, *sub* = *ellu*, *kuppuru*, *mašāšu*. If so, then ukkin-*sub* is a title of Sin as the new moon, first light of the moon, hence, by analogy with the sun's morning light, explained by *uddazalla*.

These texts make it certain that *ukkan*, early sign Thureau-Dangin, REC. 389, is the reading. REC. 389 and 386 **乌鲁** are so similar that the early scribes confused them.<sup>2</sup> Gadd-Legrain, *Ur Excav.* 139, i, 6, among titles of Nannar, has *nun ukkin* (REC. 386) -*sub me-ni a-ri-eš kalag* = *rubú munammir puhri ša parṣe-šu ana tanādāti šukuru* "Prince, who brings light to the hosts (of mankind), whose decrees are made precious unto adoration". The sign here is, certainly, *ukkan* not *gál* (REC. 386), although the editors say that a variant has **乌鲁**. Already in PSBA. 1918, 72, 31, I had identified the sign and the title in early texts with *ukkan-Sub* of the late texts; Zimmern, *Kultlieder*, 199, i, 31; ii, 9 has REC. 386; here *ukkan-Sub* in both passages is a title of Anu; in ii, 9 = PSBA. 1918, 74, 9, *ukkan-Sub-gal*. Both Zimmern<sup>3</sup> and Witzel<sup>4</sup> in their editions of this text read

<sup>1</sup> Here apparently as a verb = *nummuru* "cause to shine"; CT. 16, 42, 14. Or *namirātu* "morning"; CT. 12, 48 a 7.

<sup>2</sup> See Deimel, *Sum. Lex.*, pp. 91-2.

<sup>3</sup> "König Lipit-Ishtar's Vergöttlichung": *Verhandlungen der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft*, vol. lxviii, 5 (1916), appeared after my edition in 1918.

<sup>4</sup> *Keilinschriftliche Studien*, 5 (1925), appeared seven years after my edition, with reference to Zimmern only.

*dingir uru(ru)* "The god of the city", for my *An ukkin-sub*. Now it is clear from *Ur Excav.* 139, compared with CT. 24, 30, iv. 8, etc., title of Nannar, that this sign in *Kultlieder*, 199, is intended for *ukkin*.

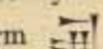
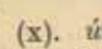
Also Chiera, *Crozer*, 12, 9, has a passage concerning Nergal.<sup>1</sup> *"Nergal ama ila ukkin-sub guš-gür-ru gal-gar ár-ri-eš-kalag* (= *"Nergal gapšu šakú munammir puhi malú rašubbáti rab-kári* <sup>2</sup> *ša ana tanádáti šukuru"*) "Nergal, the huge, the lofty, bringer of light to the hosts (of mankind), full of terror, the great one of the wall, he who is held precious unto adoration". Here the sign is not *uru* but *ukkin*, although written REC. 386.

Hence *ukkin-sub* originally a title of the moon at its monthly new birth, i.e. during its period of darkness. For this reason the moon as a deity in the under world is Nergal, and the title is then applied to him. Note that the Cassite title of Nergal, *šu-ga-mu-na* is also *Nusku* "god of the new moon", Delitzsch, *Kossäer*, 25, 13.

If Anu has the title *ukkin-sub* in *Kultlieder*, i, 31; and *ukkin-sub-gal* of the gods ii, 9, that is because Sin the moon was identified with *"A-num* on the 30th of the month. See IV Raw. 33, iv, 1, 30th day *šá "A-num* *"Enlil*; also 33\*, iii, 44. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben*, 166, gave a rendering of *Crozer*, 12, 9 which in view of the parallel passages was almost completely erroneous. A parallel passage addressed to Ninegal proves that *ukkin* is the sign in question here; JRAS. 1926, 680, 6-7, *nir-gál ukkin-na díg-ga-ni igi-sú gin* "Exalted whose word among the hosts (of mankind) is pre-eminent".

<sup>1</sup> The moon during its period of eclipse was identified with Nergal, *mélultu* of Nergal. See iv Raw. 33\*, iii, 25, 27th day, *me-lul-ta šá "Nergal*, so also 33, iii, 30. 33, iii, 33, 28th day, *bubbulu šá "Nergal* (i.e. eclipse of the moon). Cf. Landsberger, *Kultkalender*, 141.

<sup>2</sup> *gal-gar*; cf. same title *kár-gal an-ki*, ibid, 1. 2. *gar* for *kár*. See K. 4395, iii, 25 in *Babylonica*, vii, 96, *amēl gal-ka-a-ri* "great one of the wall", wall inspector. *amēl gal-kár* of Opis, Strass., *Nbk.* 365, 14. As title of Nergal the "great one of the wall" refers to this god as keeper of the mythological wall of heaven and earth.

The confusion of *ukkan* with *uru* Brünnow, No. 888 = REC. 358, and *úru*, Br. 940 = RA. 21, 98, ii, 14, is due to the fact that *uru-šub*, *úru-šub* "the desolated city" actually occur in liturgical texts.  in late texts is really a confusion of two signs REC. 359 and an early form  (x). *úru* (REC. 359)-*šub-ba*, PBS. x<sup>4</sup>, Pl. 73, 7; but *uru* (REC. 358)-*šub-a*, OECT. i, Pl. 45, 18 = Radau, *Miscel.* 8, 19; see OECT. i, 58, 18. But *úru* (sign x) -*šub*, Radau, *Miscel.* 13, v, 7; BE. 29, 1, iv, 19. *úru* (Br. 940) -*šub-mu*, iv Raw. 11, B 49. *ukkan* (REC. 389) is actually written with sign x (= *úru*) in some passages, e.g. *Crozer*, 12, 9.

## VII

### POSTFIXED GE, KA = KIMA

The postfix *ge*, *ka*, commonly regarded as suffixes of the Sumerian genitive in direct and oblique cases (*Sumerian Grammar*, §§ 131-6)<sup>1</sup> is also used for *gim* > *gi* > *ge* = *kima* "like, as, after the manner of, in capacity of" (*beth essentiae*). *gim* > *gi-e* = *ki-i-mu* (= *kima*, PSBA. 1908, 82, 13) is proved by AJSL. 36, 158, 27. *dág-gi*, Var. *dág-gim* (*kima šubti*), as (her) seat, JRAS. 1926, 36, 25; *má-an-na-ge*, Var. *gim*; *ū báñ-da-ge*, Var. *gim*, OECT. i, 52, 26-7 = Chiera, *Crozer*, 16, 13-14. Here *ge* seems to be a simple phonetic syllable for *gim* and not the genitive suffix. *ka* = *kima* is used in *a-ab-ba-ka*, Var. *gim*, AJSL. 39, 170, 14. See also *kun-bi a-ab-ba-ka (n)i-lal* "Its reservoir he made like the sea", RA. 6, 79, 14. Here *ka* is surely the oblique genitive *a-ab-ba-ka* "waters of the sea", used in an adverbial sense, § 134, precisely as is the oblique ending *a* (also used for genitive

<sup>1</sup> Thureau-Dangin, RA. 8, 88, regards *k* and *g* as inorganic letters introduced between the genitive inflection *a* and the nominative ending *e*, oblique *a*. Hence *a-e* > *age*, *a-a* > *aka*. This purely phonetic explanation is difficult to understand. Why should the Sumerians choose *g*, *k* to separate these vowels and why then is the intervocalic glide *i* used normally in *a-a* > *ajja* (§ 38, 2), or why should *ma-e* "I" not become *mage*?

§ 78) in *ab-šäg-ga mu-na-ni-lal*, Thureau-Dangin, SAK. 46, Cones B, C, ii, 13. It must be assumed then that the ending *a* has the modal adverbial sense "like" corresponding to *kima* and the Accadian ending *-iš*. I conclude that *ge = kima* is not the genitive *ge*, but that *ka = kima* is the oblique genitive *ka*. In this connexion more light is thrown on this point by the passage, Reissner, SBH. 80, 19-25. A good many variants of these lines rectify my edition in SBP. 132-4. Here SBH. 80, 19-25 = A ; SBH. 92<sup>b</sup>, 26-34 = B ; Zimmern, *Kultlieder*, 25, iii, 40-46 = C ; ibid., 7, Obv. 16-22 = D ; SBH. 66, 19-32 = E.

Lines numbered from A.

19. bád<sup>1</sup> si ba-ra-gul tu<sup>2</sup>-(gu)-bi ám-nigin-ni<sup>3</sup>
- 19<sup>b</sup>. šá bit si-is-su it-ta-bat su-um-ma-tu-šù iš-ša-nun-dù<sup>4</sup>  
Of the temple its dove cote is destroyed, its doves scatter.
20. <sup>máj</sup>ká-na-bi ba-ra-si-il<sup>5</sup> ki<sup>6</sup>-ü-di-ba<sup>7</sup> ba-an-gul.<sup>8</sup>
- 20<sup>b</sup>. [bab-šu iš-ša]-al-lat a-šar tab-ra-tu-šu it-ta-bat.  
Its gate is shattered, the place of its observation (*zig-gurat*) is destroyed.
21. <sup>máj</sup>úr-bi mu-lu ü-mun<sup>9</sup> gub<sup>10</sup>-ba-gim ü-dé<sup>11</sup> ba-ku-ku-ga<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B 26, é-bád.

<sup>2</sup> C 40, uz "duck", hence *bád-si*, *si-bad* = *situ* "dove-cote and duck-pen".

<sup>3</sup> E 19, e.

<sup>4</sup> This line on B, D.

<sup>5</sup> D, si-ig.

<sup>6</sup> C, D, omit.

<sup>7</sup> C, D, bi. D, ü-di ba-gul.

<sup>8</sup> E has another text, [ki] ü-di la-ba-an-tuk = a-šar tab-ra-tu ul i-ši "the place of observation (i.e. stage-tower ?) it has not".

<sup>9</sup> C 42, ü-mu-un-e ; also D 18.

<sup>10</sup> B 29 ; C 42 ; D 18 ; E 23, ku-ba. Here *g* > *k*, against the usual *g* > *g* as in *lağ* > *lag*, *igi-tağ* = *naplusu*, but *igi-tağ* = *pitû*, RA. 28, 139, ii, 13. Cf. *tag* > *tab* = *pitû*, proving *g*, sonant, not surd *h*. ü-*tag* = *ingu*, ATU. i, 62, 60, but ü-*tag* = *ingu*, K. 4369, Rev. 14 (Bab. vii, Pl. iv). These are examples of final *g*, sonant. Initial *g* in *ga-lam* = *halâku*, but *ga-lim*, JRAS. 1921, 171, 35, same root as *gilim*, *gillim*. For *ga-lim*, see also PBS. x, 252, 38. Initial *h* must be assumed in *hub-ba* > *ku-ba*,

Of its roof, like one whom the *sūlu* demon has crushed,  
the light of sun-rise is turned into darkness.

22. še-ib sag-zi-bi ama er-ra-gim<sup>1</sup> er-ra<sup>2</sup>-ág-gà ku.

22<sup>b</sup>. ša li-[bit-ti rēštu elatu-šu] ki-ma um-mu bi-ki-tum ina  
bi-ki-tū<sup>3</sup> it-ta-pal-sih.

The crest of its brick wall sits in mourning like a weeping  
mother.

23. gi-sal-la<sup>4</sup> bi tuk-zí-a-gim ki-ám-da-bi-uš.<sup>5</sup>

23<sup>b</sup>. gi-sal-lu-šu ki-ma . . . it-ta-lu-u<sup>6</sup>

Its *gisallu* like . . . has gone hence ? (is defiled ?).

24. gi-gür-uš<sup>7</sup> bi mu-lu šag-gig<sup>8</sup> ga-gim<sup>9</sup> šu<sup>10</sup> al-gür-gür-ri

24<sup>b</sup>. mur-du-šu ki-ma ša ki-iš lib-bi it-ta-na-dg-ra-ar<sup>11</sup>

Its chamber pavement (i.e. those that tread the pave-  
ment) skelter in flight, like one in spasms.

25. bür-ra-aḡ-bi su-din-(gu)-dal-la-gim dul-da al-gir-gir-ri.<sup>12</sup>

25<sup>b</sup>. [ . . . šu ki-ma su-din-nu pi-ri-ši ina ni-gi-iš-si iš-te-ri.<sup>13</sup>]

Note the variants *gim* > *ge* in lines 22 + 24.

*suhuš* > *sukuš* > *suku* = *uššu*; *sahar* > *sakar* = *šaharratu*. It is certain that this sound was sonant *g*, as well as surd *h*, and no fast rule can be established. For initial *g*, sonant, cf. *gūl*, glossed *gul*, Schroeder, KAV. 64, ii, 20.

<sup>11</sup> B 4-da.

<sup>12</sup> D omits *ga*; E 23, *ba-ku-ku-uš*, pl. preterite ! Root *ku-ku-ga* > *ku-ku* = *etū*. E 24, [*si-je-tū*] *it-tan-tū-u*. Here *šetu* "sunrise" = *üde*, *uda*. *ittantū* = *ittantū* = *ittatfū*, iv<sup>2</sup> of *etū*.

<sup>13</sup> C 43, D 19, *er-ra-ge*.

<sup>14</sup> C, D, *er-ri*. With this line begins the bilingual duplicate K. 4985 in Haupt, ASKT. 180.

<sup>15</sup> B 30, *bi-kit*.

<sup>16</sup> B *la-a*.

<sup>17</sup> C, D, *ki-ám-ši-ib-uš*. On C, D, this line follows l. 24.

<sup>18</sup> This line from K. 4985 + E 29. *ittalū*, i<sup>2</sup> of *alū*, "to be far away"; **נַלְעָה**? Or iv<sup>2</sup> of *la'u* "to defile"?

<sup>19</sup> C 44 omits *uš*.

<sup>20</sup> B 33, *gi*.

<sup>21</sup> C 44, D 20, *ge*.

<sup>22</sup> B omits *šu*. K. 4985, *šu-ma-al* [sic !].

<sup>23</sup> Only on K. 4985.

<sup>24</sup> C, D, *gi-ri*, as SBP. 6, 16.

<sup>25</sup> For *šard* = Arab. *sard*, Sum. *giri*, *girgirri* (*gigri*) "to flee by night".

v. SBP. 6, 16, n. 7, and  (*kur* = *gūr*) = *šarū*, CT. 12, 25 A 7.

An example of *ka*, var. *gim* is Genouillac, TC. xv, 62, 3; Chiera, *Crozer*, 35, 4:—

mu-še-n-e á ud zal-li-da-ka arā<sup>1</sup>-um-gí

Var. á ud-zal-li-da-gim mīr-un-gid.<sup>2</sup>

"The bird (Zû) roared as the sun arose."

Here *gim* has the temporal sense "as", when.

<sup>1</sup> For KA × ŠID, value *ara* see a-ra nam-ba-ab-gi-en, PBS. i<sup>2</sup>, 128, iv, 22 = X-nam-be-in-gi = *la tašaggam*, CT. 17, 45, K. 8476, 4. Note also ar-im-ma-ab-šá, var. of usual gar-ša, ūr-šá = *ramāmu*, AJSL. 39, 164, 17.

<sup>2</sup> This is new, IM-BU (mīr-gid) = *šagāmu*.

## Maimonides on Listening to Music

BY HENRY GEORGE FARMER

IN all ages there have been puritans who have looked upon "wine, woman, and song" as things to be avoided. In the East especially, and it was in the East that the phrase was born, the proscription of this trinity of joys was a question of serious moment. It was the cry of the old Hebrew prophets, and it was echoed by the early Christian fathers, as well as by the purists of Islām. To some extent, one can appreciate why wine and woman came to be proscribed, but that song was included is not so easily understood. Yet, when one sees how music is capable of affecting the peoples of the East, coupled with the fact that music with them has invariably been found as a concomitant with wine and woman, it will be more readily appreciated how listening to music came to be looked upon, as Burton said, as being unworthy of, if not unlawful for, those who trod the path of righteousness.

Just as the Christian St. Clement of Alexandria thought that "if people occupy their time with pipes and psalteries, etc., they become immodest and intractable",<sup>1</sup> so the Muslim Ibn Abī'l-Dunyā said that "all dissipation begins with music and ends with drunkenness".<sup>2</sup> With the Jews, very much the same form of condemnation of music was to be found in the Middle Ages, and there is extant a *responsum* of the great Jewish philosopher, Moses Maimonides, on this question which is worthy of attention, not only for its own sake, but also because his attitude on the lawfulness of listening to music has been misinterpreted in authoritative quarters. Yet before dealing with this response it seems advisable that we should, first of all, appreciate historically the attitude of Judaism towards music.

<sup>1</sup> *Pædagogus*, bk. ii, chap. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Staatsbibliothek Berlin, MS. 5504, f. 52, v.

## § 1

## THE JEWS AND MUSIC

We are not concerned primarily with the music of the temple or of the synagogue, but rather with secular music—the music of the people. It is generally accepted that the ban on musical instruments and secular song dates from the fall of Jerusalem,<sup>1</sup> it being considered an act of mourning for the destruction of the temple, the text being: “Rejoice not, O Israel, for joy, as [other] people” (*Hosea*, ix, 1).<sup>2</sup> In point of fact, however, the forbidding of musical instruments and secular song was much older. *Isaiah*<sup>3</sup> and *Amos*,<sup>4</sup> as well as *Jesus ben Sirach*,<sup>5</sup> had already fulminated against the vanities of this world as reflected in “wine, woman, and song”. Much of this was probably a protest against alien practices that had crept into the land of Israel. The orgies of the Babylonian-Assyrian *Ishtar* worshippers with their *ibbubu* (reed-pipe) players, and the Phoenician Adonis cult with its *abbūba* (= *ἀβωβάσ*) music could not be tolerated by the Jews. Even apart from the cults, reed-pipe players, especially in Greece and Rome (and in the latter they were Semites who actually carried the name of *ambubaiæ*), had a bad reputation.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, the Jews actually objected to Greek music when it threatened to make headway in Palestine.<sup>7</sup>

After the destruction of the temple, mourning for Jerusalem was the cry of the Jews: “If I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy” (*Psalm*, cxxxvii, 6). Music meant joy, and to the Jews there could be no joy with the temple overthrown. This, together with the older proscription of “wine, woman, and song”, meant anathema for secular music. That the two

<sup>1</sup> *B. Gittin*, 7a, *Jewish Encyclopædia*, ix, 432. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music*, 92.

<sup>2</sup> All Biblical quotations are from the Authorized Version.

<sup>3</sup> *Isaiah*, v, 12; xxiii, 15–16.

<sup>4</sup> *Amos*, vi, 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Ecclesiasticus*, ix, 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Horace*, *Epist.*, i, 14. *Papias*, *Onom.*, s.v.

<sup>7</sup> *B. Hagiga*, 15b.

must be taken into account is evident from the dicta of the semi-*tanaim* and *amoraim* such as Abba Arika,<sup>1</sup> Rabbi Hosh'a'ya,<sup>2</sup> Rab Huna,<sup>3</sup> Raba,<sup>4</sup> and Rab Yoseph bar Hiyya.<sup>5</sup>

With the advent of Islām the outcry of the legists against secular music was strengthened when the four great Muslim sects, the Hanafī, the Mālikī, the Shāfi'ī, and the Hanbali, decided against listening to music. Indeed, there is little difference between the opinions of the Jewish *amoraim* and many of the Muslim 'ulamā on this question.<sup>6</sup> It is also interesting to note that, as with the Jews, the name *zimri* (reed-pipe player) came to be used for a lewd person, so with the Muslims the word *zammāra* (female reed-pipe player) became synonymous with courtesan.

Yet the proscription was no more universally accepted by the Jews than it was by the Muslims. With the Jews of Al-Hijāz and Al-Yaman it does not appear to have obtained sanction. In Rome, up to the fourth century, we find professional singers, actors, and poets among the Jews.<sup>7</sup> In Babylonia and elsewhere, the censure of secular music was objected to and the movement was sufficiently strong to obtain some modification.<sup>8</sup> The residue of the proscription amounted to this. Musical instruments were forbidden generally, although at Purim and at weddings they were

<sup>1</sup> Abba Arika (d. 247) said: "The ear that listens to the reed-pipe shall be cut off." *B. Sota*, 48a.

<sup>2</sup> Rabbi Hosh'a'ya (fl. 219) said: "There are players of the hydraulis (*idrablin*) and the reed-pipe (*korablin*) in the land, and such a land should be destroyed." *Bereishith rabba*. See Farmer, *The Organ of the Ancients*, 43-44.

<sup>3</sup> Rab Huna (d. 297) forbade secular music, but the edict caused so serious an interruption of social life that Rab Hisda was compelled to annul it.

<sup>4</sup> Raba (d. 325) said: "Music in a house must bring that house to destruction." *B. Sota*, 48a.

<sup>5</sup> Rab Yoseph (d. 333) said: "If men sing and women respond, the result is licentiousness." *B. Sota*, 48a.

<sup>6</sup> Farmer, *Hist of Arabian Music*, chap. ii.

<sup>7</sup> Berliner, *Gesch. der Juden in Rom*, i (i), 98.

<sup>8</sup> *B. Sota*, 48a. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, 254.

permitted. It is curious to observe how this proscription was evaded by some Jews by their employing Muslim and even Christian musicians.<sup>1</sup>

Up to the twelfth century we find the Jews in the East following music as a profession,<sup>2</sup> whilst in Al-'Irāq, the twin-cradle of the *amoraim*, youths actually recited the psalms at holiday time to the accompaniment of musical instruments,<sup>3</sup> all of which shows that the old proscription had spent its force in these parts. In the West, excluding Spain, Jews do not appear to have favoured music as a profession.<sup>4</sup> In Spain, however, under the Arab sultāns and caliphs, the Jews encouraged it both as a profession for practitioners and as a science for scholars in spite of the frowns of the legists. Indeed, when the Christians became masters of the land, they complained of the ostentation of the Jews in that they outshone their nobles, one particular objection being that the Jews instructed their children to excel in music.<sup>5</sup> There are several outstanding names of Jewish *virtuosi* in music from that of Al-Manṣūr in the ninth century,<sup>6</sup> to that of Ishāq ibn Simān in the twelfth century.<sup>7</sup> Even men of high birth such as Yoseph ben Ephraim, the treasurer of Alphonso VIII (d. 1214) of Castille, were skilled musicians.<sup>8</sup> In the Christian courts of Spain, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, Jewish musicians could be found.<sup>9</sup>

As for the theory or science of music, this certainly formed part of the curriculum in higher studies from the time of Ishāq ibn Sulaimān (d. c. 932), better known as Isaac Israeli, who said that music was the last and the best of the four

<sup>1</sup> Abrahams, *op. cit.*, l.c.

<sup>2</sup> Abrahams, *op. cit.*, 246.

<sup>3</sup> Rabbi Petahya, *The Travels of Rabbi Petachia*, 47.

<sup>4</sup> Abrahams, *op. cit.*, 246.

<sup>5</sup> Finn, *Sephardim*, 270.

<sup>6</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *Analects*, ii, 85.

<sup>7</sup> Ribera, *La Musica de las Cantigas*, 72.

<sup>8</sup> Finn, *op. cit.*, 185.

<sup>9</sup> Farmer, *Hist. Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, 158.

mathematical sciences that had to be mastered. David al-Muqammas (tenth century), Jehuda ben Barzillai (eleventh-twelfth century), Jehuda ha-Levi (twelfth century), Abraham ben Ḥiyya (d. 1136), Abraham ben Ezra (d. 1168), and Yūsuf ibn 'Aqnīn (d. 1226), all show in their writings that a knowledge of the theory or science of music continued to be considered a desirable accomplishment in scholarship among the Jews.<sup>1</sup>

## § 2

### MAIMONIDES ON SYNAGOGICAL MUSIC

Having viewed the position in which secular music stood in the Middle Ages among the Jews, we are able to appreciate the attitude of the great Jewish philosopher, Moses Maimonides (1135–1204), towards this question. Idelsohn, the author of the excellent *Jewish Music in its Historical Development* (1929), says (p. 126) that "Maimonides was extremely antagonistic to all poetry and 'music'". For this statement he gives one (No. 129) of the *responsa* in *Pe'er ha-Dor* as his authority. Reference to this response, however, reveals no corroboration for this statement. Indeed, there is no mention of either poetry or music as such in this response. That part of this response which concerns us reads as follows<sup>2</sup> :—

REQUEST. " May it please Your Excellency . . . to decide for us concerning the custom of cantors to intone *piyyutim* [lit., to say melodies and *piyyutim*] or other songs of praise [lit., songs and praises] or songs in honour of a bridegroom or a circumcision etc. which they insert between the Benedictions preceding and

<sup>1</sup> Wolfson, *The Classification of Sciences in Mediaeval Jewish Philosophy* (Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume, Cincinnati, 1925). Güdemann, *Das jüdische Unterrichtswesen während der spanisch-arabischen Periode*. Ibn 'Aqnīn studied mathematics, which doubtless included the theory of music, under Maimonides at Fustāt. See also *Jewish Encyclopædia*, i, 108. Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, 337.

<sup>2</sup> Idelsohn quotes from the Lemberg (1849) edition. This not being available, the Amsterdam (1765) edition has been used here.

following the *shema'* in both the Morning and Evening Services and also in the Evening Service of Festivals. [These interpolations are so lengthy] that the congregation is unable to follow the cantor [they lose interest in the service] and they become unaware as to how far he has reached in the service, i.e. whether he is still at the [voluntary] *piyyut* or whether he has reached [the obligatory part of the service as formulated by the *Talmud*] the paragraphs both before and after the *shema'* with the Benediction formulae that they contain. Therefore, may our Master Moses [Maimonides] instruct us what to do, namely, should the cantor say these [interpolated compositions] in the framework of the Benediction-prayer [i.e. the form of service as fixed by the *Talmud*] or after reciting the Benediction-prayer, or before commencing to say that *kaddesh* which follows the prayer beginning . . . Should he then say these *piyyutim* and then proceed with the statutory service [as fixed by the *Talmud*] without any further interruption, or is it immaterial?"

**RESPONSE** [by Maimonides]. "It is quite wrong to permit any interruption in the paragraphs preceding or following the *shema'*, but if there is some necessity [i.e. by reason of some local post-Talmudic custom to have *piyyutim*] then let them be said before the paragraphs preceding the *shema'*. Nevertheless, he [the cantor] may not break up the Benediction formula nor add to it."

It is clear, therefore, from this response, that it was not music *per se* that was under discussion, but merely the permissibility of certain melodies and metrical poetry (*piyyutim*) being used in the synagogical service. Far from Maimonides being "extremely antagonistic to all poetry and 'music'", as has been supposed, he actually allowed them in the synagogue under certain conditions.<sup>1</sup>

There had been opposition to *piyyutim* as early as the eleventh century, as we know from Hananil (d. 1050) and

<sup>1</sup> See also Nos. 64 and 130 of his *responsa*.

Hai Gaon (d. 1038), although in the following century Ya'qob ben Meir (d. 1171) had defended their use. It is interesting, however, to have the considered opinion of Maimonides on the question. The latter had himself composed poetry, and it must be understood that his condemnation of singers and preachers "who imagine themselves able to compose a poem" is not directed against poetry itself, but against what the poetry contained. (*More nebukhim*, i, lix.)<sup>1</sup>

### § 3

#### MAIMONIDES ON SECULAR MUSIC

Maimonides deals with this question in another response, but unlike the previous response, which is in Hebrew, this one is in Arabic, although written in the Hebrew script. The text of this was given by Goldziher in the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* (xxii, 174) of 1873,<sup>2</sup> and was based on a manuscript in the possession of the Chief Rabbi Bernstein of The Hague. It was accompanied by a translation into German. The text was also published by Abraham Schmiedl in Eisig Graeber's Hebrew journal, *Beth ozar ha-sipharoth* (Year i, xxvii) in 1887, together with a translation into Hebrew. A Hebrew version also appears among the *responsa* of Maimonides in *Pe'er ha-Dor* (No. 143). Ya'qob ben Asher (d. 1340), the great Jewish legist of Toledo, has referred to this response.<sup>3</sup>

We do not know the name of the person making the request nor do we know the date, but as the *Dalālat al-hā'irīn* is mentioned in the response it must have been written later than 1190. Here is the request and the response in question. The texts of both Goldziher and Schmiedl have been used.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a concise account of the use of the *piyyut* see Idelsohn, *Jewish Liturgy and its Development* (1932), chap. v.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Steinschneider, *Die arab. Lit. der Juden*, 212.

<sup>3</sup> *Tur Orak bayyim*, c. 560. Cited by Goldziher.

<sup>4</sup> C = Bernstein Codex; G = Goldziher text; S = Schmiedl text. Professor D. S. Margoliouth has been good enough to suggest several emendations of the text, and he has also helped me with one or two points in the translation.

**שאלה:** הֲלֵי יתנו סمع אלגנָא  
באלמושחת אלערבייה? ואלו אמר

אלגנָא בועלם אן נפש אלו אמר  
ואלאליקא עאת כליה חרואם ולו  
לט' יקל. עלייהו כלאמ אצלא  
לקוליהם זיל אודגנא דשמעא  
זמרא תעריך וקד בין אלתלמוד  
אן לא פרק בין סמע אלו אמר או  
תננים אלאותהאר או תלחין<sup>7</sup>  
אלאלחאן דון אלצלאת<sup>8</sup> יונב מסר  
אלנפְס וונברדא חרואם<sup>9</sup> כמו  
דכRNA<sup>10</sup> ואסתנדוא אליו אלנדז  
אלנביי. קאל אל תשמה ישראל  
אל<sup>11</sup> ניל בעמיהם וועלה<sup>12</sup> דליך  
בינה גרא לאן הדא אלקוה  
אלשדווניה יונביי קמעהא ורדעהא  
ומסק ענאניה לא אן תטור<sup>13</sup> וויזי<sup>14</sup>

<sup>7</sup> S: סאל.

<sup>8</sup> אלעריב: S.

<sup>9</sup> C: ויקאל.

<sup>10</sup> אלאותהאר: G.

<sup>11</sup> S: תלחין.

<sup>12</sup> אלא צלאת: C.

<sup>13</sup> This is Professor Margoliouth's emendation of the passage.  
יונב מסנד אלנפְס וונברדא חרואם S:

יונב בסנו ובסנד or בסחו אלנפְס וונברדא חרואם G:

<sup>14</sup> G: דברוא.

<sup>15</sup> G: אלנבי.

<sup>16</sup> C: אה.

<sup>17</sup> C: דעליה.

<sup>18</sup> Professor Margoliouth's emendation. S and G: תטור.

<sup>19</sup> G: וויזי.

מיתהא ולא ינתר פי מר' אליאחד  
 אלישאר אלקליל אלגונד [אלדי].  
 יונב לה דלק רקה. אלنفس  
 וסעה אנטעאל לאדראך מעיקול  
 או בשוע לאלמור אלדינה. لأن  
 אלחכמתה. אלשריעיה. אנמא  
 תכתב. בحسب אלאכתר ואלאבל  
 שדרבי. חכמים בהווח וקד בינוא.<sup>1</sup>  
 לנו אלנביין<sup>2</sup> דלק וקאלוא מנברין  
 עלי אסתעמאל<sup>3</sup> אלאת אלאלחאן  
 עלי נהה אלעבדה<sup>4</sup> בסמעה  
 והו קולתם הפרטם על פי הנבל.<sup>5</sup>  
 כהויר חשבו להם כל שיר וקד  
 בינה פי שרח אבות אין לא  
 פרק בין אלאקויל אל עבראניה  
 ואלערבה אנמא יזרם דלק או  
 זחל בحسب אלمعنى אלמראך<sup>6</sup> פי  
 תלך אלאקויל ואלספהה באלהקקה  
 חרם סמעהא ולוי קילת ותרא.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> חר. <sup>i.e.</sup> אלטרא. امرى would have been better. G:

<sup>2</sup> Not in S.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Margoliouth's emendation. S and G: זקא. אלדניה

<sup>4</sup> C: לאדראך. <sup>5</sup> S: suggests אלדראך.

<sup>6</sup> G: אלאחים. <sup>7</sup> G: אלשריעיה.

<sup>8</sup> S: תכתב. <sup>9</sup> G: שדרבו. <sup>10</sup> G: בז:

<sup>11</sup> G: אלנביין. <sup>12</sup> G: אסתעאל.

<sup>12</sup> G: אלעבדה. <sup>13</sup> Misprint in G: חובל.

<sup>13</sup> C: אלמבאך. <sup>14</sup> C: נתר.

פאן<sup>1</sup> לחתת עלידה<sup>2</sup>. כאן דנאך  
 תלאת חרמאנאת חרמאנ סמע אלספה  
 נבלות הפה וחרמאנ סמע אלגנא  
 עוני יمرا בפומה וחרמאנ סמע  
 אלאותאר WAN CAN דליך פי<sup>3</sup>.  
 מקום שרב שראב כאן חרמאנ  
 ראבע ודו קולה תעאל<sup>4</sup> והיה  
 כנור ונבל תפ<sup>5</sup>, וחליל וין  
 משתידם פאן CAN באנת<sup>6</sup> אלמנגה<sup>7</sup>  
 אמראה CAN דנאך חרמאנ באמס<sup>8</sup>.  
 לקוליהם זיל קיל באשה ערוה  
 פכיף CAN CAN הנסי יקד<sup>9</sup> CAN  
 אלחקabalברהאן ודו CAN  
 אלמקזוד בנא CAN נבון נו<sup>10</sup>  
 קדיש ולא יבן לנא פעל ולא  
 קול אלא פי במאל או פי מא  
 יוד אל<sup>11</sup> במאל לא פי אתחורה  
 אלקיי<sup>12</sup> אלנסאניה<sup>13</sup> מן כל ביר<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> CAN :

<sup>2</sup> צל אלא :

<sup>3</sup> כי :

<sup>4</sup> תפ : S. ותוף.

<sup>5</sup> CAN :

<sup>6</sup> S :

<sup>7</sup> קד :

<sup>8</sup> רלקוי וו :

<sup>9</sup> אלאנגה<sup>15</sup> : S. אלמנגען<sup>16</sup> : G.

<sup>10</sup> Perhaps - בוד خור -

ולא פ' אדמיאלה<sup>1</sup> פ' אללה  
 ואללה בען וקד בינה פ' הרה אלנין  
 פ' אללה אלה מא פיה כפאה  
 פ' אלני אלאבר מנהא באקאייל  
 יקנינה ענד<sup>2</sup> אלפצלא ואלדי לכרוא  
 אלנאנום זיל רוח תלחן דברי  
 שירותות ותשבחות<sup>3</sup> כמא דבר  
 בעל הלבות<sup>4</sup> זיל ואמא<sup>5</sup> דבר  
 מנונה בהא<sup>6</sup> חס ושולם לא נשמע  
 זאת ביישראל לא מן נאנן ולא מן  
 הדירות ואלעגב מן קולכם<sup>7</sup> במחצץ  
 בשירים ו כשרים<sup>8</sup> ענד<sup>9</sup> מא  
 חזירין מקאמאת אלשראב אלמסכבר  
 וקד בינה פ' לדך איזא פ'  
 אללה אלה מא פיה כפאה אין  
 לדך אלדי יבדינה בסמצע אלאת<sup>10</sup>  
 אלגנא<sup>11</sup> ושולם וכתב משה.

<sup>1</sup> אהמאל G:

<sup>2</sup> ענד S:

<sup>3</sup> תשבחות G:

<sup>4</sup> הלבות G:

<sup>5</sup> זאמא Misprint in G.:

<sup>6</sup> זיל ואמא דבר שלא גינה בהא.

<sup>7</sup> G reads etc.

<sup>8</sup> קולכם G: כלכם C:

<sup>9</sup> Professor Margoliouth's emendation. Perhaps should be inserted between **מן** and **ענד**. G and S read **מן**.

<sup>10</sup> אלאם S:

<sup>11</sup> G reads: פא פיה כפאה אין יבדינה לדך בסמצע אלאת אלגנא.

*Translation*<sup>1</sup>

**REQUEST.** “ Is it lawful to listen to the singing (*qhindā*) in the ballads (*muwashshahāt*) of the Arabs, and to the reed-pipe (*zamr*) ? ”

**RESPONSE** [by Maimonides]. “ It is well known that the reed-pipe itself and the rhythms (*iqā'āt*), all of them are forbidden, even if there had not been said about them any saying at all according to the pronouncement,—‘ The ear that listens to the reed-pipe shall be cut off.’<sup>2</sup> And the *Talmud* has explained<sup>3</sup> that there is no difference between listening to the reed-pipe or hearing stringed instruments or to the modulation (*talḥin*) of melodies (*alḥān*) apart from the prayer. And it is proper to break in the soul and unlawful to comfort it.

“ And they [the Rabbis] support themselves on the prohibition [of] the Prophet. He said,—‘ Rejoice not, O Israel, for joy, as [other] people.’<sup>4</sup> And we have explained the cause of that thoroughly; because, as for this sensuous faculty, it behoves us to tame it, and repress it, and tighten its rein; not that it should be excited and resuscitated (lit. its dead made to live). And one should not judge by (lit. look at) an individual man, who is exceptional, and rarely to be found, in whom that [music] occasions delicacy of mind and quickness of impressionability necessary for the perception of a *noumenon* (*ma'qul*), or submission to religious matters. Legal wisdom only writes in accordance with the majority and the prevailing because,—‘ The wise have spoken concerning what ordinarily happens.’<sup>5</sup> And the Prophets have explained that to us, and have spoken prohibiting the use of instrumental music by way

<sup>1</sup> This translation differs considerably from that made by Goldziher.

<sup>2</sup> *B. Sota*, 48a. Cf. the attitude of Muhammad who put his fingers in his ears when he heard the reed-pipe (*mizmār* = *zamr*) being played. Ibn Khallikān, *Biog. Dict.*, iii, 521.

<sup>3</sup> *Gittin*, 7a.

<sup>4</sup> Hosea, ix, 1.

<sup>5</sup> *B. Shabbath*, 68a.

of hearing them devotionally, and it is their saying,—  
 ‘ That chant to the sound of the viol (*nebel*), [and]  
 invent to themselves instruments of music, like  
 David.’<sup>1</sup>

“ And we have already explained in the *Commentary on Aboth*<sup>2</sup> that there is no difference between Hebrew and Arabic words; only such are prohibited or permitted in accordance with the meaning intended in those words. And in reality it is the hearing of folly that is prohibited, even if uttered [accompanied] by stringed instruments. And if melodized upon them there would be three prohibitions:—(1) the prohibition of listening to folly (follies of the mouth), (2) and the prohibition of listening to singing (*ghinā*), I mean playing with the mouth, and (3) the prohibition of listening to stringed instruments. And if it were in a wine shop [where the listening occurred] there would be a fourth prohibition, as in the saying of Him Most High,—‘ And the harp (*kinnor*), and the viol (*nebel*), the tabret (*toph*), and pipe (*halil*), and wine, are in their feasts.’<sup>3</sup> And if the singer be a woman, then there is a fifth prohibition according to their [the Rabbis’] saying,—‘ A voice in a woman is a shame.’<sup>4</sup> Then how much [greater the prohibition] if she be singing.

“ And the truth is made plain by proof, and this is that that which is aimed at in us, is that we should be a ‘ holy nation’, and that there should not be to us either work or word except in perfection, or what leads to perfection; not in the stirring up of the sensuous faculties to the neglect of all that is good [or whenever lax], nor in letting them run loose in diversion and play.

“ And we have explained with sufficiency to this purpose in the *Dalālat [al-hā'irin]*,<sup>5</sup> in the last part

<sup>1</sup> Amos, vi, 5.

<sup>2</sup> i, 17.

<sup>3</sup> Isaiah, v, 12.

<sup>4</sup> *B. Berakoth*, 24a.

<sup>5</sup> Known in Hebrew as the *More nebukhim*.

of it, with words that will carry conviction to the worthy. And that which the blessed Gaonim have mentioned is the setting of melody (*talḥīn*) to songs and praises, as the blessed author of *halakoth* said,<sup>1</sup>—As for improper subjects being in them—God forbid! This was not heard in Israel, either from Gaon or illiterate person. And the wonder is at your saying,—‘in the presence of pious persons,’ for, in my opinion, they are not pious so long as they attend wine bouts. And we have explained enough regarding that also in the *Dalālat [al-hā'irin]*. This is what seems right to us regarding listening to instruments of music. And Peace. [Thus] wrote Moses [Maimonides].”

## § 4

## COMMENTARY

We may suppose that we have in this response of Maimonides a new ethic for the Jews on the question of listening to music. He states the orthodox view of the older teachers that singing and the reed-pipe were anathema. He does not, however, give his precedent for his objection to rhythm (*iqā'*), nor does he answer the question regarding the use of the Arabic ballad (*muwashshah*). Probably he considered that the latter was beneath his notice. The Jews held that the Arabs only sang of “lust and war” in their poetry. The statement was not strictly correct, although the early popular *muwashshahāt* were mainly erotic in sentiment, and it is highly probable that this type of ballad which was introduced into Egypt by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk during Maimonides’ lifetime was of this character. As for rhythm, this was the great feature of all instrumental music which was itself suspect. Further, the rhythmical song, which was of Arabic origin, was finding a place in the synagogue, much to the disgust of some legists.

Hai Gaon (d. 1038) and Ishāq al-Fāṣī (d. 1103) had objected to the rhythmical song, and the latter had a weighty influence

<sup>1</sup> Ishāq al-Fāṣī (d. 1103), *Berakoth*, f. 25b. Quoted by Goldziher.

over Maimonides. Still, as we have seen in the previous response, he allowed such things when local custom demanded them.

Like the excellent legislist that he was, Maimonides realized that prevailing custom could not be ignored and wisely he expresses the opinion that "legal wisdom only writes in accordance with the majority and the prevailing". What "prevailed" among the Jews in Spain has already been mentioned, and we may assume that in Egypt, where this response was written, things were very little different. The *piyyuṭ* was certainly in favour at Fusṭāt.<sup>1</sup> It would have been to little purpose to have continued to condemn an art that had become a definite part of the social and religious life of the Jews. All that could be hoped in the circumstances was to control it.

Even apart from this, Maimonides was doubtless impressed by his mentors. Among the Greek authors that he knew in Arabic he found Plato and Aristotle in praise of the art. Among the Arabs, Ḥunain ibn Ishāq (d. 873), Al-Fārābī (d. 950), Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037), Al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), and Ibn Bājja (d. 1138) had all dealt with music in its practical, theoretical, or moral sense. In the face of this he could not merely repeat the old proscription as it stood even though an illustrious predecessor such as Sa'adya Gaon (d. 942), himself born in Egypt, had partly approved the objection.<sup>2</sup>

Fortunately the ground had already been broken by another illustrious Jew of Spain, Ibn Gabirol (d. c. 1058). In the latter's *Islāḥ al-akhlāq*, generally called the "Ethics", it was very discreetly laid down that it was not listening to mere notes (*naghmāt*) of music that was forbidden, but listening to indecent things that might accompany such notes in a song. Yet, as Ibn Gabirol pointed out, "one ought to

<sup>1</sup> Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fātimids*, i, 269–270.

<sup>2</sup> Engelkemper, *Saadja Gaon : Über die Hh. Schrift . . . (Beit. z. Gesch. d. Philos. des M.-A.s*, iv, 1903), p. 71.

know the places where it is necessary to pay good heed and those wherein it is not fitting to hear at all."<sup>1</sup>

It has to be admitted, however, that in this response, Maimonides has little scope for the development of his argument, and one has to look elsewhere for fuller corroboration, and especially to his *Shemone peraqim*.<sup>2</sup> In this work, which was written as an introduction to the *Commentary on Aboth*, Maimonides recommends "the happy medium" of Platonic teaching for the sustenance of a healthy body. The man who refrains from eating viands and drinking wine simply to satisfy one particular desire is no better than the glutton or drunkard who goes to excess to gratify another particular desire.<sup>3</sup> "The perfect law which leads us to perfection," he says, . . . "aims at man's following the path of moderation, in accordance with the dictates of nature."<sup>4</sup> Just as the body can be sick by deviation from the path of moderation, so can the soul.<sup>5</sup> And just as the body physician can attend to the physical frame of man, so can the moral physician care for the soul of man.<sup>6</sup>

Maimonides, as a moral physician, recommends the cultivation of the senses "for the purpose of quickening the soul". HEARING: "By listening to stringed and reed-pipe music."<sup>7</sup> SEEING: "By gazing on beautiful pictures." [SMELLING:] "By strolling through beautiful gardens." [FEELING:] "By wearing fine raiment." TASTING: "By eating highly seasoned delicacies." Such things, he assures us, are "not to be considered immoral nor unnecessary", and he cites the Rabbis, "of blessed memory," in support of his contention.

<sup>1</sup> *The Improvement of Moral Qualities . . . by Ibn Gabirol . . .* (Edited) by S. S. Wise, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> *The Eight Chapters of Maimonides on Ethics . . .* Edited . . . by J. I. Gorfinkle.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. iv.      <sup>4</sup> Chap. iv.      <sup>5</sup> Chap. iii.      <sup>6</sup> Chap. v.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the statement in *Maimonides* by Yellin and Abrahams (p. 141) that "music had no charms for him".

"The real duty of man," he says, "is that in adopting whatever measures he may, for the well-being and preservation of his existence in good health, he should do so with the object of maintaining a perfect condition of the instrument of the soul."<sup>1</sup> Seeing that music administered to the needs of the soul, as Plato had taught long before, it could not be otherwise that Maimonides should have believed in its permissibility, on condition that it was used in moderation and did not accompany forbidden things.

In this respect he was in agreement with the liberal Muslims. In Arabic there was quite a library of literature on the subject.<sup>2</sup> Some of it, such as the *Dhamm al-malāḥī* of Ibn Abī'l-Dunyā (d. 894), was a violent diatribe against music. Other writings, such as the *Iḥyā 'ulūm al-dīn* and the *Biwāriq al-asmā'* of Al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) and his brother Abū'l-Futuḥ Majd al-Dīn (d. 1126),<sup>3</sup> were reasoned arguments in favour of the art. Al-Ghazālī, and those like him, who argued as a general proposition that it was lawful to listen to music, laid it down that listening was forbidden in the following cases: (1) If the singer or player is a woman; (2) if the instrument used is already prohibited;<sup>4</sup> (3) if the content of what is sung, or if the deeds or actions in the place where the singing or playing occur, are already forbidden; (4) if music incites any particular individual to commit forbidden acts, that particular music is forbidden; (5) if one listens to music for its own sake and not for recreation.<sup>5</sup>

This is practically what we see in the above response of Maimonides and also in his *Shemone peraqim*, i.e. the necessity

<sup>1</sup> Chap. v.

<sup>2</sup> Farmer, *Hist. of Arabian Music*, chap. ii, and pp. 101, 146, 195.

<sup>3</sup> For the *Biwāriq al-asmā'* see Staatsbibliothek Berlin MS. (Peterman, ii, 400), f. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Several particular instruments, notably the *kūba* (an hour-glass shaped drum), was forbidden because of its use by the *mukhannathūn*. See Farmer, *The Organ of the Ancients*, 6, 44.

<sup>5</sup> See the translation into English by Professor D. B. Macdonald in the *JRAS*. (1901-2).

of distinguishing between the implement itself and its use. For instance, Maimonides recommends mathematics for the purpose of sharpening the mind. If, however, a man were to use mathematics for the purpose of committing a forbidden act such as falsifying accounts, that would not make mathematics unlawful. So with music. *Per se*, music was permitted, but it depended entirely to what use it was put. As Maimonides says : "In reality it is the hearing of folly that is prohibited." That is why he made "folly" his basis of objection : (1) Folly is prohibited ; (2) and (3) if singing or a musical instrument accompanies the folly, the prohibition is greater ; (4) if folly occurs where there is wine, the objection is greater still ; (5) if the singer [or player] be a woman, the accumulated disapproval is the greatest.

Did Maimonides know the *Iḥyā 'ulūm al-dīn* of Al-Ghazālī ? Some of his arguments suggest that he did. Yet, on the other hand, Maimonides does not breathe a word about the divine influence of music and singing which Al-Ghazālī, as a *sūfī*, praises. In Al-Ghazālī, Maimonides had a man "after his own heart" in many ways. In his *Shemone peraqim*, Maimonides deals with the "partitions" which prevent man from comprehending God. Only those who attained the ranks of the Prophets could pass these "partitions", and the greater the Prophet he says, the fewer the "partitions". Al-Ghazālī believed that these "veils", as another *sūfī* calls them, could only be lifted when man attained the supreme stage of ecstasy of the soul, and this rapture, he says, was reached by *listening to music and singing*.

## On Some Assyrian Minerals

BY R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON

CONSIDER the following passages from vocabularies<sup>1</sup> :—

(1) *CT.* xiv, 3, K. 4325, iv-vi, ll. 18-25 : ib. 5, K. 4368, iv-vi, ll. 8-16 ; and for col. iv, presumably 81-7-27, 147 (Meissner, *Suppt.*, pl. 27) :—

		(Presumed re- storation from 81-7-27, 147.)
18. <i>takPES</i>	= <i>is-sil-lat</i> : <i>is-kil-lat</i> <sup>2</sup>	= (Uncertain traces)
19. <i>takPES.PES</i>	= <i>si-ki-[e-tum ?]</i> <sup>3</sup>	= ? <i>iš-ki-il-la-tum</i>
20. <i>takPES.PES</i>	= <i>ha-an-da-pil-[tum ?]</i>	= ? "
21. <i>takša-ma-a-a-tum</i>	= [ " ? ]	= <i>mu-si-il-tum</i> <sup>4</sup>
22. <i>takZUR.ŠAR.GUB.BA</i>	= <i>šU-u</i> (i.e. <i>ZUR šargubba</i> )	= <i>ia-ni-bu</i> <sup>5</sup>
23. <i>takmar-hu-šum</i>	= <i>šU-u</i> (i.e. <i>marhušu</i> )	= ? <i>ha-an-na-</i> <i>hu-ru</i>
24. <i>takšag-gil-mut</i> <sup>6</sup>	= <i>tar-ma-nu</i> <sup>7</sup>	= [sa]g-gil-li- <i>mut</i> <sup>8</sup>

(2) *CT.* xiv, 14, K. 4396, ll. 10-13, dup. ib., S. 995, rev. 4-7 :—

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations : As in *JRAS.*, 1929, 801, with additions : *Boson* = *Rivista d. Studi Orientali*, vii ; *BA.* = *Beiträge z. Assyr.* ; *MVAG.* = *Mittheil. d. Vorderas. Gesellsch.* ; *OTC.* = my *On the Chemistry* ; *R.* = *Rawlinson, Cun. Inscr.* ; *RA.* = *Revue d'Assyr.* ; *ZA.* = *Zeits. f. Assyr.* I am much indebted to Dr. Nevil Sidgwick, F.R.S., for his ready help in questions involving chemistry.

<sup>2</sup> From *CT.* xviii, 26, Rm. 339, 4 ; see also Deimel, No. 390, 10, and p. 890 for an addition.

<sup>3</sup> Presumed from *CT.* xviii, 26, Rm. 339, 3, which gives the additional = *pur-ta-a-tum*, but it is not a certain equivalent.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also equivalence, *CT.* xiv, 15, 13 : 17, ii. 15 : *mu-[sa]l-tum*.

<sup>5</sup> Equivalence also, *HWB.* 50, quoting K. 4349, 10 ; and *CT.* xviii, 26, Rm. 339, 14.

<sup>6</sup> Read thus with Meissner, *MVAG.*, 1904, 3, 17 ; Var. K. 4368, [*takšag-gi-il-mut*].

<sup>7</sup> Rest. from *CT.* xviii, 26, Rm. 339, 15 (Meissner, ib.).

<sup>8</sup> *CT.* xviii, ib., *AN.AN* (= *sag-gi-il-mut*, Meissner, *MVAG.*, 1905, 4, 9).

10. <i>takPEŠ</i>	= <i>tak-ri-e</i>	= <i>INIM.INIM.MA.BI</i> <sup>1</sup>
11. <i>takNU.PEŠ</i>	= <i>takla</i> „	= (blank)
12. <i>takU.TU</i>	= <i>tak-la-di</i>	= <i>tak-it-ta-mir</i>
13. <i>takNU.U.TU</i>	= <i>takla</i> „	= <i>da-a-a-i-ku</i>

Presumably these minerals are in some kind of scientific order. To confirm this, cf. those which we already know : (21) *takšamaítum* "the heavenly-blue", i.e. the beautiful blue crystals of blue vitriol (*OTC.* 116), with equivalent *takmuşlum*, which looked to me like the origin of the Syr. *musidin*, *vitriolum cuprinum*, garbled (*ib.* 117); (22) *ianibu*, green vitriol (*ib.* 112); (23) *takmarhašum*, marcasite, pyrites, whence comes green vitriol (*ib.* 117). Our group (1) would appear to be connected with pyrites and the vitriols. Let us first consider *takeri* in this connection.

(a) *takPEŠ*, *takeri* "THE PREGNANT STONE", AETITES

In (2) is a group "the pregnant stone", "the not-pregnant stone", "the birth-stone", "the not-birth-stone". Von Oefele (*ZA.* xiv, 1899–1900, 357) suggested very reasonably that the "birth-stone" was *ἀετιτης*, the "eagle stone" of Diosc. v, clx, used as an amulet in pregnancy. The old idea that the *ἀετιτης* was one of the Geodes, a globular mass of clay ironstone, sometimes hollow, enclosing another stone (Bostock, *Pliny*, vol. vi, 364) was correct; but I propose to show that it was the "pregnant stone" of the Assyrians, not the "birth-stone", as Von Oefele thought, although his suggestion was very near the mark.<sup>2</sup>

Theophrastus (*Hist. of Stones*, xi) says that the greatest and most wonderful of all qualities of stones is that of those which bring forth young. Sir John Hill (who edited Theophrastus, p. 27, note), says that the stone meant is the *aetites* or eagle-stone, famous for its imaginary virtues

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps scribal indication of its "magical value", i.e. *takeri* is a stone for pregnancy.

<sup>2</sup> Actually he applied his suggestion to *daku* (which was at that time misread *asku*), properly the "not-birth-stone".

in assisting delivery, and he explains that there is a separate stone contained in the cavity of another, which rattles. Dioscorides v, clx, says that it is a stone which, when shaken gives out a sound as of being pregnant with another, and is used to assist pregnant women. Pliny (*NH.* x, 4; xxxvi, 39) describes it as male and female. Ibn Beithar (Leclerc, *Notices des Manuscrits*, xxiii, No. 130) says that the Arabic stone *iktamekt*, aetites, is known as *hajar el-wilādā* "stone of birth", and quotes Aristotle as saying that, if it is shaken, the sound of another can be heard inside; and when the female eagle is about to lay, her mate places this stone on her, and it relieves her. So also Razès; and El-Ghafeki says that eagles take it to their aeries as a talisman for their young; and that it is powdered and put in women's milk, and wool is then steeped in it, and if it is carried by a woman who cannot conceive, she will conceive by God's grace.<sup>1</sup>

To prove that *takPEŠ*, *takeri* = *ἀετίτης*, we must begin with *takPEŠ.PEŠ* ("doubled pregnant stone"). First, both these have the value *iš(s)killatu* ((1), 18, 19), hitherto unexplained, which, I think, is obviously the same as the Heb. *eškōl* "a bunch of grapes", from which a geologist would at once infer a *botryoidal* form of stone for *takPEŠ* and *takPEŠ.PEŠ*. Bostock's "globular mass of clay-ironstone" quoted above coincides with botryoidal haematite.<sup>2</sup> The reduplication of *takPEŠ* makes *takPEŠ.PEŠ* the more definitely the clustered, botryoidal form of the haematite.

Hill (ib. 164) describes the *hamatites* of Theophrastus as sometimes of a plain, striated texture, and sometimes with a surface rising very beautifully into globular inequalities,

<sup>1</sup> Note the similarity of the myth of the *detir̄ns* with the *šamma ša aladi* "birth drug" which the eagle provides for Etana's wife in the Assyrian story (Harper, *BA.* ii, 447, K. 8578, 12, 13). We can, I presume, dismiss any punning connection with *tak-e-ri-e* "the pregnant stone" and the word for "eagle", *erid*. For this word with a plant-determinative see *CT.* xiv, 26, K. 4429, ll. 3-8, dup. pl. 31, K. 4581, rev. 1-4.

<sup>2</sup> There are, of course, other botryoidal stones. Pliny, *NH.* xxxvii, 53, mentions a *botryitis*, resembling a bunch of grapes, which Bostock says may be *datholite*, or borate of lime, a variety of which is known as *botryolite*.

resembling clusters of grapes. More modern writers describe haematite as iron sesquioxide, usually earthy or in botryoidal to reniform shapes (Dana, *Manual*, 1912, 185), and brown haematite (= limonite) in mammillary to stalactitic forms (ib. 200). That this exists in North Mesopotamia is shown by Ainsworth (*Assyria*, 269), who says that to the north of Mardin is a friable, laminar rock, of a buff-yellow colour, which is remarkably redolent with botryoidal haematites. These haematites, he says, are frequently hollow, the cavities being filled with calcareous spar, and they are so abundant in some places as to form beds. We have, therefore, not only an equivalence *iškillatu* = "botryoidal form" = *takPEŠ*. *PEŠ* and *takPEŠ* ("pregnant stone") in a group of stones relating to pyrites, but we have actually botryoidal haematites, hollow and filled with calcareous spar, found near Mardin.

Next, that *takPEŠ* is hollow is shown in two medical quotations. *KAR.* 204, 15, *enuma ditto NE.ZA.ZA* *ša lib takPEŠ nári i-ba-a[n-ni?] ultu? . . . -šu] a-di i (?)-ku-ti-šu tusahhar(ar) ta-zak ta-sa-[ru-ma ibalut]* "When ditto, a frog which the middle of a *PEŠ*-stone of the river cre[ateth (?), from its . . . ?] to its (?) . . . thou shalt reduce, bray, bi[nd on, and he shall recover]". This old idea that frogs could be reproduced or bred within the cavities of stones is, I believe, exploded, but it has long been a tradition, and it is very interesting, especially for our present proof, to see that this belief did exist also in Assyria.

The second is from *AM.* 80, 1, 17, *enuma NA su-a-lam išbat-su ta-li-la ša lib takPEŠ tusahhar(ar) tazak ina šamni halsi išatti-ma ibalut* "When a cough affects a man, the 'dew (?)' from the middle of a *takPEŠ*-stone thou shalt

<sup>1</sup> *Talila*. I cannot agree with Professor Langdon (*RA.* xxix, 121) that this is merely a synonym for "frog". We might almost say that *prima facie* the evidence is against this being an animal, since the grammatical lists give us so very many names for the various animals, and this is not included among them. The Heb. *tall*, the Syr. *tallâ* "dew", may perhaps indicate that we have here the word for the crystalline secretion within the hollow

reduce, bray, let him drink in refined oil, and he shall recover."

If we accept *takPEŠ* as (botryoidal) haematite,<sup>1</sup> the use of this as a drug in Assyrian medicine is very instructive. In *AM.* 1, 2, 15, it is to be applied with several other drugs for *samanu* (some form of ulceration or scabies) in the head : in *KAR.* 195, r. 29, *enuma ŠAL* ditto (= *U.TU*)-*ma abunnat-sa patrat-sa alaka la ikalla takPEŠ tusahhar tazak ana ŠI tanadi* "When a woman has borne a child and her *abunnatu* (some part of the womb or neighbourhood) has slipped (been loosed) (and) she cannot walk, thou shalt reduce (and) bray *takPEŠ*, put (it) on the place". Ib. 30, for the same trouble, *takPEŠ* is to be mixed with five other drugs and sprinkled (with oil) and bound on the affected part after anointing.

Red haematite, properly peroxide of iron, when powdered, will produce, with oil of vitriol, *ferri persulphas*. In modern medicine *liquor ferri persulphatis* is an excellent styptic (it is used in several preparations of iron), and the sulphate is used externally as a lotion for ulceration and erysipelatous surfaces, and as an injection for urethral and vaginal inflammations and prolapse of rectum (Squire, *Companion to Brit. Pharm.*, 1908, 531 ; Booth, *Encycl. of Chem.*, 743).

stone. As was shown above, the hollow haematites of Mardin contain calcareous spar (carbonate of lime). Ebeling suggested that we had here a stone containing another stone inside, but at the same time, although he read *da-li-la*, he suggested that it should be *sa-li-la* (= embryo), Talm. Heb. *sdil* (*Archiv. f. Gesch. d. Medizin* xiii, 11).

*Ta-lil (?) larara* in my article *PRSM.*, 1926, 74, n. 4, I translated "liquid of a cricket", prescribed for putting on teeth. Dr. W. J. Rutherford has kindly drawn my attention to a passage in Sir Thomas Browne (*Works*, ed. Wilkin, iii, 359) : "To observe that insect which a countryman shewed Baricellus, found in the flowers of *Eryngium cichoreum*, which readily cure warts : *est coloris Thalassini cum maoulis rubris, et assimilatur proportione corporis cantharidi, licet parvulum sit. Acoperat ea rusticus, et singula in singulis verrucis digitis exprimit unde exibat liquor.*"

<sup>1</sup> Von Oefele, loc. cit. (repeated by Boson, 413), considered the *PEŠ*-stone to be the *λίθος σαύπιος*, "probably a kind of haematite." He calls it the *kakamabi*-stone, but this is perhaps as I have suggested on p. 886, n. 1, properly *INIM.INIM.MA.BI* "its magical equivalence", i.e. a stone for pregnancy.

We may thus sum up *takPEŠ*, *takeri* "the pregnant stone" (with its forms "*takPEŠ* of the river", "*takPEŠ* of the sea", see note below), and the redupl. form *takPEŠ.PEŠ*, as a botryoidal haematite, hollow, or containing either another stone, or "dew (?)" (calcareous spar), the haematite being confirmed by its use in Assyrian medicine, and consequently it (and not *takU.TU*) is the *ἀετιτης* of the classical authors.<sup>1</sup>

(b) *takSaggil(i)mut* "THUNDERBOLT" (TRUE OR FALSE),  
(NODULE OF IRON SULPHIDE)

Included in (1) after the botryoidal haematites (*takPEŠ*, *takPEŠ.PEŠ*), sulphate of copper, blue vitriol, botryoidal chalcanthum, and pyrites. The various spellings show it to be non-Sumerian.

First, note Esarhaddon (Layard, *Inscr.*: IR, 45-47, col. iii, 25; and my *Prisms*, 21): "Bāzu, a district of remote situation, a journey of desert, a land of salt (and) a place of thirst, 120 double hours of sandy ground, thistles and load-

<sup>1</sup> The other equivalents, *bandapil[lum ?]* (two words joined ?), *sikl[tum ?]* and *purtatum* are difficult, although perhaps the latter might suggest Heb. *peret* "the broken off" esp. of grapes (Lev. 19, 10). *Is(s, z)sillatu* can hardly be a corrupt form of *is(s)killatu*, but is perhaps to be compared with Heb. *śálal* "to collect" (Dalman, *Aram.-Heb. Wörterb.*, 405), *śélél*, in *śélél śel bésim* "ovary", and the Syr. *śelléthē da-d'má* "drops of blood", the Assyrian *s* presumably having become *s* by doubling. But this is uncertain, for although forms like *ikribu* from *kardbu* exist, it is not easy to find forms like *issillatu*. An additional value for *takPEŠ* is given in Deimel, No. 390, 10 = *la-hi tak-na-te* (= CT. xviii. 26, Rm. 339, 4 [*la-hu ta]k-na-tum*]). *Lahu* = "offspring" (embryo), and *taknáti*, f. pl. of *taknu* "care"; the group then referring to the protection given to the embryo in the womb, or the smaller stone protected by its outer covering.

As will have been noticed, we have had one instance of "*takPEŠ*-stone of the river". This is used also in Assyrian medicine, externally, similarly to the simple *takPEŠ*: *KAR.* 192, ii, 27 (dup. *AM.* 73, i, ii, 3), where it is prescribed to be placed on a swelling (*kabartu*), which is to be anointed with *SE.SUN* (?) and bound on; in *AM.* 44, I, ii, 11, it is to be "reduced" and applied to the spot in some skin trouble (or similar affection). It may even be worn (magically) as a bead on a necklace, for a swelling (*KAR.* 192, iv, 32).

There is possibly a third form, the *takPEŠ A.AB.BA*, of the sea, but the text is a little doubtful. This is also used for anointing a swelling or bruise (*dikšu*) with others. (*KAR.* 182, 18.)

stone, where snakes and scorpions like ants filled the ground ; 20 double hours of the land of Hazû, mountains of *saggilmut*-stone, behind me I left."

I cannot agree with Mr. Sidney Smith<sup>1</sup> (*Bab. Hist. Texts*, 17) that this Bâzu represents a district in Ardistan. Of the names of the eight " kings " which follow, one, *Akbaru*, is surprisingly Arabic, and it may be said that there are great probabilities of the others being Arabs also. Bâzu has long been identified with the O.T. Bûz, whose family seems to have settled in Arabia Deserta or Peträa (Smith, *Dict. of Bible*, i, 237). Hazû has great similarity with El Haşa, the eastern coastland of Nejd (less probably Huzwa in Yemama, Hommel, *Geogr.* ii, 1926, 557). It is interesting to see that Palgrave (*Central and E. Arabia*, i, 44) mentions small scorpions abounding in the sandy soil of the Jebel el-Jouf, each about a quarter of an inch in length. I think that we must see the locality of this *Saggilmut*-mountain in E. Arabia.

Next, consider the omens from lightning : " If it thunders in Tammuz, and lightning ša *kima tak*<sup>2</sup> *saggilmut ultu libbi Šamši ištanahiṭa* . . . [ina lib]bi Šamši irub, i.e. which like *saggilmut*-stone leaps forth from the midst of the sun . . . (and) enters [the midst] of the sun " (Virolleaud, *Adad*, 5, 15). Rarely, if ever, is a stone thus mentioned in omen-texts, and it remains to be seen whether a colour is indicated, or something more recondite.

Thirdly, in (1) *tarmanu* = *tak*<sup>3</sup> *saggilmut*. Now *ta-ar-ma-nu* = *be-lu*, a weapon of some kind (v, R. 41, a-b, 8 + ii, R. 31, No. 3, 8 : Bezold, *Glossar*, " arrow (?) "), coming from *ramū* " to throw ", the form being comparable to *tabaṣtanu* from *bāšu*. In the plant lists (K. 8249 + 82-5-22, 576, *CT*. xiv, 31, and 40, iii-iv)

11. "na-ni-ku = "ka-lu-u

12. "ka-lu-u ut-liš<sup>2</sup> ašagi ka-zí-ri<sup>3</sup> la iši inbu-šu kima tar-ma-ni

<sup>1</sup> Also see Landsberger, *ZA*. 1926, 7.

<sup>2</sup> I re-read this in 1922 as *du* (*DU*).   <sup>3</sup> For note 3 see next page.

i.e. "naniku = the plant "kalû, in common speech (or, product of the) thorn; it has no juice, its fruit is like tarmanu. "Nani<sup>k</sup>u also occurs K. 8846, ib., pl. 31, l. 29.

There is little doubt that the *Zizyphus spina Christi*, the *nebk* of the Arabs, fits this. The fruit, "like tarmanu," cannot be compared to an arrow or a spear, but "sling-bolt" is a different matter. In Mosul I have seen the fruit of the *Za'rur* (which I take to be very much the same as the *nebk*) offered for sale; Lane (*Dict.*, s.v.) describes the *za'rur* as a well-known fruit of two species, red and yellow, with a round hard stone, resembling the *nebk*, and now applied to the medlar. As sold in Mosul it is about the size of a shrapnel-bullet, spherical, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. in diameter, and yellowish-green in colour; what is most striking is that it is dry and has hardly any juice, being pithy or of a dryish pulp.<sup>1</sup> The plant is thorny, and hence the word *ašagu* "thorn" in the common Assyrian speech. Whether "naniku, by some curious change due to initial *n*, is the same word as *nebk* can hardly be settled. *Nannaru* (= *nanmaru* ?) is a possible parallel.

<sup>2</sup> Kaziri (☞ ; "juice" ?) from this and the following passage about opium must mean "juice". I was entirely wrong in *AH*. 43: the proper translation of the group "kanašš tamšil *u*NAM. TAR PAPL-su sibratippl SALPl ka-zir išdpl" is "kanašš (opium-poppy), like mandrake (i.e. narcotic): its small and tender (?) capsules hold the juice" (*CT*. xiv, 22, vii-viii, 43). SALPl = sinnisati "female", which I have translated "tender" (without warranty) is difficult; it will be seen to occur also in the text about caper-buds a few lines further. The opium is collected by making incisions in the half-ripe capsule (Rhind, *Veg. Kingd.*, 547; A. R. Neligan, *The Opium Question*, 14). [A similar phrase is used about a plant which may now definitely be considered the caper (*AH*. 81), *CT*. xiv, 18, rev. xv-xvi, 12 "Ahulap utliš *u*pirhi SAR PAPL-su sibratippl SAL Pl... pl (?) (re-examined) "The Ahulap-plant, in common speech Caper, the small and tender (?) buds . . ." (i.e. used for pickle; cf. *CT*. xiv, 10, obv. 1, 6, restored from Meek, *RA*. 1920, 181, S. 1701, and *CT*. xiv, 44, i, 18, "nibi" *u*NIM ina(tuk)mi*l*'i "caper-buds in saltpetre").] However much we might like to see "female" used to mark the capsule of the poppy with its seeds, it is surely impossible to apply it to the caper-bud.

<sup>1</sup> The old *Penny Cyclopædia*, 1843, xxvii, 789, describes the *Zizyphus spina Christi* as being covered with thorns, with drupe ovate-globose, the fruit being oblong, about the size of a sloe. This exactly fits the sling-bolt shape, which is usually that of an egg.

Fourthly we find *tak'saggilmut* forming the "middle heaven", the upper heaven being of *luludanitu*-stone and the lower of *aspū*-stone. (Ebeling, *Tod und Leben*, 33, I. 30 ff.)

Fifthly *tak'saggilmut*, although used as a bead to dissipate sorcery (*AM.* 7, 1, 6), and one of the minerals against anything evil (*KAR.* 213, 2, 18), has no medical value.

To sum up our evidence: *tak'saggilmut*, mentioned among haematites and pyrites, was to be found in a large tract of Eastern Arabia, probably Nejd: it is compared to the way in which lightning "leaps out" of the sun and returns to it; it is compared to a sling-bolt; it occupies the "middle heaven"; and it has no medical value.

This fits well with "thunderbolt" or meteorite in general, not omitting the erroneous popular belief in the West that certain nodules from the clay are "thunderbolts". True meteorites are undoubtedly common in the Near East; e.g. the black stone of the Kaaba at Mekka; the stone at Emesa; the Phrygian Cybele; the Diana of the Ephesians. There is also the tradition of the rain of stones in Arabia in the birth year of Muhammad,<sup>1</sup> and actually from Nejd has come a meteorite preserved in the British Museum.<sup>2</sup> Further East one of the earliest falls of stones took place in China about 644 B.C.<sup>3</sup>

Let us adhere to our theory that *tak'saggilmut* is a thunderbolt true or false, eliminating any suggestion that it is merely meteoric iron, since *AN.BAR*, the proper word for iron, was long ago presumed to have been this, owing to the *AN* "heaven" in its composition. Indeed, at first sight, the very fact that *tak'saggilmut* is compared to a sling-stone would hardly be in keeping with the *irregular-shaped* fragments of

<sup>1</sup> Quoted, Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament*, 1930, 339.

<sup>2</sup> L. Fletcher, *Int. to Study of Meteorites*, 1914, 71, quoting *Mineralog. Mag.*, vii, 179.

<sup>3</sup> See in general Fletcher, op. cit., 17; *Enc. Brit.*, xivth ed., vol. xv, s.v.; Bostock, *Pliny*, vol. i, 177. I am indebted to Dr. L. J. Spencer and Mr. W. Campbell Smith of the British Museum for much help in the matter.

meteorites,<sup>1</sup> but I think that there will be no ultimate difficulty in this. The fact that *saggilmut* occupies the middle heaven, and yet can "leap" about it, points to the real meteorite: it is the false one (far more common) which will explain the sling-stone, even if it be merely the shape, and not the motion, which is the base of the comparison.

Tradition in England regards the nodules of sulphide of iron as meteorites: "rounded nodules of sulphide of iron which weather out of the chalk on the S.E. coast of England" are "often called 'thunderbolts' and mistaken for meteorites".<sup>2</sup> These would be rightly compared to sling-bolts. From an article ("Pseudo-meteorites", *The Natural History Magazine*, iii, No. 18, 1931) by L. J. Spencer, it is obvious that a large number of minerals are miscalled meteorites, "thunderbolt," or "fireball". He says that "in the London district the most prolific pseudo-meteorites are the nodules of iron pyrites derived mainly from the Chalk. . . . They are found at many places on the south coast and on the Chalk Downs, and have long been popularly thought to be 'thunderbolts'. They are heavy (specific gravity 5), and when broken open show a radiating crystalline structure with brass-yellow colour and bright metallic lustre". The photographs which he gives of them show some to be almost spherical, about 1½ in. in diameter. One specimen of pseudo-meteorite which he describes in full is the Hang-chow "meteorite", said to have fallen in Hang-chow hundreds of years ago, and inscribed in Chinese with a poem, of which one interpretation shows that the stone ("the Black Tiger") was *lit up in the sun* after a great storm (ib., p. 47), which seems to hold a similar belief to that of the Assyrians. Mr. Spencer adds that, in ancient Chinese literature dating

<sup>1</sup> "Generally irregular" (*Enc. Brit.*, loc. cit., 341); "always irregularly shaped fragments" (ib., 11th ed., vol. xviii, 263).

<sup>2</sup> Ib., 14th ed., vol. 15, 340. We may at once eliminate belemnites, of which the same tradition has been held, as not being of slingstone-shape.

from Confucius, there are numerous records of stones falling from the sky, or of falling stars turned to stone.

With this superstition we can now turn back to Hazû, presumably Haṣa in Nejd, where the *saggilmut*-mountain was. Pilgrim (*Memoirs of the Geol. Survey of India*, xxxiv, 101) says that the limestone of Qath (Oman) is full of iron nodules; Carter (*Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, 1859, 41; 1860, 239) says that the Arab coast of the Persian Gulf is a sedimentary formation resting upon volcanic rocks associated with beds of rock-salt, gypsum, sulphur, pyrites, specular iron ore, etc.<sup>1</sup> Clearly the Assyrian soldiery associated the nodules of Hazû with thunderbolts, repeating the popular error. The double belief (a) correct, that stones fell from heaven; (b) incorrect, that nodules of iron sulphide like sling-bolts also represented these, would thus appear to be combined in *tak saggilmut*. That the "middle heaven" contained *tak saggilmut* indicates the Assyrian belief for their provenance.

The word *tak saggil(i)mut* itself is difficult to explain philologically. Having regard, however, to its association in the lists with botryoidal forms, it is at least a coincidence that the Syr. *s'gūlā*, similar in sound to the first two syllables, means "a bunch of grapes", which suggests a possible (certainly fanciful) translation "grapes of death" for the whole. Note also the Arab. *sijil*, mystic stones of clay, baked by the fire of hell, whereon were inscribed the names of people for whom they were destined (Lane, *Ar.-Eng. Lex.*, 1311). The custom of casting sling-bolts in lead with brief inscriptions on them is worth noticing in this connection.

I think we may still retain the translation "hail" for *abnu* "stone" in my *Reports*, Nos. 20 and 261 (referring to falls of *abnu*); the former is in an omen for the month Sebat, and the latter, also in Sebat, includes thunder. (Cf. Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, 1922, 144.)

<sup>1</sup> This latter passage I owe to Boson, 388, quoted under copper.



## MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

### THREE LETTERS FROM BUDDHIST KINGS TO THE CHINESE COURT IN THE FIFTH CENTURY

As early as 1880 the Rev. Joseph Edkins in his *Chinese Buddhism*,<sup>1</sup> stated that "the rapid advancement of Buddhism in China was not unnoticed in neighbouring kingdoms. The same prosperity that awoke the jealousy of the civil government in the country itself occasioned sympathy elsewhere. Many embassies came from the countries lying between India and China during the time of Sung Wen-ti, whose reign of more than thirty years closed in 453. Their chief object was to congratulate the ruling emperor on the prosperity of Buddhism in his dominions, and pave the way for frequent intercourse on the ground of identity in religion. Two letters of Pishabarma, King of Aratan, to this emperor are preserved in the history of this dynasty".

The two letters in question are to be read in the *Sung shu*,<sup>2</sup> one of the Annals, which treats of Chinese history from 420 to 478, under the section Biography 57, Book 97, entitled *Man i*,<sup>3</sup> or Barbarians. According to the text, Aratan<sup>4</sup> was a country situated in Jabo Island,<sup>5</sup> which is easily to be identified as the present island Java. Edkins, however, seems to have inferred that it was a country somewhere in India.

The text says that in the seventh year of Yuan-chia<sup>6</sup> (430) the King of Aratan sent an embassy to the court of Sung Wen-ti<sup>7</sup> with a tribute consisting of diamond rings, red peacocks, white thick cotton of Tien-chu<sup>8</sup> (India), cotton of Yueh-po country,<sup>9</sup> etc. In the tenth year (433)

<sup>1</sup> pp. 92-4.

<sup>2</sup> 宋書.

<sup>3</sup> 蟬夷傳.

<sup>4</sup> 呵羅單.

<sup>5</sup> 閻婆洲.

<sup>6</sup> 元嘉.

<sup>7</sup> 宋文帝.

<sup>8</sup> 天竺.

<sup>9</sup> 葉波國.

Pishabarma,<sup>1</sup> King of Aratan, sent another envoy to the same court with a memorial, which read as follows:—

"Your Imperial Majesty, the Emperor Ever Victorious! Our Buddha, the ever worshipful, happy and stable, with Three Divine Mysteries<sup>2</sup> and Six Supernatural Powers,<sup>3</sup> devoted his wisdom for the world. He is known as Ju-lai<sup>4</sup> (The Thus Come Buddha = Tathāgata) who attained Perfect Illumination<sup>5</sup>; and his remains were commemorated by erecting pagodas and statues in his peaceful country by the Himalaya.<sup>6</sup> [Now there is another country where] villages and towns are to be found scattered here and there, wide cities and majestic palaces are so magnificent that they are as if only to be found in Heaven. Strong armies are sufficient to pacify the murmuring enemies. The country is so prosperous that never has disaster happened. Following the unmistakable examples of former rulers in governing and cultivating the people of the country, everything is praiseworthy. As it lies on the shadow side of the snow mountain (Himālaya), the melted snow water, which is so tasteful and pure, flows into numerous rivers with full current, until it finally winds steadily to the great sea. All animate beings share their benefits. This country, superior to all others, is known as Chen-tan<sup>7</sup> (China).

"Your Majesty, the Emperor Ever Victorious, of the Great Sung House with its capital at Yang-chow,<sup>8</sup> succeeds to the throne with virtues approved by Heaven and benevolence appreciated by peoples within the Four Seas. With Your sagacious wisdom in ruling, not a single soul dares disobey. Although [you are] supported by peoples and protected by Heaven, Your deeds and virtues, being valuable for the salvation of the world, are the real merits

<sup>1</sup> 毗沙鼓摩.

<sup>4</sup> 如來.

<sup>7</sup> 震旦.

<sup>2</sup> 三達.

<sup>5</sup> 正覺.

<sup>8</sup> 揚州.

<sup>3</sup> 六通.

<sup>6</sup> 須彌山.

which made You our Honourable Lord, the Emperor Ever Victorious.

“ With the greatest sincerity and humble salutation,

“ I have the honour to be,

“ Your obedient servant,

“ Pishabarma, King of Aratan.”

Afterwards Pishabarma's son supplanted him on the throne. In the thirteenth year (436) he again communicated in a memorial, saying :—

“ Your Majesty, most fortunate Emperor! Abhoring lewdness, angry with ignorance and merciful to all animate beings, You enjoy to the full all that You want and like. You have honourably sacrificed to Heaven, Dragon, and God. Your dignity and virtue are as bright as the reflection of the moon in water and the sun just rising. Your universal illumination enlightens the ten directions as white as snow; it also resembles the moonlight in its purity and flowers in its colour. With such brilliant character and graceful manner, superior to those of Dragon and God in Heaven, You honourably revere the Jewel of the (Buddhist) religion,<sup>1</sup> with the support of numberless pure-hearted priests in Your peaceful country. Your people are prosperous, happy, and safe. The variegated garments which You wear are as beautiful as Heavenly robes. Your fortunate capital, the city of Yang-chow, superior to all nations, is adorned with so many stately houses and majestic palaces, with wide roads and flat streets, that it looks as high as the Ken-ta<sup>2</sup> mount; and it is so well guarded by sufficient soldiers that no anxiety need be entertained.

“ Moreover, Your Majesty, being merciful to all animate beings and in order to content all Your peoples, rules with

<sup>1</sup> 法寶 = Sanskrit *dharma-ratna*.

<sup>2</sup> 乾他山 (sc. *Gandhamādāna*).

simple laws and purified customs. Your soul is deep and wide. By confirming Buddhistic rites and cultivation, You worship the Three Precious Ones (Trinity). Your fame spreads far and is universally known. All peoples are pleased to see You, just as when they see the rising moon. Indeed You are like the Heaven God, our Lord of the whole world, and are reverently saluted by all human beings. I, Pishabarma, King of Aratan, have the honour, as if present before You and prostrate on the ground, most humbly to salute Your Majesty, as in worshipping the Buddha, our Venerable one, by bowing and beating my head on the ground.

"It was an immeasurable joy to me that I was called to succeed to the throne which was bequeathed to me by my illustrious ancestors. But unfortunately it has been usurped by my wicked son, and I have thus shamefully lost my country. Now, with all my heart, I recur to my allegiance to Your Majesty and pray you to save my life. I intended to appear myself at Your Imperial Court, making some personal appeal; but, owing to the impediment of the rough sea, it was made impossible for me. Now I send Pi-jen,<sup>1</sup> representing me, to salute Your Majesty. If my life should be saved, it will be due to his loyalty in carrying out my mission and to Your generosity, which I do not know how to repay with gratitude!"

"Owing to being supplanted and driven out from my own Kingdom, I feel so sinful and angry; I wish to regain it and to relieve my humiliation. I pray You to allow Pi-jen to purchase the necessary bows and arrows, robes and horses, and to give him facilities for returning back on the fixed date. Finally, I have the honour to inform Your Majesty that all the highly praised gifts which you generously bestowed on my former envoy, Jashasanpoloa,<sup>2</sup> were captured by my evil son. Now I humbly present to your Majesty a slight tribute and hope that it is acceptable."

<sup>1</sup> 毗級.

<sup>2</sup> 閻邪仙婆羅訶.

Afterwards the king sent envoys to China again and again. Finally, in the twenty-sixth year (449), Tai-tsun<sup>1</sup> (Sung Wen-ti) proclaimed an Imperial Decree, saying—

"The Kings of Aratan, Banvan,<sup>2</sup> and Bantang,<sup>3</sup> living far away beyond the great sea, come frequently to our country to appreciate our civilization and offer their tributes. Their obedience and sincerity ought to be put on record. They may all be granted investiture."

Subsequently an embassy was sent to Aratan with an Imperial Mandate: "For you, who are emulous of good, incline your loyalty towards my Court and esteem our civilization, I am pleased with grace to approve an appointment, although you are living in remote countries. In order to show honour to your title and observe the ordinance, I hereby send my good wishes. Have regard to my Injunctions and live long in your position!"

In the twenty-ninth year (452) the King of Aratan sent again his chief minister, Panwoami,<sup>4</sup> with enormous tribute, to acknowledge the Imperial appointment.

Edkins goes on to state that "the next of these curious memorials from Buddhist Kings preserved in the annals of the same Chinese emperor, is that from 'Kapili'<sup>5</sup> (Kapilavastu), the birthplace of Shakyamuni,<sup>6</sup> situated to the north-west of Benares". In the fifth year (428) of Yuan-chia the King of Kapili, Yueh-ai,<sup>7</sup> sent an embassy to the Court of Sung Wen-ti with a Memorial, saying:—

"It is said that Your country is so well situated that it is by the sea, with rivers flowing within and mountains protecting without. All marvels are plentiful. The capital, majestic and clean, looks, with its marvellous palaces and level

<sup>1</sup> 太祖

<sup>2</sup> 婆皇國

<sup>3</sup> 婆達國

<sup>4</sup> 婆和阿彌

<sup>5</sup> 迦毗黎

<sup>6</sup> 釋迦牟尼

<sup>7</sup> 月愛

streets, like the divine city. Your people are prosperous, happy, and safe. When Your Majesty is on his travels, the people within the Four Seas follow. Owing to Your profound wisdom, love, and benevolence, and desire not to injure any animate beings, all the nations under Heaven come to You and pay their respect. Your nation is as rich as the sea : all Your subjects believe in Buddhism, the Highest Rule of all. By Your humane government You cultivate Your people in Excellent Principles. You mercifully extend Your charity without hesitation to all animate beings. Again, Your Majesty, venerating the Buddhist Doctrine and following the right Rules, acts as a Buddhist boat to save the lives of those who are being drowned. For these reasons You are not only supported by Your ministers and officials, who are happy and satisfied, but also protected by Heavens and Gods. And all ghosts and devils submit and surrender. Your body is majestic and powerful, like the rising sun. Your benevolence and charity, universally shared by all human beings, resemble a great cloud. Illustrious rulers, succeeding to the throne one after the other, are as bright as the sun and the moon. Indeed, this is the most distinctive and prosperous time ever seen in China.

"The country where I live is called Kapili, with the sea on the east. My capital city is surrounded by purple stone. This may be a first indication that my country is protected by Heaven and made safe and firm. My country has been ruled by Kings one after another without a break. All the subjects believe in Buddhism. Other nations come to us and worship Buddhistic laws as well. In the monasteries we maintain the statues of the Seven Precious Ones together with other minor gods, as did our ancestors. I myself conform to Buddhism and have never broken its law and prohibitions. My name is called Yueh-ai (Moon-love), a descendant of Śākyā-muni. Now on behalf of this country I present to Your Majesty all my ministers, officials, people, mountains, rivers, treasures, and other things, subject to Your control.

I beg with the humblest sincerity to wish Yourself good health and your ministers and officials happiness.

"Owing to separation by mountains and seas, I have not been able to appear before You. However, in order to express my sincerity and respect, I now send a minister to represent me. His name is called Nitoda,<sup>1</sup> and that of his father Tienmoshida.<sup>2</sup> He is a man of good character and loyal to me ever since I knew him. So I select him as my representative. If Your Majesty needs any precious articles or other curious things, I will provide them with pleasure. From this soil the neighbouring region is Your country. As Your institutions and laws are perfect, I shall order my envoy to respect them without exception. Hereafter I hope that Your country and mine will maintain the most cordial relationship, and embassies should be sent to and fro without interval. When my envoy is coming back, I hope that You will send a representative to come with him, carrying Your Imperial Order as to what I should do; and assuredly I shall receive him with the utmost sincerity. I hope he will not go back without success. This is what I wish to say. I beg your compassionate consideration. Herewith I have the honour to present to Your Majesty diamond finger-rings, Mola<sup>3</sup> gold rings, other jewels, one red peacock, and one white peacock."

From the above three letters we learn, firstly, that Buddhism was so well developed in China at that time that she earned a far-reaching reputation among other Buddhistic nations. Secondly, it is apparent that communications between China and other, southern, nations beyond the sea were established with definite knowledge. Not only is this of interest in regard to Buddhism, but also it is of importance for the study of ethnic history. I am greatly indebted to Professor F. W. Thomas for his enthusiastic encouragement in carrying out this short translation; and his revision of some of the Buddhistic terms translated therein is of great weight to this paper.

CHUNGSHEE H. LIU.

<sup>1</sup>尼陁達.

<sup>2</sup>天魔悉達.

<sup>3</sup>摩勒.

## NOTE ON MR. LIU'S COMMUNICATION

The reference in Edkin's *Chinese Buddhism* (ed. 2, p. 92) to a king Pishabarma connects the king with the Himalayan regions; and, as the name has an aspect singularly appropriate to Khotan, I had, in drawing Mr. Liu's attention to the passage, some hope of light upon the history of Chinese Turkestan. Mr. Liu's rendering having shown that the reference is to Java, and the king Pishavarman having apparently escaped the notice of the historians of that island, a publication of what he has written will, no doubt, be welcome to scholars.

The letters have been noted by Professor Pelliot in his article "Deux Itinéraires de Chine en Inde", published in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. iv (1904, pp. 131 sqq., see pp. 271-2), where the location of Aratan (Ho-lo-tan) in Java is approved. The king Pishavarman is not there named; nor is there any reference to him in the essay of W. P. Groeneveldt ("Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca", in *Essays on Indo-China*, second series, vol. i, pp. 126 sqq.), which is frequently cited by Professor Pelliot, and to which Dr. Blagden also has drawn my attention. Groeneveldt does, however, cite an embassy of A.D. 435 from a Javanese king Śri-pa-da-do-a-la-pa-mo (Śripāda-Do-a-la-varman). The date of this mission, A.D. 435, being approximate to that (436) of Pishavarman's second letter, it must be inferred that either Pishavarman represents a different kingdom in Java or that Do-a-la-varman was the usurping son mentioned in the letter. Dr. Blagden notes the marked resemblance between Pishavarman's letters and some of the others given in Groeneveldt's article, a resemblance which in the case of a letter from Java, dated A.D. 575, approximates to identity. We can conceive various explanations of such resemblances: the original form of the letters may have been prescribed or highly conventional, or the letters may have been judiciously edited by Chinese officials or historians. The decision between such possibilities may be obvious to

Sinologists; we need only observe that letters from other parts, Kan-da-li (Groeneveldt, pp. 186-7), Po-li (pp. 204-5), have very similar tenor.

Upon the substance of the letters from Pishavarman it is not necessary to comment. The name *Pishavarman*, if equivalent to *Vṛṣavarman* (which occurs in Nepal, Lévi, *Le Nepal*, index), would imply a Prakritism, abnormal in Malaisia; while, if its first member is non-Indian, the combination would, again, be unusual. As to the name of the king's envoy, *Pi-jen*, it resembles that of the "high official, *Pi-yen-pa-mo*", sent from Kan-da-li in the year A.D. 519 (p. 186).

The letter from the king of Ka-pi-li (A.D. 428) is likewise noted by Edkins (p. 94) and Professor Pelliot (p. 272). The latter observes that the equation *Kia-p'i-li* = *Kapilavastu* is wrong, since primarily *Kia-p'i-li* is for the Chinese = the Ganges; and he refers to a note by M. Sylvain Lévi in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, i, p. 307, where the matter is discussed. In the present instance the king's name, *Yueh-ai* = *Moon-love* = *Candrakānta* or *Śaśikānta*, affords no hold. A ruler of Kapilavastu in A.D. 428 should be a feudatory of Kumāragupta I; but there is no reason why such a feudatory should send an embassy to China, or should state that his country has the sea on the east or that his land has China for a neighbour; while the king's claim to be a descendant of Śākyā-muni would be in keeping with the pedigrees attributed to rulers of states in Further India. By the time of Fa-Hian's visit to India the city of Kapila-vastu had become deserted; and Hiuan-Tsang's account is of like purport. The names of the king's ministers, *Nitoda* and *Tienmoshida*, invite identification.

## THE "IHSĀ' AL-'ULŪM"

The review by Principal A. Guillaume in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for January, 1933, of Professor Angel González Palencia's *Alfarabi Catálogo de las Ciencias* (Madrid, 1932), dealing incidentally with my texts of the *Ihsā' al-'ulūm* and *De scientiis* in the same journal, calls for attention.

As far back as 1924 I obtained a photostatic copy of the Escorial manuscript of the *Ihsā' al-'ulūm*. This I collated at the time with the Najaf text of the same which had been given by the Shaikh Muhammad Ridā in the Arabic journal *Al-'Irfa'* in the same year. It was not until 1929, however, that I began collating these two Arabic texts with the various Latin texts of *De scientiis*. At the end of 1930 I secured a copy of a third Arabic manuscript, that of the Köprülü Library at Constantinople, through the offices of my good friend Rauf Yekta Bey of the Conservatory of Music there. In July, 1931, I submitted an essay on the subject, together with the text of the Escorial manuscript, for the Thomas Hunter Weir Memorial Prize ("for original work in the field of Arabic studies") in the University of Glasgow. In September, 1931, Professor Palencia read a communication on the same subject before the XVIIIth International Congress of Orientalists at Leyden, when I showed him a copy of my prize essay mentioned above. It is to this that my esteemed friend Professor Palencia refers in his book (p. xiii), although the printers have managed to give the wrong initials of my forenames. In April, 1932, whilst I was working at the Egyptian National Library (*Dār al-kutub*) at Cairo, as President of the Commission of History and Manuscripts in the Congress of Arabian Music, I first became aware of 'Uthmān Muhammad Amīn's edition of the *Ihsā' al-'ulūm* which had been published in Cairo in the late autumn of 1931.

I mention these particulars because, as Principal Guillaume remarks, here is a work, the *Ihsā' al-'ulūm*, which

was allowed to lie "unheeded for centuries", and then quite a spate of workers, each toiling without knowing of the other's activities—viz., Professor Palencia, 'Uthmān Muḥammad Amin, and myself—produce recensions of it within a few months of each other. Indeed, there is actually a fourth in Dr. E. A. Beichert who published his *Die Wissenschaft der Musik bei Al-Fārābī* (Regensburg, 1931) about the same time, although his brochure does not deal with the Arabic texts.<sup>1</sup>

Principal Guillaume says, "Strangely enough Dr. Farmer omits all mention of 'Uthmān [Muhammad] Amin's edition." In reply I can only say that I could scarcely mention a work that was issued after I had written my essay on the subject and of the existence of which I only knew when too late to be used in my article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. I am grateful to Principal Guillaume, however, for his calling attention to an occasional *lapsus calami* as well as to the differences in the Latin text of Gerard of Cremona as given by Professor Palencia and me. Whilst several of these, in my text, are typographical errors, others are due to my faulty reading of the text, Professor Palencia's version being correct.

As to the Arabic text, Professor Palencia has certainly produced a very faithful rendering of the Escorial manuscript. Yet I cannot agree with Principal Guillaume's statement that the erudite Spanish Arabist has produced "an edition that will supersede its predecessors", or that we need not have "any misgivings about the accuracy of the text as a whole". The fact is that both the Najaf text of Muḥammad Ridā and the Cairo text of 'Uthmān Muḥammad Amin are undoubtedly better than the Escorial text.

Indeed, there are still two other documents to be collated ere we can hope to have a really definitive edition of the

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Beichert has included an excursus on the word *neuma* as an addendum to his brochure. He does not, however, refer to my treatment of the question in my *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence* (London, 1930, pp. 163-4), although he quotes from this work on other matters.

*Ihsā' al-'ulūm* as Al-Fārābī wrote it. These are:—(1) another manuscript of the work at the *Dār al-'ulūm* in Lucknow, as mentioned in the *Tad̄hikrat al-nawādir* (p. 141), and (2) the *Tabb al-nufūs* of Ibn 'Aqnīn (d. 1226), the pupil of Maimonides, the twenty-seventh chapter of which contains much of the *Ihsā' al-'ulūm* verbatim. The Arabic text (in the Hebrew script) of the latter was published by Dr. M. Güdemann in his *Das jüdische Unterrichtswesen während der spanisch-arabischen Periode* (Vienna, 1873).

Finally, may I say a word about my text. This is not intended to be a determinate one. I have been concerned primarily with the Escorial text because it is a lineal descendant, probably, of the group of manuscripts that served the Latin translators in the twelfth century. I have not attempted to edit the text although I have given textual variations from other manuscripts. In my translation, however, I have, to some extent, adopted what I consider to have been the proper reading.

Principal Guillaume disputes my reading of p. 570, line 10 (= p. 573, line 17), "and the discourse about the species, their structure, and their arrangement by which they become facilitated." He suggests that this should be read, "and the discussion of the various positions and orders in which the notes agree" (cf. Palencia). I cannot accept his reading of this passage. Al-Fārābī has finished dealing with notes (نعم) as such, and is here concerned with the various species (اصناف) of the tetrachords called genres (اجناس), the bases of the modes. The theoretical "structure" of the species was often different from the practical "arrangement" of them which "facilitated" their use in instrumental music.

As to his preference for الاقویل to الاقویل (p. 571, line 1), I may say that I have shown that the Najaf text has the former reading. On the other hand my copy of the

Constantinople manuscript, the Cairo text, and the passage in Ibn 'Aqni have الاقوالي. I have translated the word as "opinions". Palencia has "frases", Wiedemann has "Ausführungen", and Güdemann "Regeln".

Finally, a word about Professor Palencia's technical musical nomenclature. In many cases this requires amending:—

p. 48, lines 22 and 27      }  
 p. 49, line 5                  } "sonidos" (= الحان), should be  
 "melodias".

p. 49, line 4—"melodias" (= نغم), should be "neumas".

p. 50, line 3—"acordes" (= إيقاعات), should be "ritmos".

Of course, few of us are perfect, and this discussion reiterates once more the truth of the old Arabic proverb, جارك معلمك "Thy neighbour is thy teacher".

163.

HENRY GEORGE FARMER.

## A HITTITE WORD IN HEBREW

The word כובע "helmet" is a foreign word. This is shown (a) by the fact that it has no plausible Semitic etymon, and (b) by the fact that it is alternatively written קובע, as also in Arabic and Ethiopic, indicating a variant transliteration.

Macalister (*The Philistines*, p. 80) writes it down as Philistine, but with no evidence.

I suggest that the word is Hittite, being identical with *kupahi* "helmet, headgear" which appears in the Papanikri-text, ii, 10, 51; iii, 5; iv, 18. The word is composed of the elements KUB "head" = Greek \*κύβη, κεφαλή, Latin *caput*, etc. + the ancient Anatolian genitive suffix -hi (on which see Hrozný, *MDOG.*, lvi, 42).

For γ = hi we may compare Hebrew כנען = cuneiform *Kinahhi*.

161.

THEODORE GASTER.

## BUDDHO OR SUDDHO ?

There is in the Fours of the Anguttara-Nikāya, the fourth of the Pali Āgamas, a Sutta unique in form, called *Loka*. (This is more likely to have been a Magadhese nominative, than a Pali locative : "the world," not "in", or "as to the world".) Opening with a legendary reference to the footmarks of the Śākyamuni, Doṇa, a brahman, asks the former how he expects to be reborn (lit. become). The reply is to the effect that he will not be reborn as *X*, *Y*, or *Z*, because, just as a lotus gets no smear from contact with water, so he gets no smear from contact with the world, and "*therefore* am I *buddho*".<sup>1</sup> So the verses ; the preceding prose is in keeping with this, but for the last clause has a separate sentence : "consider me as *buddho*."<sup>2</sup>

I suggest it is here more likely that the word *buddho*, in older, if not original versions of the Saying, was *suddho* : pure, clean. Certainly the context calls for it, in a way it does *not* call for "awake" or "wise", much less for an honorific title. The association, too, of *suddho*, *suddhi* with not spiritual purity only, but with salvation, in both Vedic and Pali literature is well known. But the Suttas, in getting sorted together at some occasion of the kind, may conceivably have borrowed from juxtaposition, oral and aural, if not yet in written order. And the Sutta preceding this one ends with verses ascribing repute among men in a man possessed of four qualities. As such he is "buddho, in his last body, very wise, great man". A reverberation from this may have affected the present Sutta. And, in the growing Buddha-cult (of which the First and Second Councils show no trace), it is possible, that a personal ascription to himself of the term *buddho* by the Founder may have been judged to be a much more edifying way of teaching than to observe a careful con-

<sup>1</sup> *Tasmā buddho'mi brāhmaṇa !*

<sup>2</sup> *Buddho ti mām brāhmaṇa dharehiti.*

gruity with the context,<sup>1</sup> and to be also a more "up-to-date" predication. Conceivably the shifting from *suddho* to *buddho* here may not for many *bhāṇakas* have been the jolt there seems to be to us. I note that the compound *suddhabuddhi* is not unknown in Sanskrit literature, the reference in Böthlingk and Roth being to a work *Ashtav.* of which I have no knowledge. Anyway it is not here a clerical error that we are up against. It is rather the need of giving fuller verbal expression to the growing value in the supermanhood of the Founder. No one yet knows when this began to find expression in such words as *Tathāgato* and *Buddho*.

175.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

### The English Factories in India

In the 1634-6 volume of this series I reproduced, as frontispiece, an engraving, from the Schleswig edition (1658) of Mandelslo's *Morgenländische Reyse*, which I supposed to represent the English factory at Surat in 1638. In the German work the plate comes in the middle of the page and bears no title; and my identification of its subject was based upon the context and upon certain statements in the introduction as to the sources of the illustrations. I have now discovered that I was wrong in my deductions, and that the building depicted was the *Dutch* factory, as it was about 1628.

The original source of the engraving is a plate in Pieter van den Broecke's *Korte Historiael ende Journaelsche Aenteyckenninghe*, published at Amsterdam (and also at Haarlem) in 1634. This clearly represents the Dutch factory at Surat, and was presumably drawn when Van den Broecke was there

<sup>1</sup> A somewhat similar preference for edification over congruity is suggested by our own long acquiescence in the rendering: "Search the scriptures . . ." (John v, 39) for "Ye search the scriptures . . . yet ye will not come to me . . ." now adopted in the Revised Version.

in 1620-8. The plate was used again in the *Begin ende Voortgang* (1646). Mandelslo's editor, when he decided to copy it, caused a fresh drawing to be made, in which certain details were suppressed and the figures in the foreground were altered ; but the building itself is unmistakable.

I much regret this error, which has, I fear, misled others. I can only ask all concerned to accept my apologies, and beg those who possess copies of my volume to alter the title of the frontispiece accordingly.

WILLIAM FOSTER.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS

KERN INSTITUTE, LEYDEN : ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY FOR THE YEAR 1930. Published with the aid of the Government of Netherlands India and with the support of the Imperial Government of India.  $12\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. xi + 148, figs. 4, pls. 6. Leyden : E. J. Brill, Ltd., 1932.

This is the fifth volume of the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, published by Professor Vogel with the aid of the Editorial Board, Professors Kramers and Krom and Dr. Hermann Goetz, who has lately succeeded as Secretary Dr. C. L. Fábri, now a personal assistant of Sir Aurel Stein. We are now getting used to the regular appearance of these magnificent and indispensable volumes ; we are perhaps even getting somewhat spoilt by the generosity with which Professor Vogel and his colleagues are spending upon us their precious information. Still let us never forget that profound gratitude under which they have placed us by their immense and painstaking labour, which makes it possible to publish every year one of the most important contributions to Indology appearing at the present time.

A survey of the excavations at Nāgārjunikonda—based chiefly on information obtained from Mr. Longhurst—forms the first part of the Introduction. Nāgārjunikonda at one time apparently was an important centre of South Indian Buddhism, and no less than one large and several smaller *stūpas*, six temples, and four monasteries have been unearthed by Mr. Longhurst and his assistants. These are here described somewhat in detail. A relic—a tiny piece of bone—was found enclosed in a gold box which was again contained in a silver casket completely crushed by the pressure from above. The inscriptions of Nāgārjunikonda have been published in an excellent way by Professor Vogel in the *Epigr. Indica*, xx, 1 seq.

The second paper included in the introduction deals with the preservation of ancient monuments within the realm of H.E.H. the Nizām. The necessary repairs of the year were performed at the fort and other buildings at Bidar and further at Ajantā, Ellora, and Palampet. At Bidar a heap of ruins was cleared up which had formerly been known as the Zenāna Mahal ; and the reason for this was that its upper storey contained those screened windows called *jālis* so well known under the name of *jāla* from the classical poets of India.<sup>1</sup> The clearing up, however, proved it to have originally been a magnificent audience hall of the Bidar princes. Every scholar interested in India will also be charmed to learn that the frescoes at Ajantā have now been so well dealt with by the conservators that they are likely to last for another couple of centuries.

Mr. Longhurst during 1930 visited the rock-cut temple of Sitannavāsal and inspected the frescoes preserved—or nowadays at least partly spoilt—on its walls and ceilings. I am under the impression that something concerning Sitannavāsal should be found in one of the very numerous volumes of the Mackenzie Collection ; but I am quite prepared to admit that my memory may fail me on that point. Anyhow, I miss in Mr. Longhurst's article a reference to the paper by M. Jouveau-Dubreuil in the *IA.*, lii, 45 seq. Speaking of the scene depicted in pl. v, the author describes it as “ a Lotus Pond, covered with pink lotus flowers and green leaves with fish and waterfowl swimming and feeding in the water, while elephants, cattle, and three men are shown bathing in the pond. The men appear to be meant for Jains, two are shown with dark skins and one is as fair as a European ”. Why the men should be Jains utterly baffles me ; and besides it would be rather improbable, not to say impossible, to imagine Jain ascetics bathing in cold water.

The remaining papers deal with Further India and Indonesia

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. *Meghadūta*, vv. 34, 68, 89.

and contain many notices of uncommon interest. The discovery by M. Sylvain Lévi of the Buddhist text illustrated on the basement of Barabudur is well remembered by readers of the *Annual Bibliography* for the year 1929. Now Dr. F. D. K. Bosch has succeeded in identifying the scenes represented on the walls of the third and fourth galleries, they being fetched from the *Bhadracharī*, the concluding part of the *Gandavyūha*. In this way all the endless scenes depicted on the walls of this most marvellous monument will finally be identified with episodes on record in various Buddhist texts.

The bibliography contains 929 numbers and could not well be more complete and admirable.

We cherish the well-founded hope that during next year we shall have in our hands another volume of the imposing series published by Professor Vogel and his colleagues. Holland, that has always been a true republic of humanists, has given also to the comparatively young science of Indology a series of very weighty contributions, and some leading Sanskritists, such as Kern and the late lamented Professor Caland, have been Dutchmen. These traditions are splendidly upheld by Professor Vogel and his colleagues, who have reason to expect a deep feeling of gratitude and every possible help from their fellow-scholars.

666.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

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THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS IN MUSLIM RELIGIOUS  
ART. By Sir THOMAS W. ARNOLD.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ , pp. xii  
+ 48, ills. 19. London: Oxford University Press,  
1932. 6s.

When Sir Thomas Arnold died in June, 1930, he had not completed the revision of his Schweich Lectures, given to the British Academy in 1928, nor had he chosen the illustrations. This task was entrusted to Professor H. A. R. Gibb, and there is no reason to think that Sir Thomas would have

found fault with his editor's choice. These lectures form a supplement to Arnold's previous writings on a subject peculiarly his own. His thesis is that religious art in Islam derived from Christian painters' treatment of similar themes. Orthodox Islam being entirely hostile to the painters' art, they could get no guidance in painting the sacred stories which Islam took over from Judaism, except from Christian art. Arnold's view is that the Christian art taken for models was not Byzantine art but the art of the Jacobite and Nestorian Churches ; and he brings forward striking evidence to show how high was the proportion of Christians to the population in the Muhammadan East. There follows a detailed examination of the subjects painted by Muslim artists in illustration of Old and New Testament stories, often with amusing deviations from the version given in the Bible. All this, the result of years of searching by Arnold in the libraries of Europe, is of great value to students. It is a pity, by the way, that the list of illustrations gives no references to the MSS. from which they are taken : for these one has to search the text. Arnold points out that Muhammad took little interest in the Old Testament history after the time of Moses, except for the story of Solomon. He also notes that "the Muslim artists never worked out a distinctive type in their representation of Jesus". The concluding pages of the book, which is full of interesting facts and suggestions, deal with the imitations of Christian paintings and engravings by artists of the Mughal school in India.

The little work renews our sense of the loss which befell the world of scholarship when Arnold died.

PERSIAN POETRY IN INDIA. By SYED HASHIMI. The Poetry Review, July-August, 1932.  $9 \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. 284-302 (18). London : Poetry Society, 1932. 1s. 3d.

In this paper, originally read before the Open Centre of the Poetry Society in Hyderabad (Deccan), the author gives a sketch of the achievements of some of the leading Persian poets of Indian origin up to the eighteenth century. Actually he goes a little beyond his limit, including, for instance, a notice of Sayyid 'Ali Judā'i—better known as a painter than as a poet—who was a Persian by birth.

The article is too brief for much detail to be attempted, but it is well worth reading as a skilful summary, by a scholar who knows his subject thoroughly, of an interesting side of Persian literary history. Persian poetry in India covers a vast field, and though the Indian writers evolved a language which Persians find difficulty in understanding, the catalogue includes some names which cannot be omitted from any representative list of writers of Persian poetry; Amīr Khusrau, Hasan of Delhi, Faizī, and Bedil, at any rate, have reputations which are certainly not confined to India; and in view of the tendency of some European scholars to overlook their claims, it is gratifying to find them authoritatively vindicated in an English journal of distinction.

665.

J. V. S. WILKINSON.

EARLY INDIAN ARCHITECTURE. By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY. Eastern Art, Volume III, 1931. III.—Palaces,  $12 \times 9$ , pp. 180-217 (42), figs. 84. Philadelphia : College Art Association, 1931.

It would be difficult to commend too highly this study, which is an archaeological contribution of the first importance. It takes the form of a survey and compendium of the relevant passages in Sanskrit and Pali literature on the structure

and functions of the *prāsāda*, considered here as the palace of the king or the dwelling-place of the rich man. The literary references are tested by comparison with the existing monuments of antiquity, and also with the later architecture in which old forms are found surviving. Dr. Coomaraswamy notices, for instance, that the *jharokhā*-portrait of the Mughal period traces back to very ancient times, the window being used and designed for the great man to show himself to the people.

Like the rest of the series of which it forms the third part, this essay is written in the most concise manner possible, with numerous references. It constitutes a valuable source-book for students of a subject which has never received comprehensive treatment.

The Indian palace, in its typical form, was—and still is—a group of buildings enclosed by an outer rectangular wall, within which was a series of courts, containing stables, gardens, parade grounds, temples, a judgment hall, and other edifices. The palace itself was a storeyed building of considerable complexity. All its chief elements are here briefly analysed, the longest account being that of the arched window, the most interesting palace feature, perhaps also, as Dr. Coomaraswamy suggests, the most characteristic, though its simple character changed in later times, blossoming into surprising efflorescences. The *sikhara*, about which so many theories have been propounded, may, he thinks, have grown out of a decorative reduplication of roof units, retaining niches from which sculptured faces generally look out.

The article is illustrated by several beautiful collotype plates and many figures.

COMMENTARY OF SKANDASVĀMIN AND MAHEŚVARA ON THE  
NIRUKTA CHAPTERS II-VI. Critically edited . . . by  
LAKSHMAN SARUP.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. xviii + 508. Lahore  
(University of the Panjab), 1931; London: Arthur  
Probsthain. 10s.

In 1920 and 1921, Professor Lakshman Sarup published, under the title *The Nighantu and the Nirukta . . .* edited . . . and translated . . . with Introduction . . . Three Indexes and . . . Eight Appendices, the first two parts of the undertaking defined by this title, namely the Introduction and the English Translation. In 1927, he completed the undertaking by publishing under the same title the text itself. Some of the promised indices and appendices were printed with the translation and the text. The remainder formed a separate volume of *Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta*, published in 1929. But already in 1920 he had announced that a friend of his from Lahore had recently informed him that he had obtained a complete manuscript of a commentary by Skandasvāmin. The announcement was of great interest, because Devarājayaśvan, the commentator on the *Nighantu*, constantly cites a Skandasvāmin whom he names as the author of a *Nirukta-fikā*, and the inference was that a manuscript of this work was for the first time<sup>1</sup> available. It was inevitable that Professor Lakshman Sarup should follow up this discovery at an early opportunity. But when next he referred to it (by implication), in 1927, he seemed to have come to the conclusion that the ascription to Skandasvāmin was a mistake: for he said in the preface to the text of the *Nirukta*, published in that year, that "No MS. of Skanda's commentary on the *Nirukta* has yet come to light" (p. 25), and he speaks of having collated "three manuscripts of the commentary of

<sup>1</sup> Professor Lakshman Sarup stated in 1920 (*Introduction to the Nirukta*, p. 49 and footnote 4) that Aufrecht notices a MS. of the work in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. I can find no such notice in Aufrecht. The only MS. registered by him is one listed in Keilhorn's *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. existing in the Central Provinces* (Nagpur, 1874, p. 8).

Maheśvara" (p. 32) for a forthcoming edition. The edition referred is that of which the second part (chapters ii-vi) is now published, the first part having been published in 1928, and reviewed in the issue of this JOURNAL for July, 1929 (pp. 621-2). This commentary, based on the three MSS. described in 1927 as manuscripts of the commentary of Maheśvara (one of which is that discovered and announced in 1920 as being Skanda's commentary) is now published as "the commentary of Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara". What this exactly means was explained by Professor Lakshman Sarup in the introduction to the first part of the commentary, where he says (after giving reasons): "This commentary is therefore not the work of Skanda. The only other hypothesis possible is that Maheśvara is the author. . . . But there is a serious difficulty. All the extant MSS. attribute some portions of the commentary to Skanda. . . . In my opinion the difficulty is solved if we presume that Maheśvara's commentary is a *fīkā* on the *bhāṣya* of Skanda . . ." He then gives a parallel passage from this commentary and from a citation of Skanda in Devarājayaṭyan, which indicates that this *fīkā* draws materials from Devaraja's Skandasvāmin. In the preface to the present publication he traverses a statement made by the late Hannes Sköld in his *Untersuchungen zur Genesis der altindischen etymologischen Litteratur* (1928), that he had been informed that the 1920 report of a discovery of Skandasvāmin's commentary was false. Professor Lakshman Sarup takes this as a reflection on the truth of the announcement that a MS. of a work ascribed to Skanda had been discovered. But it seems plain that Sköld intended merely to express disbelief in the accuracy of the ascription of the work to Skandasvāmin; a disbelief which Professor Lakshman Sarup has himself expressed in unambiguous terms. Whatever may be its relation to Skanda, the new commentary, the publication of the first half of which has reached completion in the present volume, is a valuable addition to the literature of the subject.

HISTOIRE ET HISTORIENS DE L'ALGERIE. Collection du Centenaire de l'Algérie. IV : Archéologie et Histoire. With an Introduction by STÉPHANE GSSELL. By J. ALAZARD, etc.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 426. Paris : Félix Alcan, 1931. Frs. 60.

Recueil de seize monographies, préfacé par le regretté Stéphane Gsell, frappé au moment où il comptait aborder, avec le neuvième volume de sa grande Histoire, l'œuvre de l'Empire romain en Afrique du Nord. C'est le secrétaire de la *Revue Historique*, André Julien, qui a dirigé la publication de ce recueil, et en a confié les chapitres aux plus réputés spécialistes.

Le cadre géographique (E. F. Gautier), les âges paléo- et néolithiques (Reygasse), l'ethnographie physique berbère (E. Leblanc), la période antique (Albertini), la période chrétienne (Zeiller), l'islamisation (W. Marçais, pour la critique des sources, A. Bel, pour un résumé d'ensemble), l'art musulman (G. Marçais), la période espagnole (F. Braudel), la conquête française (G. Yver), les problèmes du droit musulman (Morand), la littérature algérienne (Martino), les arts en Algérie française (Alazard), l'Université d'Alger (Tailliart), les sources historiques algériennes (Esquer), y sont successivement exposés.

566.

L. MASSIGNON.

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MAKERS OF CHEMISTRY. By E. J. HOLMYARD.  $7 \times 5$ , pp. xvi + 314, ills. 28. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1931. 2s. 6d.

Si le récit d'une seule découverte, plein de sinuosités inattendues, est déjà passionnant à lire — récit où l'intelligence, comme un détective, poursuit la réalité sous tous ses déguisements — que ne peut-on espérer attendre d'une histoire générale des découvertes humaines, au point de vue de la psychologie ? C'est pourquoi l'histoire des sciences, discipline

neuve, acquiert en ce moment une importance croissante, attestée, entre autres indices, par la fondation d'Instituts d'Histoire des Sciences aux Universités de Berlin (1929) et Paris (1932), par les sessions annuelles du Comité international d'histoire des sciences, par les revues *Isis* et *Archeion* et par la collection *Makers of Science* due à l'impulsion de Ch. Singer, où le présent ouvrage a paru.

De la manière la plus intéressante et la plus claire, E. J. H. est arrivé à condenser en trois cents pages un exposé des étapes caractéristiques de la formation de la chimie, tant en théorie qu'en nomenclature et en expérimentation.

La période qui nous intéresse ici va de Zosime de Panopolis à Paracelse — depuis les sources grecques des alchimistes arabes jusqu'à leurs traducteurs latins (à propos de la p. 97 sur R. Bacon j'observe que Bouyges a montré qu'il n'y avait pas de preuve de traductions directes de l'arabe chez R. Bacon). E. J. H., qui s'est spécialisé dans l'étude des œuvres de Jâbir bin Hayyân, remarque justement que Jâbir et Râzi sont les deux grands noms de cette période musulmane. Tous deux, en effet, ont précisé les méthodes d'investigation et la classification des substances étudiées. C'est parce que l'orientation de leur mentalité était déjà toute moderne. Certes, ils ont encore le goût des grandes synthèses théoriques, mais ils n'y trouvent plus la plénitude de satisfaction qu'y avaient trouvée les Grecs ; l'esprit sémitique de spéulation sur les nombres, si longtemps appliqué à des chimères eschatologiques, s'attaque chez eux à l'expérimentation de laboratoire, où l'étude des singularités numériques les plus bizarres permet de serrer la réalité de plus près. Dans ce manuel élémentaire E. J. H. n'a pas cru devoir faire état des dernières recherches de Ruska et Kraus qui semblent bien abaisser la date de Jâbir du milieu du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle à la fin du IX<sup>e</sup> (de fait j'ai constaté des connexions étroites de vocabulaire entre le "Corpus Geberianum" et les Qarmates du Yémen des environs de 280/892). Mais l'essentiel est d'avoir montré qu'il faut situer le tournant décisif de l'alchimie vers la chimie, non pas à la

Renaissance, mais aux débuts de l'Islam ; à Kûfa où, croyons-nous, l'apport manichéen vint féconder les recherches des premiers alchimistes arabes.

742.

L. MASSIGNON.

## DER GESETZMÄSSIGE LEBENSLAUF DER VÖLKER INDIENS.

Von HARTMUT PIPER. Being section ii, pt. ii, of his *Die Gesetze der Weltgeschichte*.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. xvi + 232. Leipzig : Theodor Weicher, 1931. RM. 6.

This is another product of what a German reviewer has aptly called the author's "Vergleichskrankheit". India is this time the victim of his Procrustean theory of history—or as he calls it a "völkerbiologische Geschichtsauffassung". His aim is to fix all history into his preconceived scheme of biological laws and his method may be judged from some of the labels he bestows so freely. Ajātaśatru is the Indian Augustus, Dandin the Indian Cervantes, Tagore the Indian Goethe—this from a German in the Goethe centenary year—Yaśodharman the Indian Wallenstein, Queen Diddā of Kashmīr is Agrippina, Ānanda of Kashmīr Marcus Aurelius, and so on. The author has other bees in his bonnet, but this is not an apiarists' journal. Mr. Ford, of Detroit, we believe, once remarked that "history is bunk". We recommend this book to all who share Mr. Ford's view of history.

424.

J. ALLAN.

THE LIFE OF HUSAIN (THE SAVIOUR). By MOULVI MIRZA GHULAM ABBAS ALI SAHIB.  $7 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. iii + 360. Madras : Standard Press, 1930. 5s.

This book is a full, if uncritical, account of the career of Husain with an outline of the events of the early years of Islām which led up to the battle—if it can be given the name—of Kerbelā and the death of Husain. It is the work of a pious

devotee rather than of a historian. Interesting as a presentation of an ultra-Shi'a point of view, the book disarms serious criticism. We are content to put in a good word for the memory of the Caliph Yazid, who really did not desire Husain's death and treated the survivors of his family well. The writer concludes with a tribute to the prosperity the Husainis have enjoyed under British rule in India.

171.

J. ALLAN.

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INSCRIPTIONS FROM ADAB. CUNEIFORM SERIES, Vol. II.  
(University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications,  
Vol. XIV.) By D. D. LUCKENBILL.  $11\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. x +  
87. Chicago : University of Chicago, 1930. 22s. 6d.

This posthumous publication contains material from the University of Chicago's excavations at Adab, the modern Bismayyah in the Muntafik area, carried out many years ago, but never properly published. Professor Luckenbill must have spent many years preparing these copies ; they are beautifully executed. The texts themselves are not among the most interesting ; many of the royal inscriptions were previously known, and the Sumerian accounts are of a dull type. The volume is important as a contribution to epigraphy ; the scribes of Adab employed some curious forms occasionally, and some of the stone inscriptions are poorly cut, but a scientific account of cuneiform epigraphy—will such ever be written ?—will gain by careful attention to these peculiarities. Adab belongs to the north-east of the Sumerian city-group, and we are only now learning of the eastern extension of the archaic Sumerian civilization with which we may suppose it was in continual communication. It is impossible to leave the volume without again feeling the loss of Professor Luckenbill, both as a scholar and as a man.

496.

SIDNEY SMITH.

STUDIES IN INDIAN ANTIQUITIES. By HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. xvi + 225. Calcutta : University of Calcutta, 1932.

PRĀKRITA-PRAKĀŚA OF VARARUCHI, with Bhāmaha's commentary Manoramā. Edited, with translation, introduction, glossary, etc., by P. L. VAIDYA.  $7 \times 5$ , pp. xiv + 156. Poona : The Oriental Book Agency, 1931. Rs. 3.

The study which Dr. Raychaudhuri has already devoted to ancient Indian history is well known. In the present book he discusses some of the geographical problems which still face the historians, as well as Vedic, epic, and specially historical questions. Although he has brought together a great deal of evidence, we shall hope to see some of the questions discussed more fully some day. He has shown that Indian historical scholarship is proceeding on sound lines of its own and achieving independent results.

Dr. Vaidya's edition of the *Prākṛta-prakāśa* is based on Cowell's edition, and he has produced a very useful book, especially for Indian students. It would have perhaps been better to have modified Cowell still more. Cowell's view of the origin of Prākrit is preserved, but other views are discussed in Dr. Vaidya's own Preface, and he does not appear to have come upon the present view of the historians of grammar.

675, 789.

E. J. THOMAS.

HISTORY OF ORISSA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE BRITISH PERIOD. By R. D. BANERJI. Two vols. Vol. I, pp. xii + 351, ills. 46; Vol. II, pp. xx + 481, ills. 95. Calcutta : R. Chatterjee, 1931. Rs. 20 each volume.

The late B. Rakhal Das Banerji, while a member of the Archaeological Survey of India, discovered the importance of

Mohenjo Daro, and throughout his life was an industrious archaeologist and copious writer. In these two large volumes he sets out to trace the history of Orissa from the earliest times to the British period. Illness hampered his work on the first, and the second was printed after his death.

Of raw material the book contains a full supply, but the general impression it conveys is that of a series of notebooks rather than digested history. Thus, while it is a useful compendium for a student of any particular period as it gives references to most of the published material, including several Indian periodicals not well known in Europe, it will be found difficult to handle by anyone more interested in the general history of India. The chapters on the Kara and Bhanja dynasties are particularly diffuse, and the latter could have been lightened by showing the essential details recorded in the copper-plate inscriptions in tabular form instead of in the text. Accounts of the Muslim period are also confused and badly proportioned.

There is little fresh light on the problems of Indian chronology and culture. At p. 106 there is a suggestion that the phallic emblems found in Celebes and at Mohenjo Daro prove a link between early inhabitants of Indonesia and the chalcolithic people of the Indus valley. In the first volume the author tries to prove that the era of the early Gangas began in the first or second decade of the eighth century, but a note at the beginning of the second volume shows that this is far too late.

The chapter on architecture and plastic art is interesting. But the numerous plates with which the book is enriched are scattered through the pages, and the text does not give references to them. Most of these plates are excellent, though a few, and in particular two of coins, are poor. There is a good map, but it has been reduced so much that names are difficult to read.

The later portion of the book contains some controversial

matter in which the writer suggests that Maratha rule was beneficial, at all events as compared with Muslim dominion, but hardly makes out his case.

567.

R. BURN.

THE QUATRAINS OF HĀLĪ. Original Urdu with a literal English translation by G. E. WARD, and a rendering into English verse by C. S. TUTE.  $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. vii + 103. London : Oxford University Press, 1932. Paper, Rs. 2 ; cloth, Rs. 3.

This paper-bound booklet contains the Urdu original of 101 quatrains of the poet Hālī (1837-1914) with a prose translation first published in 1904 and a recent rendering into verse, which seems to be based much more on Mr. Ward's prose version than on the Urdu original. A typical instance is the verse rendering of Quatrain 76, where the words "may be perfect" are not in the Urdu, but are taken from an explanation enclosed in brackets in the prose version.

The preface states that Mr. Ward's translation has been revised by eminent scholars of the Nizam's State. Unfortunately I have not got Mr. Ward's book available for comparison, but in several instances, e.g. "You can't have both together, word craft and deed craft" (Q. 22), and "All men are dallying with time, one thing which never fails to keep its time is Death" (Q. 96), I feel sure that Mr. Ward's rendering was different and much closer to the original Urdu.

The verse rendering seems to me a very poor one from every point of view. The author has so bad an ear that he makes "flaw" rhyme with "core" and "ignore" (Q. 50), and "alarm" rhyme with "Islam" (Q. 99), while he violates English grammar to make "Thou laboureth" rhyme with "breath" (Q. 67). His English quatrains have no value or interest in themselves as poetry. The extent to which

they differ from the Urdu original may be judged by a comparison of the 2nd and the 97th quatrains.

The first of these runs literally : "The Hindu discovered Thy glory in the idol, the Magians over the fire chanted Thy music, the materialist interpreted Thee from the universe, no one has found it possible to deny Thee." The verse rendering of this is as follows :—

The Hindu in his idols doth glorify Thy Name,  
The Parsi hears Thy Music sing in the Sacred Flame  
Yea, e'en the unbeliever *must* grant some Primal Cause ;  
Lo ! God, Jehovah, Buddha are Allah—and the same.

The 97th Quatrain is very simple in the original : "I am not such as I appear to be, nor am I such as I think myself to be. Even from myself I try to hide my failings, yet in spite of all this I alone know what I really am." The verse rendering seems to me clumsy, unpoetical, and very far removed from the original. It runs :—

The "I" of men's appraisal is ne'er the essential "I",  
The "I" of mine own dreaming I ne'er exemplify,  
Cover I up my failings, even from mine own gaze—  
None but "I" unto myself can I personify.

Mr. Tute's preface shows that he has a very meagre equipment of Oriental scholarship. The poet appears as "Maulvi Khawaja Hussain" (i.e. Maulavi Khwāja Ḥusain), and we find such inconsistencies as "Mohammedan" and "Mohammad", and "Shaifta" and "Shefta" (p. 59). Hali's prose and poetry in both Persian and Arabic are said to have been admired by all the most competent judges, an exaggerated statement for which there is no authority whatsoever.

It may seem unkind to condemn without reservation any book which may bring English readers into some kind of contact with one of the minor works of an Urdu poet of the second rank (Hali's *Musaddas* is the only work of his which

could be put in the first class), but I cannot see that any real service either to English or Urdu literature is rendered by a production of this kind.

779.

R. P. DEWRURST.

DIE RELIGION DES ALTEN TESTAMENTS. *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch*, 2; Erweiterte Auflage, 17. Von ALFRED BERTHOLET.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ , pp. vi + 144. Tübingen : J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1932. 2nd Edition. Mks. 5.60.

This volume is included in a series, edited by Professor Bertholet himself, under the general title *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch*. As the author remarks in his preface, this will differ from other volumes in the series inasmuch as it deals with a literature which is within easy reach of every reader and is familiar to many. To the student of the Bible it offers an interesting experiment. Normally, a history of the religion of Israel or a treatise on the theology of the Old Testament consists of the writer's own statement of the subject, supported by references to the text. Here Professor Bertholet has said little or nothing himself and has simply printed selected passages from the Bible, illustrating the subject. The translation is his own and is often illuminating ; textual alterations are seldom made unless they have already been adopted in Kautzsch's standard modern translation.

The result is that we have here the materials for a history of the Religion of Israel, rather than the history itself. It is obvious that the book would be most useful if it were read in connection with a full treatise on the subject, especially if the book were written by Professor Bertholet himself. It is true that we have already had some idea of his views on the subject, e.g. in small monographs like his *Das Dynamistische im Alten Testament* and in his standard *Kulturgeschichte Israels*. But, even lacking a definitive *History of the Religion of Israel* from his pen, we can reconstruct its main lines from the book before us. The passages

selected are arranged under headings which give us a clue to the form which the subject assumes in the author's mind. He takes first certain indications of primitive beliefs, and, passing through the "etiological sagas", gives some space to the pre-Mosaic religion of Israel. In this, and in the two following sections ("Moses" and "The Idea of the Covenant"), there is inevitably ground for difference of opinion, for there is practically no agreement as to the extent to which these stages in Israel's life can be accurately reconstructed. It is to be noted that he does not venture to commit himself to the view that the whole of the Decalogue, as a written document, is Mosaic. His next division is that of the pre-prophetic religion of Israel, and here, again, he includes occasionally passages which others would consider to be influenced by the canonical prophets. The longest sections, quite properly, are those devoted to the religion of the prophets, and the book concludes with some twenty pages of selections from the Law, the Psalms, and the Wisdom literature. It is in this last section that the reader feels that the book is most seriously lacking. No doubt Professor Bertholet might offer a valid defence on the ground that his scheme covers only the Old Testament itself, but that would lay the scheme itself open to criticism, since the Biblical sources are hardly adequate (unless they can be more fully employed than they have been here) to give a picture of that most important period, the post-exilic age.

Within the sections it is a little difficult always to follow Professor Bertholet's system of arrangement. The passages are sometimes arranged chronologically, but not always—unless we are to assume that J and E are to be placed later than the pre-exilic prophets. A certain logical order is sometimes traceable, and may have been in the author's mind where it is not obvious to the reader. At the head of one or two sections (e.g. the first) there are short summaries of the subjects treated, and the book would have gained much if this plan had been still further extended. A few lines of

small print would greatly have helped the reader to get the material into order in his mind, and to trace more clearly the line of thought which underlies the whole.

As it is, the book is valuable chiefly when used as a volume of reference read in conjunction with some other work which would give an extended treatment of the subject. And even so, it would be necessary to allow for the views of the writer himself; a reader of Oesterley's first section of the *Hebrew Religion* issued jointly by himself and the present reviewer, would not always find the passages he wanted, and would note others which did not appear to illustrate the points which needed illustration. The book is, nevertheless, an interesting experiment, and writers of larger works may find it of value for purposes of reference.

744.

T. H. ROBINSON.

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THE AGRICULTURAL LIFE OF THE JEWS IN BABYLONIA  
BETWEEN THE YEARS 200 C.E. AND 500 C.E. By Rabbi  
J. NEWMAN.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ , pp. xii + 216, map 1. London :  
Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1932. 8s.

As Dr. Newman explains in his preface, he uses the term "agricultural life" in a wide sense, and includes many aspects of the life of the Jews in Babylonia which do not come strictly under the head of agriculture. He gives his readers, in fact, a fairly comprehensive picture of the conditions under which the community lived in southern Mesopotamia, including the very important matters of taxation and civil law. The interest of the subject lies in the fact that, probably, there was no other part of the ancient world—at any rate after the failure of Bar Cochba—where the Jew enjoyed so much freedom to live his own life without interference from the Gentile. Persian law was, of course, enforced but, until the rise of the Sassanide dynasty, there was no official persecution, and even after that point there were long periods during which the Jews remained unmolested.

Dr. Newman's study of the subject is based entirely on the evidence offered by the Talmud, and every point he makes is supported by direct reference to that source. Occasionally, perhaps, he assumes a knowledge of post-Biblical Jewish literature which only a small proportion of his readers can claim but, for the most part, his views and statements are intelligible even to the lay mind. We get a picture of a quiet and industrious folk, often forming a majority of the population in the districts where they lived, and carrying on their concerns with as little reference as possible to their heathen neighbours. In detail, we find discussed such matters as the ownership and tenure of land, the status of the actual workers, the crops grown and the methods by which they were produced, the animals and birds reared by the Jews in Babylonia, the important operations of milling, baking, and butchering, taxation, and civil law. In all these matters attention is carefully drawn to the peculiar conditions of the community in Mesopotamia, while little or no mention is made of aspects of life in which Jewish communities were alike all the world over. The great Academies, for instance, are mentioned, but there is hardly a reference to the worship of the Jews, which must have been central in their life, there as elsewhere. It should be added that the book contains an interesting illustrative map.

The present book is an expansion of a thesis submitted to the University of London, and it has the advantages and disadvantages of its original purpose. That is to say, it is neither a disquisition on the subject nor a popular account, but rather a careful accumulation of the materials on which either might be based. Few men can do their best work with an examiner in the background, and we may reasonably hope that in years to come Dr. Newman may give us a more critical account of a subject in which he seems to be a pioneer. Even if he himself does not do so, he has at least pointed the way, and has collected a good deal of valuable matter.

## CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC, AND GARSHUNI.

Edited with a Critical Apparatus. By A. MINGANA.  
Woodbrooke Studies, Vol. V. Commentary of Theodore  
of Mopsuestia on the Nicene Creed.  $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. viii +  
240, pl. 1. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, Limited,  
1932. 21s. net.

In the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts, which, through the generosity of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Cadbury, has now found a definite home in the newly erected Selly Oak Colleges' Library, Birmingham, Dr. Mingana has discovered in Syriac two works by Theodore of Mopsuestia (c. A.D. 350-428). They are works which have not survived in the original Greek, and were supposed to have been entirely lost. Fortunately, however, they were translated into Syriac, and it is these Syriac versions which have come to light.

The first of these works has been published in transcription with a translation, etc., as the fifth volume of the "Woodbrooke Studies". Dr. Mingana on this occasion has not used a facsimile as his text, because the manuscript is in many places wormed and has been damaged by damp. The superscription runs: "By the power of our Lord Jesus Christ we begin to write the exposition of the faith of the three hundred and eighteen (Fathers), composed by Mar Theodore, the interpreter." The work thus claims to be an exposition of the Nicene Creed. The postscript, as translated by Dr. Mingana, reads: "Here ends the transcription of the ten chapters on the exposition of the creed, written by the righteous and lover of Christ, Mar Theodore, bishop and interpreter of the Divine Books." The word translated "chapter" is **لِسْكَن**, which, as Dr. Mingana says, more often means "discourse" or "homily". He has used the word "chapter" throughout in order to maintain more clearly the book character which, he thinks, was given to the work deliberately by the author or by his disciples. "Homily," however, in our opinion, better describes the nature of the work. In any case, "the revered one" (instead

of "the righteous") would surely be a better rendering of *Ἄγαρος*.

The work, which is in the form of addresses to catechumens, is identified by Dr. Mingana with the work called "The Book on Faith" in the Catalogue of 'Abdisho', and described as "The Interpretation of the faith of the three hundred and eighteen" in the *Chronicle of Seert*. In a letter of Pope Pelagius and in the Acts of the Fifth Council it is referred to in practically the same way, the word Fathers (Patrum), or Holy Fathers (sanctorum Patrum) being added. When Nicephorus Theotokes speaks of *ἐρμηνεία εἰς τὸ Νικαιά σύμβολον*, "An Explanation of the Nicene Creed," he seems to have the same work in mind. More frequently, however, a corresponding work is referred to as "Liber ad baptizandos". This is a title found eight times in the Acts of the Fifth Council. The "Liber ad baptizatos" of Facundus represents a slight variation. It has to be noted, however, that the "Liber ad baptizandos" embraces practically two works, which together incorporate all the Christian doctrine which catechumens were required to learn before baptism. The first is concerned with the exposition of the Nicene Creed, the second with an explanation of the Lord's Prayer, of the sacrament of Baptism, of the Eucharist, and of the Greek Liturgy used in the time of Theodore. The text published as Volume V of the "Woodbrooke Studies" is that of the first work. The text of the second work is to follow soon.

Before proceeding to give a translation of the work as a whole, Dr. Mingana gathers up the quotations found in the Acts of the Fifth Council, in the synodical letter of Pope Pelagius, in the works of Facundus, and in those of Marius Mercator.

A work of this kind is by no means easy to translate; but Dr. Mingana, having spent a lifetime in editing and translating difficult texts, is not likely to go far wrong. His translation on the whole is not too free. If one feels that

occasionally it might perhaps with advantage be a little more literal, this is largely a matter of taste. Dr. Mingana is fond of translating **لَوْلَى الْمُسْلِمِينَ** by "religion", which does not always seem to us the most suitable translation. On p. 22 he translates three words "the question of religion". No doubt "religion" is best here. But why "the question of religion"? Surely the whole expression **الْمُسْلِمِينَ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ لَوْلَى** **لَوْلَى** (Syriac, p. 123) means simply "Religion". On p. 25 we read: "a perfect doctrine which separates from paganism those who become initiated (**مُؤْمِنُونَ**) to religion." Should not this rather be "a perfect doctrine which separates from paganism those who have been instructed in (or converted to) the (true) worship of God" (Syriac, p. 126)? Dr. Mingana shows also a fondness for the words "initiate" and "initiation", which are perhaps liable to convey a wrong idea. We read on p. 104 of "the initiation of baptism" in the sense of pre-baptismal "teaching" to catechumens about baptism. In a footnote Dr. Mingana remarks on the word *talmīdūtha*: Evidently the author refers sometimes by this word to the "catechumenate" or the state of the "Catechumens" who were taught the principles of the Christian faith before their baptism. I have rendered it a few times by "initiation", "teaching", "discipleship" (cf. p. 111, n. 2). Would it not be better to avoid the word initiation, and to translate the words **لَوْلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ** **لَوْلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ** (Syriac, p. 224) "teaching about baptism"? The rendering of a passage in p. 26 raises doubt. Where we read, "some of them perish, and some others will continue their existence, and they are of different natures," should it not be, "some disappear, and others are added, because they are of many natures" (Syriac, p. 127)? Another passage in p. 67 reads curiously: "and then received baptism, from which he gave the New Testament as in a symbol." Should this not read, "by which he gave a new covenant as in a symbol" (**لَوْلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ** **لَوْلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ** **لَوْلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ**, Syriac, p. 179)?

There are misprints or possible misprints which should be corrected in a new edition, e.g. :—

- p. 60, n. 3 : *for "verd" read "verb".*
- p. 100 : *for "reverend" read "revered" ?*
- p. 104 : *for "Catachumens" read "Catechumens".*
- p. 117 : *for ~~Naoval~~ read ~~Naoval~~.*
- p. 119 : *for ~~an~~ read ~~an~~.*
- p. 127 : *for ~~also~~ read ~~also~~ ?*

703.

MAURICE A. CANNEY.

AN ECHO OF THE UNKNOWN OR GUIDE TO LADAKH. By PANDIT AMAN NATH.  $7 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. xi + 119. Mangalore : Basel Mission Press, 1931.

The author tells us that this little book is intended chiefly for the use of European visitors and travellers to Ladakh, and, as such, it will be found a useful little guide, as it gives particulars of the various routes that may be followed, with the rest houses on the routes, and arrangements for transport, and extracts from the Game Regulations, and other information of use for sportsmen.

He also gives an interesting description of the various races of those parts, especially the Mons and the Dhars, and of their religion and customs. The information is largely derived from the works of Dr. A. H. Franke, Drew's "Jammu and Kashmir", and others, which the author fully acknowledges. The information is here brought together in a concise form, and contains many interesting facts. The Dards "do not wash their body from birth to death. They consider that God has made water only for drinking, and if it should be used for any other purpose His wrath would come upon them and the supply of water would be reduced". The Couvade of the husband for thirty days is followed by the Dards, and by all the Buddhist communities. The author

also gives interesting information about the death and funeral ceremonies, and other matters of the particular form of Buddhism which is followed in those parts.

533.

E. H. C. WALSH.

**THE KEYS OF POWER. A Study of Indian Ritual and Belief.**

By T. ABBOTT. 9 x 6, pp. xii + 560. London : Methuen and Co., 1932. 21s.

This interesting volume dealing with primitive belief and custom in the Bombay Presidency, compiled by a member of the Indian Civil Service, who shows his devotion to the subject-matter of his work by seeking information more from original sources than from published works on Indian folklore, is introduced to the public as follows :—

" This original work," we are told, " demonstrates how the control of certain ' -isms ' has for long moulded the interpretation of Indian belief and ritual by Western writers. In every chapter there is some new co-ordination daringly iconoclastic of accepted theory, whilst the new wealth of customs carefully recorded is astonishing. Long-disputed problems such as that of the Marātha *devak* or that of the ceremonial sowing of seedlings known to Western readers as the ' garden of Adonis ' have at last been settled."

The writer of this panegyric appears to have been more anxious to proclaim the merits of the work than to examine the basis of the claims advanced for its acceptance. Briefly, the chief difference between the present work and a vast mass of similar material already at the finger-ends of students of Indian folklore lies in the substitution of the term *sakti* or " power " for the more usual expression of " spirit ". In the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* will be found Campbell's remarkable notes on the " spirit basis of belief and custom ". By substituting *sakti* for " spirit ", *barkat* for " good spirit ", and *harkat* for " bad spirit ", the writer gives us at great length much

that is already familiar ground. The question involved, to be fair, is not an easy one to decide. It partakes much of the nature of psychology. Do, indeed, the *Katkaris*, a Bombay tribe which has been intensively studied by Mr. Abbott, when they suffer from some misfortune, attribute the cause, in their minds, to a power inherent in some familiar object, or, as Campbell would say, to a spirit, probably an ancestral spirit?

A careful study of Mr. Abbott's materials leaves a strong impression that the novelty claimed for his conclusions is by no means so obvious as the publishers announcement leads one to suppose. We are asked to conceive power without assuming that it must, in the mind of the *Katkari*, as of other primitive tribes, be understood as the form of energy of some kind of spirit. We fail to find in this work any adequate reason for rejecting the more probable assumption, though the task of fathoming the mental processes of the untutored Indian is confessedly beset with difficulties. Where Mr. Abbott refers to the spirit theories of belief and custom, as in the footnote 3 to p. 479, he dismisses them with a mere negative, which is not wholly convincing. The writer deals in a similar off-hand fashion with the late W. Crooke (p. 267, note).

The author of this work is curiously contemptuous of many of his predecessors in this line of research, but to the author of *Bombay Folklore* he is good enough to devote a whole chapter in his attempt to prove to the reader that the nature of the Marātha *devak* has hitherto been wholly misunderstood, and that enlightenment is now available.

In Chapter XXIV Mr. Abbott deals with the subject of totemism and the Marātha *devak*. The chapter is a reprint of an article published in the *Review of Philosophy and Religion*. It is followed by an appendix giving a valuable list of *devaks* identified by the writer in the course of personal investigations. Characteristically Mr. Abbott omits all reference to previously published lists of *devaks*. Further, he adds a

number of *devaks* which he describes as not identifiable, apparently overlooking the fact that some of them have already been identified. The lists are, however, a most useful contribution to the study of this difficult subject, though it may perhaps be suggested that they would be much more readily accessible to students if arranged in alphabetical order. Cross-references would also have been of great value in the case of the *devaks* which are known by several vernacular names.

To sum up, Mr. Abbott's novel study of the meaning of the well-known practice of *devak* worship, to which attention was first drawn by Sir James Campbell in his volume on Kolhapur in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, it seems that *devaks* cannot be totems because in many cases they now lack several of the attributes of the true totem. The *devak* does not always regulate marriage, it is not invariably worshipped at weddings, and frequently it is not regarded as an ancestral spirit. Mr. Abbott tells us that "it is easy to find families of Mores who have as their *devak* the *mor* or peacock; to find Sālunkes with the *Salunki* bird as their *devak*, Selars with the *Seli* or black she-goat, and Kalambes with the *Kalamb* tree". This should surely give him cause for thought. But no—it seems that sometimes the Selars have a *devak* which is *not* the *Seli*. "No principle, in fine," says the writer, "of totemism rules the adoption or the abandonment of a *devak*." So, we are told, the problem of the *devak* is nothing more than the Hindu practice of invoking *sakti* into symbols, the practice of *āvāhana*. Here Mr. Abbott discloses the underlying weakness of his whole laboriously erected construction tending to bring to one novel and concise explanation the vast volume of primitive practice with which he deals. We are to look to orthodox Hinduism for the origin of the beliefs and practices of *Katkari*s and other primitive tribes. It does not appear to have occurred to Mr. Abbott that so far from helping us to explain the *Katkari*s practices, Hinduism is the main factor which obscures this origin and tends to mislead all but the

most cautious investigators. An archaeologist in modern Rome, who happened to find a sash window in a building which displayed below its basement the foundations of a Roman villa, would be chary of assuming that sash windows were common in the days of the Flavian emperors. Mr. Abbott, to put our criticism briefly, has devoted much time and trouble to explaining practices which are clearly pre-Hindu in origin by the forms and practices of Brahmanistic teaching which have altered and frequently superseded them. The invocation of the *sakti* of a deity into a symbol, which (p. 453) is Mr. Abbott's explanation of the meaning of a *devak*, does not appear at all convincing. Let us look farther afield and not ignore such people as the Oraons, the Hos, the Mundas of Bengal, or the Kurumbas of Madras. In these and in a very great number of similar cases drawn from all over India we may hope to find such evidence as remains after the lapse of centuries of the original nature of the *devak* system which has been discovered in the Bombay Presidency. It is obviously misleading to attempt to explain a *devak* by modern practice and belief entirely. It is clearly a system of which only fragments remain for identification ; and these fragments may best be identified by seeking parallels among the most primitive tribes in all parts of India, instead of applying to the Hinduism of the Aryan invader for a key to a door which it could not possibly unlock.

If space were available, it would be interesting to follow Mr. Abbott's theories of the reason for marrying bachelors to trees before they marry a widow, and for similar marriages in the case of those who die unwedded. His assertion, made apparently with some reluctance, that "the mock marriage of a dead person is the only form of mock marriage in which the fear of ghostly persecution is at all admitted and even in this there is no question of persecution by the ghost of the deceased partner" is strangely at variance with most of the recorded evidence. It is argued that these mock marriages are the result of a fear of the power of numbers.

We must be excused for hesitating to accept such an explanation when a far more plausible reason for the practice has been advanced by writers of considerable eminence.

We could wish that Mr. Abbott, who gives us so much that is new in the way of Hindu and Muhammadan charms (pp. 136-148, 306-7, and Appendix A), could have elaborated his reference to the *Svastika* and other Sun signs on p. 373. We have here a possible link with the culture of Sumer and Akkad.

We must confess to being somewhat puzzled by the translation (p. 385) of the Kanarese word *yelu* as eleven, and the meaning attached (p. 208) to *hotteyolage*. *Yelu* does not mean eleven. The pages contain so much vernacular that the book will, it is feared, prove somewhat trying to folk-lore scholars who have no close knowledge of the Indian vernaculars; and the short glossary at the commencement is likely to offer but scant assistance to them. Mr. Abbott, in a short preface, states that few references will be found to customs collected by other writers and this "because I cannot but think that the circular questionnaire which has so often been the means of gathering information (i.e. Crooke's) has led to many errors! This seems a somewhat startling paraphrase of the suggestion that only Mr. Abbott's investigations are reliable, and is in somewhat doubtful taste.

We may, however, admit that the work is one which deserves very careful study. If its conclusions in nearly all instances signally fail to carry conviction, the new materials collected by the writer and embodied in these pages are worthy of a more cordial welcome than that which he is disposed to accord to the works of his many predecessors in similar lines of research.

INDIAN CASTE CUSTOMS. By L. S. S. O'MALLEY.  $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. ix + 190. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1932. 6s. net.

The completion of the systematic survey of Tribes and Castes set on foot by Risley in 1901, based on a definite scheme or questionnaire, for which he, Ibbetson, and Nesfield were responsible, has been marked by the appearance of a number of works dealing with caste on less definite lines, and attempting to convey to the public a general impression of caste customs and organization as they strike the authors of these less technical contributions to the subject.

The present work is the latest of such volumes. In it Mr. O'Malley who, as a member of the Indian Civil Service, has had first-hand access to his sources of information, aims at describing the working of the caste system in the hope of adding to the ordinary man's knowledge of this peculiar form of social organization, and of enabling him to form a sound judgment both of its merits and defects. Mr. O'Malley has done his work well, and has furnished the general reader with a handy little introduction to some of the infinite complexities of caste problems, which should serve to prepare him for the study of the more detailed and lengthier records of the ethnographical survey of India. For those at all familiar with the subject, this book contains little that is new. It would have been useful to have included a bibliography of important works on Tribes and Castes to facilitate a more profound study of the questions involved. Within the limits set for himself the writer has been able only to offer a rapid summary of many interesting features of caste practice. On p. 83 it is interesting to note that a penance for adultery of a strikingly original type, which has already been brought to notice in Bombay, has its parallel in the Punjab, among the Chamars. A reference on p. 91 to the recent Sarda Act corroborates the conclusion of a former census commissioner for India regarding the apparent disproportion between married Hindu women and Hindu

men, which recently led a writer to suggest to *The Times* that polyandry was on the increase in India. It is clear that illegal infant marriages of girls are now veiled by describing the brides as unmarried, thus satisfying the requirements of both recent law and ancient custom. Some remarks on untouchability and its future prospects under a system of *swaraj*, p. 159, will be read with general interest, as also a thoughtful chapter on Modern Tendencies, with which the writer brings his short treatise to a close. It would be well if reformers who contemplate an India with caste barriers and restrictions in decay would pause occasionally to consider the history of past reformations directed against caste, such, for instance, as Lingāyatism. Even Christianity, in Portuguese India, has not freed itself wholly from caste distinctions; and the possibility of a non-caste Hinduism for the continent of India may well give rise to profound apprehensions, for, to quote Mr. O'Malley, "for the majority of Hindus, caste is the sphere within which morality operates . . . It does its best work as a guardian of morality."

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R. E. ENTHOVEN.

### **India, Indo-China, Indonesia, etc.**

*By C. O. Blagden*

1. COMPAGNIESBESCHEIDEN EN AANVERWANTE ARCHIVALIA IN BRITSCH-INDIË EN OP CEYLON. Door Mr. J. VAN KAN.  $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. vi + 253. Batavia : G. Kolff & Co., 1931.

This catalogue of official records, etc., of the Dutch East India Company represents the results of an inquiry commissioned in 1929-30 by the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies and conducted by the author. The scope of the investigation is explained and discussed in the Introduction, which *inter alia* brings out the fact that only a small proportion of the archives left behind by the Dutch in India

and Ceylon has been preserved. Nevertheless, the catalogue is a fairly large one. It covers documents kept in the Imperial Record Office and the Bengal Secretariat Record Room, Calcutta, the Bombay Government Records, the Madras Record Office, the Cochin Darbar archives at Ernakulam, some smaller collections at Madras, Calcutta, Cochin, Patna and Tuticorin, Goa and Pondichéry, Government and Church archives at Colombo, the latter also at Galle and Matara, and a few documents in the Colombo Museum Library.

Many of the papers listed are of considerable historical interest or importance ; and the catalogue entries, though mostly very concise, give a clear indication of their main purport. Indexes of persons, places, and subject matter facilitate reference for purposes of research ; and altogether the book is a well arranged production.

491.

2. **DE BUDDHISTISCHE KUNST VAN VOOR-INDIE.** Door Dr. J. PH. VOGEL.  $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 96, pls. 43. Amsterdam : H. J. Paris, 1932. F. 1.95.

This little volume is No. 13 of a series of monographs issued under the general title of " De Weg der Menschheid ", of which about half are concerned with matters of Oriental interest, e.g. Palestine, Egypt, Chinese philosophy, the Javanese temple of Barabudur, Japanese religion, and Christian and Muslim mysticism. No one is better qualified than Professor Vogel to write a manual of Buddhist art in India for Dutch readers, and he has performed his task in an exemplary manner. After a brief introductory chapter, mainly on the life of Buddha, he proceeds in the succeeding chapters to deal with the early Buddhist monuments from the time of Aśoka to 50 B.C., the Hellenistically influenced art of Gandhāra, the sculptures of Mathurā under the Kushāns, the art of Amarāvatī and its neighbourhood, the golden age of the Gupta dynasty, the Buddhist cave temples (50 B.C.

to A.D. 700), and the period of decadence and renaissance (A.D. 600-1200). Then follow a short bibliography and a list of the plates.

These are well selected and beautifully executed. In a work of such small size it was obviously impossible to do more than choose typical specimens, and that is what the author has done. In his text he gives us not merely an historical and descriptive account of the development of Buddhist art in India, but also maintains a critical attitude which helps the reader to understand the changes of style and treatment illustrated by the plates. His judgment is fairly balanced; he is not a partisan, either of the school which sees nothing good in Indian art other than that of Gandhāra, or of the one which fails to realize that without the Gandhāra phase Indian art could not have developed as it did. He gives each successive period its due, and even the most bigoted anti-Gandhārian should be satisfied with his high appreciation of the more characteristically Indian work of the later ones, especially the golden age of the Guptas, as he styles it. In short, Professor Vogel's work is a model of what such a small handbook should be; and not its least merit is that it is perfectly intelligible to a non-expert reader.

618.

3. INDOCHINE. *Ouvrage publié sous la direction de M. SYLVAIN LÉVI.* 2 vols., 11 x 9, pp. 232, pls. 14 (including 2 coloured), pp. 215, pls. 13 (including 2 coloured). Paris: Société d'Éditions Géographiques, Maritimes et Coloniales, 1931.

This work, which is published as one of a series issued under the auspices of the Commissariat Général of the International Colonial Exhibition held in Paris in 1931, challenges comparison with the somewhat larger and more sumptuously illustrated production on the same subject reviewed in our JOURNAL in the July part of that year.

The first volume, the more interesting of the two from the point of view of Oriental studies, is provided with a preface by the general editor, M. Sylvain Lévi, and includes chapters on the country and its people (Charles Robequain), the population, under the aspects of race, language, and culture (J. Przyluski), ancient history (Louis Finot), modern history (André Masson), religions (Paul Mus), literatures (Maurice G. Dufresne, George Coedès, and Paul Mus), and art and archæology (Victor Goloubew), each chapter concluding with a bibliography.

It is needless to say that this strong team has produced a volume that is not only interesting but authoritative. All the above-mentioned chapters give within a necessarily limited space a clear and up-to-date account of the matters with which they deal. The bibliographies are a useful feature, but do not in all cases profess to be exhaustive; in fact, the one appended to M. Przyluski's article contains only three entries. But these include a reference to vol. i of the larger work indicated above. I notice that this author prefers to class Annamese and Cham with the Austroasiatic languages, although the former is a tone language (in which particular, as well as in a good part of its vocabulary, it shows connection with Tai) and the latter is to a great extent Austronesian in composition. But he would apparently like to make the Tai group Austroasiatic also, while suspending judgment on that point. In the chapters on religion and art and archæology, the new view which dates Angkor Thom, with the Bayon, about half a century later than Angkor Wat is definitely accepted as established.

The second volume consists of official statements on the administrative and political organization of the country, the army and navy, judicial and financial systems, posts, telegraphs and telephones, trade and chambers of commerce, agriculture, cattle rearing and forestry, hunting and fishing, mines, education, medical services, labour laws, geographical and topographical surveys, the École Française d'Extrême-

Orient, its publications and other activities, and the libraries, archives, learned societies, journals, and periodicals of the country generally, concluding with seven pages of population statistics. This volume constitutes, therefore, a useful work of reference on many different subjects.

I have noticed few misprints. On p. 52 of vol. i, *pâr* should be *p-âr* (i.e. *paâr*, the word being of two syllables). Near the bottom of p. 38 in the same volume a line is repeated and something is consequently missing. The first two lines of p. 26 of vol. ii should have appeared at the top of p. 25. The illustrations, though not numerous, are very good. A map and an index would have been useful additions; but the two tables of contents are somewhat more detailed than the mere lists of chapter headings which usually serve as such.

495.

4. INSCRIPTIONS DU CAMBODGE. Publiées sous les auspices de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Par LOUIS FINOT. Tome V.  $13 \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. v, pls. 42. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1931.

Previous parts of this work have been noticed in our JOURNAL. This fifth part follows the lines of its predecessors, the plates being clear and the scale not unduly small. The only letterpress consists of the titles and the list of plates, the whole being contained in a portfolio, so that each piece can be taken out separately.

584.

5. ACTES DU XVIII<sup>e</sup> CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DES ORIENTALISTES—LEIDEN 7-12 SEPTEMBRE, 1931. By The Executive Committee.  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. vi + 275. Leiden : E. J. Brill, 1932.

This volume evokes pleasant memories of the excellent organization, kindly hospitality, and interesting papers and discussions which characterized the Oriental Congress of

1931. Its transactions, after a short preface which mentions amongst other things that it was attended by 574 out of its 651 enrolled members, give the usual details as to the constitution of the committees and sections, followed by a list of delegates, and then proceeds to an account of the general sessions, excursions, and entertainments, and a list of the publications presented to the Congress. The most important parts of this portion of the record are the speeches of the President, Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje, and the resolutions forwarded by the sections and confirmed by the Advisory Committee and the Congress in its final session.

The greater part of the volume is, however, taken up by the proceedings of the several sections, viz. of Assyriology, Egyptology, Western and Central Asia, the Far East and Indonesia, India, the Semitic languages and peoples, the Old Testament and Judaism, Islam, and finally an independent section devoted to Papyrology. Over 150 of the communications offered in these sections are represented by abstracts or extracts; some of these are very brief, but in a good many cases there is an indication of where the full text may be found in print. Some account of the Congress, and especially of the proceedings of the Islam section, has appeared in the January, 1932, part of our JOURNAL. This was the strongest section from the point of view of the number of contributions, and after it came India, but most of the others did not lag very far behind. In fact, there is a great deal of interesting matter in the records of nearly all of them, though this is hardly the place for a detailed survey. One can only recommend a reference to the book itself, for the items are too numerous to be adequately discussed or even mentioned.

In this connexion I cannot suppress a personal grumble, because in the Far East and Indonesia section only two papers were contributed by Dutch scholars on the latter subject. In view of the fact that the Dutch are, naturally, the leading authorities on their great Eastern possessions, this seems to be a case of undue modesty. A great opportunity

was missed of telling the world of Orientalists something more about this interesting part of the world than is generally known ; and there is certainly plenty to be said about it.

The volume concludes with a list of the authors of the several communications, the statutes of the Congress as drawn up in 1897, a list of previous Orientalist Congresses, a list of members of the 1931 Congress, a Table of Contents, and a few Addenda and Corrigenda.

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BRAHMAN. Eine sprachwissenschaftlich-exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung I, II. By Professor JARL CHARPENTIER.  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. iv + 138. Uppsala : Universitets Arsskrift, 1932. Kr. 4.50.

We have long been familiar with the ingenious effort of Professor Hertel to reinterpret the *Rgveda* and Vedic religion in the light of the doctrine that Brahman originally denoted the cosmic fire which streams into the world through the rifts in its covering under the appearance of the sun, moon, and other constellations, though that sense appears in a refined form only in the *Rgveda*.<sup>1</sup> Professor Hertel relies on the equation of Brahman with the Greek φλέυμα, and his interesting exposition of Vedic and Avestan religion compels him frequently to the conviction that those who are rash enough to oppose his views are sadly lacking in knowledge of philology, of Sanskrit, and of Avestan. Polemics of this kind may perhaps best be passed over *sub silentio*, but Professor Charpentier has thought it worth while dealing in detail with his opponent's efforts to find words denoting or connected with light in such terms as the Vedic *yakṣá*, the Avestan *čīθra*, Vedic *dhénā*, Avestan *daēnā*, Vedic *rásu*, Avestan *vohu*. This destructive work (pp. 29-58) is well done, though it is by no means necessary or advisable to commit oneself to acceptance of the exact interpretations of these terms adopted

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, ii. 447-9, 621-3.

by Professor Charpentier. More interesting, however, is his rival explanation of Brahman as equivalent to the Avestan Barəsman, so that the original sense was "Grasbüschel" or something of that sort. It is, of course, perfectly possible that a term which originally denoted an article of importance in the ritual should pass over to the sense of spell, but the thesis is very far from being proved by its advocate, nor on the whole is it probable. None of the passages in the *Rgveda*, not even iii, 8, 2, in which that meaning of grass bundle is suggested, can naturally be so interpreted, and the interesting suggestion (p. 76, n. 5) that *brahmacārin* is to be interpreted as a reference to the girdle of the religious student is wholly implausible. It is far more likely that *brahmacārin* means simply "he who performs holiness". So again in *RV.* x, 61, 7 *svādhyo janayan brahma devāḥ*, there is no "Zauberwesen" (p. 134), but merely a spell. The etymology of Dr. Haug, of course, is possible, but not in the least cogent; in fact, none of those proposed is more than a hypothesis. Brahman in the *Rgveda* confronts us as an established term doubtless with a long history, which we are scarcely likely to determine to general satisfaction. But there is much that is interesting in the monograph, though it is perhaps unfortunate that Professor Charpentier is yielding to the temptation of following Professor Hertel in the path of assuming that any view is *ipso facto* condemned because he does not share it.

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A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

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THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE COMMUNITY. By Professor WEN KWEI LIAO.  $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. xv + 314. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1933. 15s. net.

In this book the Professor of Philosophy in the University of Nanking gives an interesting sketch of certain ethical and political issues in the form of an historical analysis of the motivating factors of social conduct. The governing contention of the author is that "an individual, who has been

essentially a product of the community, can become a guide of it, if in his reaction upon it he by chance advance original elements to form new steps in the course of cultural development and social evolution". The element of chance is essential, for the factors of progress can be subsumed under chance, that is, the accidental meeting of unrelated factors. Chance in its natural form is contingency, in its personal form self-determination, and in its social form opportunity. Chance is not to be predicted but expected; it is instant, but not constant. In the light of this conviction the author reviews the analyses of motives which are presented by certain characteristic philosophers of the west, ancient and modern, including Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Marx, Comte, and the Utilitarians, stressing their attitude on the relation of legalism to moralism. Of greater interest and novelty to western readers will be his examination of the views of Chinese philosophers, the traditional, intrinsic and extrinsic moralisms of Confucius, Mencius, and Hsün Tzu, Lao Tzu's doctrine of inactionism through natural tranquillity, Yang Tzu's hedonism, Mo Tzu's altruism according to the will of heaven, and the legalism under Imperial despotism of Kung-sun Yang. This is perhaps the best part of the book, but the account of the late Mr. Sun Yat-sen's doctrines is also decidedly interesting.

There are many points of detail which might evoke criticism, but the work is not controversial, it is essentially a matter of exposition; it is marked by a sound common-sense which seems innately in harmony with the spirit of Chinese philosophy. It is characteristic that in its account of Buddhism modern theories receive neither consideration nor recognition. Taken as a whole, the author's work is a substantial contribution to our understanding of Chinese thought.

A HISTORY OF THE GEORGIAN PEOPLE FROM THE BEGINNING DOWN TO THE RUSSIAN CONQUEST IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By W. E. D. ALLEN. Introduction by Sir DENISON ROSS.  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. xxiv + 429, pls. 31, ills. 41, maps 5. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1932. 31s. 6d.

The time devoted, from a busy life, to the writing of this work, the long journeys and the money spent in the production of a handsome, well-printed, and profusely illustrated volume deserve recognition. There is no part of the world which promises a richer harvest for study than Transcaucasia ; its history, from the dawn of civilization, its languages, arts, religions, folklore, music, etc., are all of conspicuous interest and almost unknown in England, though in the Bodleian Library there are thousands of books, awaiting students, of material probably more abundant there, in this branch, than any to be found elsewhere in Europe. Sir Denison Ross rightly says, in his introduction, that "Georgian studies in general have been almost entirely neglected in Europe" ; but when he adds that Mr. Allen has done for Georgia what Lynch did for Armenia and Baddeley for the history of Mongolia he goes too far.

There are five sections in the book : I, "The Background" (geography, ethnography, prehistory, etc.) ; II and III, a historical summary, based chiefly on Brosset ; IV, "The People and the Power" (social, judicial, ecclesiastical, etc.) ; V, "The Life of Georgia" (art, literature, etc.). The illustrations are good, and special praise is due to Mr. Allen for his reproduction of over thirty drawings from the Castelli MS., in the Communal Library at Palermo, of which a complete facsimile, properly annotated, should be published as soon as may be.

The first thing to be said of the book is that it gives us too little on the best parts of the history compared with the space allotted to the less glorious periods and to details of administration. "Æsthetic irresponsibility" (pp. 72-3)

hardly summarizes the character of the Georgian people ; as we see in Rusthaveli, the typical Georgian shares the British feeling that life is after all a game, to be enjoyed and well played according to the rules, whether we win or lose, but no more than a game, to make us fit. The part of the faith and the church in social and political life was greater than Mr. Allen admits ; it is true that for a long time the Georgians have not been generally pietist, but even nowadays not a few of them would dislike Mr. Allen's attitude towards a religion which, however imperfectly lived, has at least been, as in Armenia, a guiding ethical principle and an emblem of national unity. As to the Georgian language, the author (on p. 23) rightly draws attention to its comparatively static character, unlike, for instance, English. But the Church of Rome, whose history has had many vicissitudes, has not greatly changed its language from the beginning, and the Georgians not only had nearly two thousand years ago a speech so elaborate that it was already capable of expressing with precise fidelity the sense of Hebrew, Greek, and other Biblical and liturgical texts, but they had nearly a thousand years ago a school of translators one of whom says that, in his rendering of Proclus, he adopted the meticulous method (like modern Germans) of aiming at an analytic, syllabic, etymological exactitude ; this at a time five hundred years earlier than any vernacular European versions of Greek philosophers. The language has been enriched continually down to the present day by contact with other tongues, not only in vocabulary but in grammar (e.g. cf. Visramiani, etc., for Persian). The unsympathetic references to diplomacy and religion (pp. 218 and 266) might have been omitted. Due stress is laid on the value to neighbouring lands of the trade in Georgian slaves ; the ability of the race is shown in the part its sons have played in the public life not only of Persia and Turkey but still more visibly recently in Russia, where to-day we find a Georgian ruling as dictator from the Baltic to the Pacific.

There are some details which call for notice. The bibliographical notes are useful, particularly for Georgian and Russian periodicals ; a pedant might carp at some of the transliterations, and indeed the author has met such criticism more than half-way in his preface; but no serious student will find difficulty in identifying the items. On p. 318 an unwary reader may be led into the error of supposing that Visramiani is not in prose but in verse, like the Persian Wis, o, Rámín. The following misprints and small blemishes may be mentioned : 57 "throat" for gorge, 74 "truthful" for just, 107 "reclamation" for claim, 157 "havering" for wavering, 157 "crock" and "spot the winner", 168 "contrast(s)", 185 "Okzakov", 200 "morcelate", 203 and *passim* "Cherkezeti" for Circassia, 320 "Grug" for Gruz and "Guaramishvili" for Guramishvili, 391 "della" for detta, 393 "Waher" for Woher, 386 "Russkaya" and "Byzantines", 387 "Tserkvyyu".

The writer of the present notice cordially welcomes the book as the first of its kind in English on a subject of great importance and hopes it will be widely read and rapidly followed by works from the same hand and others.

760.

O. WARDROP.

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MATERIALS FOR THE KABARDEY DICTIONARY. Fasc. 1.

Dictionary of monosyllabic root-words and roots of the open-syllable type. By N. JAKOVLEV. 9 x 6, pp. 4 + xcvi + 134, pls. 2. Moscow: Central Publishers for the Peoples of the U.S.S.R., 1927. Roubles 5.

This volume (No. 6 of the publications of the Committee for the study of languages and ethnical Culture of the Oriental Peoples in the U.S.S.R.), of which 1,500 copies were printed, is "dedicated to the Adyge peoples"; it is well worth attention. In 1923, M. Jakovlev issued at Moscow five large lithographed sheets of *Lauttabellen* in Russian and German; this time he has a complete translation in English of the

Russian text. There is already some material on the subject of the Circassian languages; e.g. Louis Loewe's dictionary was published in London in 1854, Adolf Bergé edited *Sagen und Lieder* collected by S. B. Nogmov (Leipzig, 1866), and texts by P. Tambiev and others are to be found in the *Sborn. Materialov dl. opis . . . Kavkaza* and the *Sborn. Sved. o Kavk. gortzakh*. The "Upper Tcherkes or Kabardey" language presents many features of great interest to students, and its difficulties are such as to stimulate an ambitious philologist. The English of this book is clearly intelligible, and does credit to the translators, Mr. N. Strukov and Miss N. Kazansky. Only about 400 words are given in this first instalment, and it is to be hoped that it has been, or will be, followed by other material, for the mountain languages of the Caucasus are not likely to survive much longer in colloquial form.

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O. WARDROP.

STILMITTEL BEI AFRAHAT DEM PERSISCHEN WEISEN. By LEO HAEFELI. (*Leipziger Semitistische Studien, Neue Folge, Bd. IV.*)  $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. viii + 196. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1932.

Aphrahat, commonly known as "Aphraates" by Europeans, and as the "Persian Sage" by Syrian and Arabian writers in the first half of the fourth century of our era, was famous as the author of twenty-two Epistles which because of the character of their contents were called by Professor William Wright, of Cambridge, "Homilies on Christian Life and Character." The first ten Homilies were written in 337 and the following twelve in 344, and a separate Homily on "The Character" was added in 345. The Syriac originals of all these were published by Wright in 1869. Aphrahat was undoubtedly a Persian pagan, who embraced the Jacobite form of Christianity during the terrible persecution of the Christians by Sapor II (309-379). He managed to escape martyrdom, and having been baptised he was,

probably after very considerable opposition on the part of his fellow Christians, appointed bishop and archimandrite of the famous old monastery of Mâr Mattai, near Mawṣil (Mōṣul) or Nineveh. He took the name of Ya'kôbh, or Jacob, and Gennadius of Marseilles confounded him with Jacob of Edessa, who died in 438, and this mistake was repeated by other writers; it was corrected by Wright in his *Aphraates*, pp. 440 and 507. The whole of the twenty-three Homilies of *Aphraates* have been translated by G. Bert, *Aprahats des persischen Weisen Homilien*, Leipzig, 1888, and among those scholars who have dealt with the life and writings of the great sage may be mentioned Bickell, Forget, Sasse, Nestle, and Parisot.

Though a Persian, Aphrahaṭ wrote in Syriac, and his Homilies show that he was well versed in the Scriptures (Pēthiṭtā Version), and was well acquainted with apocryphal and historical works written in Hebrew. His style is bold, concise, and direct. He naturally writes as an ascetic, and supports his statements by many quotations from and references to the Old and New Testaments. His Homilies were highly prized in the Jacobite Church, as the numerous manuscripts of them enumerated by Baumstark (p. 31, note 2) testify. I found a very battered copy of Wright's edition of this text, without covers and introduction, among the monks of the Nestorian monastery of Rabban Hörmizd at Al-kôsh.

In his little book of 200 pages Dr. Haefeli gives a very interesting account of his researches into method of composition and the literary style of Aphrahaṭ. The Syrian Churches have always regarded the collection of Homilies as a help and stimulus to those who were slowly and painfully trying to lead the perfect ascetic life; but Dr. Haefeli has treated it as an anatomist would treat a "subject" on the dissecting table. He has deftly dismembered it, and laid bare a multitude of facts dealing with the author's grammatical system and details of composition, and the various ways and devices by which he produced the desired effect on his readers.

There are no mysteries left. Bones, muscles, sinews, tendons, nerves, etc., are separated and labelled and laid before the reader. And Dr. Haefeli's results have a considerable value for those who are studying the literary methods of the Arabs and the early Muhammadan literature produced in Persia, Syria, and Mesopotamia. The only thing lacking in the book is a description and analysis of the great and pious soul of Aphrahaṭ which made all these dead things live. May we suggest that Dr. Haefeli might submit to a similar analysis the equally famous and more eloquent Homilies on Christian Life and Character written in Syriac by Philoxenus, who was also of Persian origin and a Jacobite, and was made Bishop of Mabbôgh in 485.

766.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

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YMAGO MUNDI DE PIERRE D'AILLY, Cardinal de Cambrai, 1350–1420. Texte latin et traduction française des quatre traités cosmographiques de d'Ailly et des notes marginales de Christophe Colomb. By EDMOND BURON. 3 tom. 10½ × 7, pp. 828, pls. 36. Paris : Maisonneuve Frères, 1930.

It has long been known that Columbus based some of his geographical theories on information derived from Cardinal d'Ailly's *Ymago Mundi*; but the average student has hitherto had little opportunity of studying that great geographical compendium of the Middle Ages. By publishing the text of Columbus's own copy (that in the Colombina Library), with all Columbus's very numerous annotations, M. Buron has now enabled everybody not only to gauge the part played by the *Ymago Mundi* in the discovery of America, but to realize its full content and importance. The annotations had already been published by De Lollis, but without the text, which deprived them of much of their meaning. M. Buron, believing that Columbus wrote the annotations (an assumption not everywhere accepted), proceeds to show from the

discoverer's own words that he had studied the *Ymago* in detail before 1492. In later years he seems to have re-read it. Indeed, it is clear that almost all his knowledge of "cosmography" was drawn from it, and that though he often referred, with a great display of learning, to the teaching of many ancient and medieval geographers, he only knew these at second hand from the *Ymago Mundi*. The date of this edition of the work, which has long been a matter of controversy, is fixed by M. Buron at 1480-3.

If this was Columbus's chief academic source of geographical knowledge, he had other and practical sources in his own long experience as a sailor in many parts of the world, the notes and observations which he had taken with unflagging industry and care wherever he went, and the tales told him by pilots like Velasco and Sanchez. Weighing the evidence, M. Buron has concluded that Columbus, so far from being the ignorant, superstitious instrument of destiny that many writers would make him out to be, was a geographer, astronomer and scientific observer considerably ahead of his time. He recalls the fact that during the difficult years at Lisbon—and perhaps also in Spain—Columbus sold books and maps, and reproduces the intricate globes which he drew in his copy of his second favourite book, Pope Pius II's *Historia rerum ubique gestarum*.

The account of the life and works of Cardinal d'Ailly will be very useful, though it is brief considering the many and important activities of a man who not only planned complete treatises on practically all the sciences but was the most influential prelate in France under the last popes of Avignon. It is interesting to find that three Englishmen, William of Occam, Roger Bacon and John of Holywood (Sacrobosco), were among the scholars who had the greatest influence upon him. Holywood's great work, the *Sphæra*, though for centuries recognized and studied all over Europe as the chief manual on astronomy, has never, by some curious chance, been translated into English. In his chapter on d'Ailly's friend, Cardinal Guillaume Fillastre, M. Buron states that

the Nancy Map of 1427 was a map of the northern countries which Filliastre "avait fait dessiner par un clerc du nom de Clavus ou Claudius cymbricus". This is rather hard on Claudius Claussen or Clavus, whose two maps (neither of them, as far as we know, drawn for Cardinal Filliastre) were the first to show Greenland and had considerable influence on northern cartography.

The Columbian interest of the *Ymago Mundi* is so great that it tends to overshadow the interest and importance of the work itself. No one, however, who reads through these three volumes of descriptions of the whole known world, drawn from all ancient and modern writers, will fail to realize why it was copied and re-copied all over Europe in the early years of the fifteenth century and its influence on geographical theory persisted long after Columbus's time. M. Buron has given the Latin text of the Colombina copy and his French translation on opposite pages, and supplied full and scholarly notes all through. The book is copiously illustrated, partly with d'Ailly's own figures or "maps" of the world, partly with reproductions of early maps; and text and maps convey very clearly the medieval geographical teaching, in which the results of religious dogma, classical mythology, speculation, legend, and true scientific observation were combined, by a sort of legerdemain, to form a system.

246.

E. W. LYNAM.

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THE MAURYAN POLITY. By V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR.

Madras University Historical Series, No. viii.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. viii + 394. University of Madras, 1932. 9s.

This very readable book is built on the writer's historical lectures at Madras University, delivered within this decade. They comprise a study of the Arthaśāstra, the Aśokan inscriptions, and the fragments of Megasthenes, the author holding, in the face of criticism, that the composer of the first work

was the chancellor of Aśoka's grandfather, Candragupta, known as Kauṭalya or Vatsyāyana; further, that Aśoka was not a "Buddhist"—a term certainly unknown in Aśoka's day—nor Candragupta a Jain. As a student of "history"—and this, in our and therefore his, unbalanced culture, means technically secular history—he objects to the Edicts being considered "as essentially religious in tone or in character". To him their "polity" is essentially the state-craft of Kauṭalya.

Readjusters of balance tend to overdo the weighting of the other scale, but Mr. Dikshitar is perhaps wiser than his protest, and is virtually willing to see in religion the first and the last word of all man's forward or upward effort. His discussions should be beneficial in keeping us out of the tendency to see, in Indian Buddhism, or Śakya, a "Church" resembling that of medieval Christianity or of Islam. It was then and there mainly a good way of life for the people at large—a "way according to dharma"—and a specific withdrawn way of life for the *religieux*. And that the stress on the teaching of the former and resort to the latter did for a time and to an extent prevail in India:—this is all that Rhys Davids meant by his title *Buddhist India*, at which the writer cavils (p. 271). The very first words of this book, now alas! out of print, rebuke him: "to describe ancient India during the period of Buddhist ascendancy from the point of view . . . of the rajput." If the Edicts are silent as to Nirvana and stress the high interest and importance for every man of the next step, *svarga*, this is only what the great thesaurus of Śakyan Suttas, existing in Aśoka's day *are mainly concerned to do*. Mr. Dikshitar confuses the special mandate for monks, which had evolved by that time, with the original mandate which was for every man, and in which "nirvana", as a *summum bonum* (*pace* the edited first "sermon") played no part. *Artha, paramartha* was the *summum bonum*, and *dharma* was, not an externalized set of formulæ, but the divine urge, the Savitar so to speak,

within the man, which the Founder is shown putting in place of the Upaniṣadic Self of his day (*Samy* i, 139; *Ang.* ii, 20).

My only comment on the Arthaśāstra dispute is to remind the writer that in making the author of the sayings *one* person and his date as early as the end of fourth century B.C., he is dealing with a time when men of India *were not yet writing books*. Whether the style of this recently discovered book of sayings be "archaic or not" has only to do with the date when the sayings came to be written. This fact does not apparently come in for consideration. It is one that we, both in East and West, tend to overlook.

745.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

AN INTRODUCTION TO BUDDHIST ESOTERISM. By BENOYTOŠ BHATTACHARYYA.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. xii + 184, pls. 12. London : Oxford University Press, 1932. 15s.

The word "esoterism" has a mutilated sound ; my much brought-up-to-date Webster relegates it to the feuilleton of rare and obsolete terms, and it leaves lovers of "English" apprehensive of being confronted with a title containing "Exoterism"—but let that pass. In so far as Dr. Bhattacharyya has further opened up a subject in which he has been preceded by pioneers like "Avalon" and Eliot (Sir Charles), but which still awaits the manifestation that only translations can give, let alone the truer manifestation won by mastery of texts, this little treatise is to be welcomed. As to whether he gives us a juster perspective of that subject than is to be found in his predecessors I judge myself not fully competent to decide. I must confess, in so saying, that I got as far in reading Book v of Eliot's wonderfully compendious work (*Hinduism and Buddhism*). Readers of the present work may find me wrong. They will here find, beside a number of excellent illustrations, a sketch of the growth of what is termed "Buddhist Magic", and a description of Tantrism and Tantric writings, the inferred influence of these on

Hinduism being also discussed. In a Conclusion the author finds that the monasteries and monks of India's decadent and moribund Buddhism "indirectly saved Hinduism from Mohammedan looting, as being taken for forts and soldiers respectively". He also defies us to deny "that Tantric culture is the greatest contribution made by India towards the world's civilization". We have a good deal to learn before we shall be prepared to endorse that.

I could say more as to perspectives taken in the opening chapters, but refrain. The reader will consult this book not for them, but for information in Tantrism. That no reference is made to those earlier fellow-workers—let criticism here be confined to this.

755.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

ETHNOLOGICAL AND LINGUISTICAL ASPECTS OF THE URAL-ALTAIC HYPOTHESIS. By S. M. SHIROKOGOROFF. 10½ × 7½, pp. 198. Peiping: The Commercial Press, Ltd., 1931.

The object of this elaborate work, which is reprinted from vol. vi of the *Tsing Hua Journal*, is a twofold one.

The first part is devoted to an exposition of the author's views on ethnical and linguistic evolution. They are somewhat intricate and unconventional, and are made no easier by the extraordinary terminology which the author finds himself compelled to employ. The following sentence (pp. 34–5) is not perhaps a fair sample, but it is a pretty hard nut to crack, particularly without any explanation of the symbols:—

"The effect of the interethnical pressure may be better seen when the difference of the ethnical value of the units is considered. The ethnoses [sic!] are found under the pressure of all other units. So if the ethnical value of the ethnos is defined as shown,  $f = \frac{1}{\omega} q^2$ , and its interethnical actual value

is increased, owing to the impulsive pressure of all neighbouring ethnical units, i.e.  $\epsilon = \frac{1}{\omega} q^2 \Sigma i$ , where  $\Sigma i$  is the sum of all impulses of variations active among these units, then the intensity of the interethnical pressure and its effectiveness may be realized."

However, even if such vagaries be discounted, it is difficult to believe that the author's theories will command much general support, particularly since they appear to be framed with specific reference to the peculiar conditions of central Asia, and are marked by a fundamental scepticism regarding the possibility of attaining certainty on the subject of the relationship between languages and their grouping in families.

In the second part, which is devoted to a study of A. Sauvageot's *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des langues ouralo-altaïques*, the author is on surer ground, since he has a very considerable knowledge of the Tungus dialects, and is able to correct a number of mistakes and misapprehensions in the earlier work.

At the same time, it is difficult to accept his exaggerated scepticism regarding the inter-relationship of the "Altaic" languages. If one discards all the cases where the phonetic resemblance is not too good as unproven, and puts down almost all those where it is satisfactory as loan-words, it is not difficult to make hay of any theory of relationship.

536.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

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#### FINIANUS. DIE ABENTEUER EINES AMERIKANISCHEN SYRERS.

Translated by ENNO LITTMANN.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. viii + 74.

Tübingen : J. C. B. Mohr, 1932.

This story, first published in 1902, is the work of a Syrian resident in Brazil. It is written in the Lebanon dialect, and so is quite unintelligible to those who know only other forms of Arabic. It is translated because it is a good story, not to promote the study of vulgar Arabic, though some of the notes (though brief, they are all to the point) deal with words.

There are several editions of the tale and the German version is eclectic. In describing a fight between a man and an old woman, the German ends, "We made peace between them and the matter ended." One Arabic text has, "We made peace between them and made them kiss on their beards," a bit of schoolboy wit which is typical of the whole. It is crude but not dirty.

It is the tale of an emigrant who comes back to visit his native land and the woes he suffers from the mediaeval conditions of Lebanon under Turkish rule. All goes wrong, he suffers from the hospitality of his friends, the perfidy of a maid, the exactions of Government, and from his aunt. Those who know Lebanon best will enjoy the tale most. The fun is left to speak for itself and below it all is the tragedy of one who is no more at home among his own folk. The Turks proscribed the tale for what it said about the Government, nowadays the Republic of Lebanon would probably condemn it for its all round sarcasm.

763.

A. S. TRITTON.

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LA VIE SURHUMAINE DE GUÉSAR DE LING, LE HÉROS THIBETAIN. Par ALEXANDRA DAVID-NEEL ET LE LAMA YONGDEN. 8 × 5½, pp. lxiv + 346, ills 10. Paris : Éditions Adyar, 1931. Frs. 20.

It has long been known that there exists amongst the Mongols and Tibetans, in floating oral and mostly fragmentary form, a widely popular heroic poem or epic on a legendary warrior-king of central Asia called *Gesser* by the Mongols, and by the Tibetans *Kesar* or *Gesar*—a name somewhat disguised in the present volume as "Guésar". It was first brought to the notice of Europeans by a German translation from a Mongol version by the Russian academician I. J. Schmidt, in 1839. This disclosed the truly epical form of the poem, in which the hero is not only an invincible warrior but a just law-giver and liberator of the oppressed, who did

not die but is to return eventually to champion his chosen people—the Mongols.

This epic exhibits some analogies with the King Arthur legend and the Edda of the Goths, but it is an *Odyssey* rather than an *Iliad*, if such a rude and relatively incoherent composition could be compared to such classics. Though largely mythological, it displays remarkably little Lamaist influence, beyond the reincarnation theory (which is not peculiar to Lamaism) and the name of the chief god under a title of Indra. The hero with his entourage is essentially human and central Asian, and he has been made the national god of war. Later, a local tradition was elicited that Kesar had been a former king of Shensi in western China, bordering Mongolia and Tibet, but he is not mentioned in the king-lists of those lands. As it is clear that the epic is woven round a real heroic and powerful king or emperor of central Asia in the dark prehistoric period of that region, its analysis is worthy of serious study.

That the hero was Mongolian and non-Tibetan was indicated by me in 1894 in my *Buddhism of Tibet*, wherein I showed that the Grand Lama established for the Outer Mongols at Urga, at the instance of the Ming Dynasty for the taming of the troublesome Mongols was made an incarnation of the Mongol national hero Kesar. And the many literate Mongol Lamas whom I met claimed Kesar as their fellow-countryman. So also it was, at the Mongol temple at Pekin which I visited in 1900, where the statue of Kesar was in Mongol and not Tibetan dress; and similarly at the Mongol temple with its Kesar statue on the Mongol caravan camping-ground outside Lhasa, as fully described in my *Lhasa and Its Mysteries*.

The Tibetan versions of the legend show a more developed and expanded form along popular Lamaistic lines than the Mongolian, though the Lamas themselves take no part in retailing the legend, which is of the pre-Buddhist period. The legend is handed down orally by illiterate wandering bards, whose versions, while differing considerably in details

from the Mongolian, differ much also in the mouths of different singers, and even in the same individual singer at different times : and few of them know the whole epic, but only particular stanzas or sections which specially interest them. So popular is the epic that stanzas of it are often sung by the Tibetan porters and merchants visiting Darjeeling on the Indian frontier, especially by the more militant men from Kham or eastern Tibet, who have made Kesar their war-god, like the Mongols.

Two different Tibetan versions current in north-western Tibet were collected from the lips of singers and translated and published in English by the Tibetan scholar, the Moravian missionary, A. H. Francke, of Ladak, in *The Indian Antiquary* from 1901 onwards and in the *Bibliotheca Indica* of the Bengal Asiatic Society in 1905 onwards. In these versions, the story whilst retaining many parallels with the Mongolians, is considerably expanded on popular Lamaist lines. The hero is given a more miraculous birth with prenatal divine origin, and anachronistically is made a protégé of the Red-hat wizard, Padona Sambhava, the founder of primitive Lamaism in the eighth century A.D., who procures the hero's incarnation of a god in order to slay the demons of the land and gives him the kingdom of Ling as headquarters to destroy the "King of the North" and the Hor (or Turki) people, the traditional enemies of the Tibetans. Mr. Francke shows with considerable plausibility that this mythological expansion may be explained largely as a Sun myth, or Spring myth, a conflict between the Sun and the demons of Ice and Darkness ; and he shows at least one undoubted parallel between a certain episode and one of the Nibelungen Saga. Yet he seems to recognize that these are mere accretions on an immensely old Kesar legend that must have been current several thousands of years ago, a conclusion that I had arrived at independently.

Now, another Tibetan version from eastern Tibet, very much more expanded on Lamaist lines, has been transcribed

piecemeal from oral sources and strung together and translated in summary in the present volume by the intrepid Mme. David-Neel, who previously penetrated to Lhasa in disguise, and has written several booklets on Tibetan mysticism. In it she claims that the hero and his theatre of exploits is purely Tibetan. In proof thereof we are told that when travelling in north-eastern Tibet in the Kham province near the borders of western China and southern Mongolia, she discovered a village called "Ling" which had a settlement of the Hor (or Turki) tribe, the traditional enemy of Kesar, within a day's journey, which satisfies the specified distance in her version for Kesar's capital—which would make Kesar's kingdom a very petty affair. Besides this, she found that the village headman of Ling called himself "King of Ling" and claimed to be a descendant of an adopted son of Kesar of the epic! He could not, however, supply details of his descent and title of "king" on the plea that the new Republic in China might take him up, presumably as a rebel. This chief lived in a "château" on a hillock adjoining the village, but no remains of any ancient buildings or earthworks of a town or even a monastery are described as being in the neighbourhood, nor does its name appear to be even that of a district, much less a province or sub-province.

This "Ling" village name in eastern Tibet is patently a mere accidental coincidence in place-names; and such a paltry "kingdom" even if remains of an ancient town existed there, which they evidently do not, would not account for the capital of the vast traditional kingdom of Kesar celebrated in the epic sung all over Tibet and Mongolia. Had there been traces of an ancient capital with spots sacred to Kesar it might have been one of the transplanted microcosms of the epic like the many "Arthur Seats" in Britain, but there is no evidence even for this. The epic name of "Ling" means in Tibetan "a Continent or Division of the World", and it is the term used to translate the Sanskrit

*Dvipa* with the same meaning ; and in the epic Kesar is said to be destined as " King of the Four Lings ", that is, " King of the Four Quarters of the World," or universal emperor. Besides, the authoress admits that when she visited the Mongol temple at Pekin and saw there the statue of Kesar " in Taoist dress " the Mongol Lamas scornfully rejected her notion that Kesar was a Tibetan and claimed that he was a Mongol and their Mongol war-god.

This eastern Tibetan version, compiled from miscellaneous fragments stitched together, is by far the most expanded, heterogeneous, corrupt, and latest of all. Even its compiler describes it as " fantastic " and " grotesque ". With its dark sorcery, black-magic and spells of the latest debased form of the wizard Padma Sambhava type, its bizarre host of malignant demons is headed by the Tiger-headed Tamdin, or Hayagriva, a monstrous form of the Indian Śiva, the destroyer. One of the chief bardic sources is described as a wandering mystic and " visionary ", who held séances of the villagers, and hypnotized himself by gazing steadfastly on a sheet of blank, white paper spread on a table in front of him, and then " inspired, in a state of trance ", recited on endlessly the epic as he saw it or imagined it subjectively. These séances were held twice daily for three hours each and continued daily for six weeks at a stretch before he finished his story ! Little wonder, therefore, that the " text " compiled by our authoress and her assistant extends, we are told, to seven hundred and forty-eight pages of MS, of which the present work is merely " a condensed summary " as there are " so many repetitions ". The book is named " The Super-human Life " of this hero, though " Supernatural " perhaps would have been a better title.

It is a pity that so much devoted labour should yield little or nothing towards locating the hero geographically or chronologically. The medley of grotesque magic, sorcery, and spells may preserve something, perhaps, of interest to the folk-lorist. Yet even here, some of the translated titles

will need revision ; thus the murderer who runs amok, whose name is translated as "The Fisherman-Butcher" should read "The Butcher with the Knife".

In short, the important task of sifting out from the manifold accretions covering the Kesar Legend its kernel of solid historical fact regarding the dark period of central Asia still remains remote and unattempted.

490.

L. A. WADDELL.

MIRĀT-I-MUŞTAFĀ'ĀBĀD (History of Junagadh). By the late SHEIKH GHULAM MUHAMMAD ABDUMIYAN.  $13 \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. viii + 818 + ii, pls. 28, map 1. Junagadh, 1931.

Mustafabad was the name bestowed on the city of Junagadh by the great Ahmedabad King Muhammad Begada, who conquered it from its Chudasama Rajput rulers. It has not ousted the old historical name, but is still used by local Moslems. This book is a history of the Junagadh State from the earliest times, but with special attention to the Babi family to which the present dynasty belongs. Junagadh can now claim to have had its history locally written in four languages : Persian, Gujarati, English, and Urdu. The present work is in the last of these languages, and might perhaps be regarded as somewhat superfluous in present conditions ; but on the other hand it may be symptomatic of the effort to make Urdu the *lingua franca* of the Indian Moslems, and to supersede Gujarati which they commonly use in Kathiawar and Gujarat. The author of the work was a native of Olpad in the Surat district and wrote in a simple style, free alike from the peculiarities of Dakhani Urdu, and from the high flying style of Lucknow. He did not live to complete the work, which has been revised, with the last two chapters added, by his son, Ghulam Ahmed. The compilation of the History has involved a good deal of research, and much of it is drawn from Persian manuscripts which are not otherwise easily accessible. The book has been well lithographed in Bombay, and is adorned by a large

number of illustrations, some of them of considerable historic interest. It is a production creditable alike to the deceased author, and to the Junagadh Darbar which has materially assisted in its production.

671.

P. R. CADELL.

SHERLEIANA. I. Sir Anthony Sherley's persische Botschaftsreise (1599–1601). II. Sir Anthony Sherley's marokkanische Sendung (1605–6). By DR. FRANZ BABINGER.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 52, ills. 7. Berlin : Reichsdruckerei, 1932. Leipzig : Otto Harrassowitz.

The story of Sir Anthony Sherley's journey into Persia in 1598 and his employment by Shāh 'Abbās as Ambassador to the Christian princes of Europe in order to promote an active alliance against the Sultan of Turkey has often been told. (Incidentally, it may be mentioned that in 1841, J. Briggs published in this JOURNAL (Vol. VI, No. XI, pp. 77 et seq.) "A Short Account of the Sherley Family".) For Anthony Sherley's journey from Venice to Qazvīn we have no less than four first-hand narratives, namely his own *Relation* and those of three of his companions: Parry, Manwaring, and Abel Pinçon. For his journey from Ispahan to Moscow and from Archangel to Germany by sea—for he travelled via Russia in order to avoid entering Ottoman territory—we have Parry and Don Juan of Persia. But for the journey from Emden, where Sherley landed after a perilous voyage round the North Cape, across Germany to Rome, we have only Don Juan's description, for Parry had been landed at one of the Dutch islands, whence he proceeded via The Hague and Flushing to England.

This Don Juan of Persia was one of the Persian officials who accompanied Sherley from Ispahan. His Persian name was Uruch Beg; in Rome he was converted to Christianity and took the name of Don Juan (1601). He kept his notes in Persian and in 1604 published his *Relaciones*, which were

dictated to a friend, who was unfortunately unable to help him with his geography. Mr. Guy le Strange in his admirable English translation of Don Juan's book identified a great many of the places in Germany but some were distorted beyond recognition. Such names as Roberg, Quimidac, and Iub offered hardly any clue to their identity. The first part of Professor Babinger's brochure is devoted to this journey through Germany, and by means of rare chronicles and local records he has cleared up nearly all these strange transcriptions and has been able to trace almost the exact route of the embassy all the way to Rome.

The second part deals with Anthony Sherley's mission to Morocco, and in this connection also Professor Babinger has brought to light a number of interesting documents which he combines with the important researches of Comte Henri de Castries, which appeared in the second volume of "*Les Sources Inedites de l'Histoire du Maroc*", Series III, *Archives et Bibliotheques d'Angleterre* (Paris and London, 1925). This volume contains a great deal about Sherley which was quite unknown to any of his previous biographers. Before its appearance we knew very little of this mission to Morocco beyond what was given by Purchas, who published in his *Pilgrimes* a summary of a very rare tract printed in 1609 by Ro(bert) C(hambers). De Castries made a thorough examination of all the contemporary English records and found many letters relating to Sherley's adventures in Morocco. He was also the first to call attention to a very curious Spanish MS. belonging to the British Museum which had hitherto escaped the notice of those interested in Sherleiana. This MS. (Egerton, 1824) bears the title, *Pesso polytico de todo el Mundo per el Conde Don Antonio Xerley*, and contains a survey of the Government resources and political relations of the principal states of Europe, Asia, and Africa in relation to Spain at the beginning of Philip IV's reign. De Castries prints from this work the chapter on Morocco, which is chiefly interesting because of its authorship.

The contents of the MS. are as follows:—Dedication to Olivares, f. 1<sup>b</sup>; Spain, f. 4; France, f. 8<sup>b</sup>; Germany, f. 15; The Pope, f. 21<sup>b</sup>; Venice, f. 23; Florence, f. 27<sup>b</sup>; Minor Italian States, f. 29; Genoa, f. 30<sup>b</sup>; Savoy, f. 32; Tirol, f. 35<sup>b</sup>; Poland, f. 39; Moscovia, f. 42; Catay, f. 45<sup>b</sup>; Sweden, f. 48; Denmark, f. 50; England, f. 56; the Rebels of Flanders, f. 67<sup>b</sup>; Barbary, f. 79; Turkey, f. 82<sup>b</sup>; Abassia (Abyssinia), Congo and Angola, f. 95<sup>b</sup>; Cape of Good Hope, Sovala, Maçanvique, Quiloa, Malinde, and Monbassa, f. 96<sup>b</sup>; Persia, f. 97<sup>b</sup>; The Great Mogor, f. 102<sup>b</sup>; El Dialcan, Calicut, Cochinchina, and Mayahar, f. 106<sup>b</sup>; Ceylon, f. 115<sup>b</sup>; Samatra, Marsinga, Gidago, Bengala, Pegu, Siam, Calimanan Aboa, Borno, Cochinchina, and other greater and minor potentates as far as China, f. 117; China and Japan, f. 118; Philippines and Moluccas, f. 119<sup>b</sup>. A discourse addressed by the said Sir Anthony Shirley to the Count Duke of Olivares (D. Gaspar de Guzman) in confirmation and explanation of the political and mercantile considerations contained in the above. It is dated Granada, 2nd November, 1622 (f. 121<sup>b</sup>).

As was to be expected the chapters of the greatest interest are those dealing with the countries which Anthony Shirley knew from personal experience, such as Italy, Muscovy, Persia, and Barbary. With regard to the actual manuscript, I am of opinion that it represents the work of a Spanish clerk who wrote at Anthony Shirley's dictation. The spelling of the proper names is sufficient evidence of this fact, for Anthony Shirley could not possibly have made such mistakes as occur for example in the spelling of English names. The paper bears a watermark, three superimposed circles surmounted by a three-forked crown: the top circle contains a cross and the two lower circles capital letters which vary from page to page. I find this watermark recorded in documents of the period to which the work belongs. I therefore take this to be the original and possibly unique copy. It is very much to be regretted that Anthony's style is so confused as to be hardly intelligible. Had it been otherwise

it would have been interesting to examine the ideas he had formed of those countries he knew best, but I fear it is hardly worth the labour which would be involved by an attempt to unravel his endless periods in crude Spanish.

Professor Babinger also refers to another Spanish treatise by Anthony Sherley probably written in 1626, which is preserved in Madrid but has never been carefully examined.

Professor Babinger has discovered many documents in the German archives which throw yet further light on the negotiations between the Emperor Rudolph II and other Christian princes and has cleared up a number of obscure points. I cannot in this place attempt to indicate the wide field he has covered, but must refer those who are interested to the little book which is a positive mine of bibliography.

Attention may be called to two little errors which have crept into the work of this most careful scholar. On p. 6 he says that the embassy under Sherley and Husayn 'Ali Beg was joined just as they were setting out from Ispahan by a Dominican and a Franciscan friar who had just arrived from Portugal. The two friars in question were Alfonso Cordero, a Franciscan, and Nicolas de Melo, an *Augustinian*. We do not know where the former came from, but the latter was on his way to Portugal after a long residence in Mexico and the Philippines.

On p. 6 also, Professor Babinger accepts Don Juan's statement that the Ambassadors left Ispahan on 9th July, 1599, but this date must, I think, be an error for 9th May, for a letter dated Gilan, 24th May, was sent by Anthony Sherley to Venice, which letter must have been written on his journey from Ispahan to Russia. The bearer of this letter says that Anthony was leaving Persia a few days after himself. Don Juan gives nineteen days for the journey from Ispahan to the Caspian; Parry gives eighteen days. They spent at least two months on the Caspian, for they were incidentally carried across to the Manqishlagh promontory (where Anthony Jenkinson disembarked on his journey to Bukhara

in 1558), and there they stayed ten days. They finally reached Astrakhan in the middle of September. Don Juan and Parry both say that they spent two weeks in Astrakhan, and Abel Pinçon says they set out up the Volga on 2nd October and finally reached Moscow at the end of November. Don Juan agrees with the others in the date of their arrival in Moscow and in most other details, and therefore Don Juan's 9th July must be a scribe's or a printer's error.

840.

E. DENISON ROSS.

**THE CONVERSION POLICY OF THE JESUITS IN INDIA.** By the Rev. H. HERAS, S.J. Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute, No. 8.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. viii + 79. Bombay: Indian Historical Research Institute, 1933.

In the course of his book on *Goa and the Blue Mountains*, published in 1851, Sir Richard Burton wrote: "The Hindoos very rarely become Christians now that fire and steel, the dungeon and the rack, the rice-pot and the rupee are not allowed to play the persuasive part in the good work formerly assigned to them." In a recent American work on *Sea Fights in the East Indies in the Years 1602-1639*, this pronouncement is quoted with approval as describing the policy followed by the Jesuits in India, and the little book now under review is devoted to controverting the tradition represented by this statement.

It has been customary to ascribe the system of forcible conversion to the Inquisition, but Father Heras pertinently points out that the Inquisition was not concerned with proselytism and that the Jesuits were not, in any case, the Order which administered the Inquisition. He produces a number of quotations from travellers and historians, which describe the peaceable methods employed by the Jesuits—their preaching, their instruction, their ceremonial, their dramatic representations and so forth, and he alludes to instances of mass-conversion which were attributed more to

spontaneous impulse than to any outward persuasion. Individual cases of violent compulsion might, he admits, be discovered which were due to the misguided enthusiasm of individual priests or administrators ; but he has no difficulty in showing that heathens lived in large numbers in Goa territory and possessed a certain latitude in the observance of their own festivals and ceremonials. The Portuguese Government, which supported the Jesuits, was no doubt a frankly proselytizing authority. It undertook the demolition of temples and idols ; it punished severely any disturbances directed against Christianity ; and it debarred Hindoos from a number of special exemptions and privileges allowed to Christian converts. To this extent its efforts were forcible, and they were rigorously executed ; but extreme pronouncements such as that quoted above from Burton are not a fair representation of the policy followed either by the Portuguese Government or by the Jesuits, and Father Heras is fully justified in putting before his readers the other side of the picture.

864.

ANON.

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THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA. Vol. VI : THE INDIAN EMPIRE, 1858-1918. Edited by Professor H. H. DODWELL, M.A. 9 x 6, pp. xxiv + 660. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1932. 30s.

This is the second of the two volumes devoted to the British period, and continues the story down to the end of the Great War. To some extent it overlaps its predecessor, for in that the development of the administrative system was not pursued beyond 1818, and the first nine chapters of the present volume are devoted to making good that deficiency. Then, after an excellent account by Dr. Rice Holmes of the Mutiny, the remaining twenty-three chapters chronicle the peaceful development of the country, the only warlike topics occurring in the chapters on Central Asia (by the editor), the Conquest of Upper Burma (by Mr. G. E. Harvey), the North-West

Frontier (by Dr. C. C. Davies), and India and the War (by Mr. Rushbrook Williams).

Nearly a third of the volume has been written by Sir Verney Lovett, who has dealt admirably with such diverse subjects as education, famine, district administration in Bengal, and the home and Indian governments. The sections relating to Madras and to Bombay were undertaken by Mr. Alan Butterworth and the late Mr. Edwardes respectively, while Sir Patrick Fagan is responsible for those dealing with the upper provinces. The four chapters devoted to the subject of the reforms have been entrusted to Sir Richard Burn, whose summary is a model of careful and impartial treatment. Other topics have fallen to various experts, such as Sir Wolseley Haig, who contributes two chapters on military matters; and the editor himself has treated the important subjects of Imperial legislation, 1818–1857, relations with the Indian States from 1858, and (as already mentioned) events in Central Asia. Such names as these are guarantees of a high level of achievement, and the volume appears to be in every way a worthy companion of the former one.

775.

W. FOSTER.

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**EARLY MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE : UMMAYADS, Part I, A.D. 622–750.** With a Contribution on the Mosaics of the Dome of the Rock and the Great Mosque at Damascus by M. VAN BERCHEM. By K. A. C. CRESWELL.  $17\frac{1}{2} \times 13$ , pp. xxvi + 414, pls. 81, figs. 491. Oxford : The Clarendon Press, 1932. £10 10s.

Dieses monumentale Werk über die frühislamische Baukunst, das nur mit der gütigen Unterstützung S.M. König Fuads I. von Egypten durchgeführt werden kann, gehört zu jenen Leistungen der Kunstgeschichte, die für Generationen der Forschung Anregung zu geben vermögen. Der erste Band, der jetzt erschienen ist, vermittelt einen gründlichen Einblick in die ersten Anfänge der islamischen Baukunst unter der Dynastie der Omayaden, von denen besonders die Khalifen

Abd-el Malik und Walid II. eine rege Bautätigkeit entfalteten. Im Mittelpunkt stehen der Felsendom in Jerusalem, die Grosse Moschee in Damaskus und die Schlossbauten der ersten Khalifen jenseits des Jordan am Rande der Wüste.

Die Grundlage der Untersuchung bildet eine eingehende Auseinandersetzung über das Werden des islamischen Sakralbaus an Hand der literarischen Überlieferung. Die Moscheen von Kufa, Hira, Basra und Fostat werden als fester Vorstellungsbesitz der Forschung erschlossen. Hier zeigt sich besonders deutlich, wie die Phantasie sich auch der historischen Quellen bedienen kann, um den Monumenten Gestalt zu verleihen, ohne den Tatbeständen Gewalt anzutun. Historische Perspektiven und solche, die sich aus der Einstellung des Forschers zu den Problemen des baukünstlerischen Gestaltens ergeben, wirken so organisch zu einer einheitlichen Betrachtung zusammen, dass einem diese Architektur als lebendigster Ausdruck der sozialen, politischen und religiösen Gemeinschaft nahe gebracht wird. Diese Gesichtspunkte werden nicht als Selbstzweck verfolgt und gewissermassen in die Tatbestände hinein projiziert, sondern sie ergeben sich aus einer kritischen Betrachtung des Verhältnisses historischer Tradition und historischen Werdens zu den gegenständlichen Tatbeständen. Daher wird besondere Sorgfalt auf eine erschöpfende Mitteilung und kritische Auseinandersetzung mit den literarischen Quellen verwandt der arabischen Schriftsteller und der europäischen Pilger, Reisenden und Forscher vom frühen Mittelalter bis in die Gegenwart. Darüber kommt die morphologische Betrachtung aber keineswegs zu kurz. Von sämtlichen Bauten liegen auf Grund sorgfältiger Vermessungen genaue Pläne und Schnitte vor und die wichtigen Details sind in angemessenem Maßstab vergrössert. (Warum die Masse ausser in englischen auch in preussischen Fuß angegeben werden versteht man nicht ganz. Das dezimale Zahlensystem wäre nützlicher.)

Der eigentliche Kurs in der Darstellung wird, was auch in der Einleitung ausdrücklich hervorgehoben wird, durch die

Mitteilung historischer Tatbestände bestimmt und damit werden die Grenzen gesetzt. Diese Einstellung wird auch in der Behandlung gewisser wichtiger Spezialfragen streng beobachtet wie etwa der Entstehung der Pendentifkuppel. Das Problem wird in grossen Zügen durch die Jahrhunderte der Spätantike an Hand der einzelnen Monamente bis an die Schwelle der islamischen Entwicklung verfolgt mit dem Ergebnis, dass man wahrscheinlich Syrien als die Heimat des sphärischen Pendentifs ansehen darf. Die Untersuchungen des Verfassers über die Entstehung des Minarets sind bekannt. Freilich steht das auf quadratischem Grundriss errichtete Minaret in Kairuan, das im Maghrib und Spanien bevorzugt wurde, morphologisch zunächst dem syrischen Kirchturm näher, als dem antiken Pharos. Davon werden aber die Perspektiven von Thiersch, die der Idee nach Zusammenhänge mit dem antiken Pharos herstellen, so wenig berührt, wie jene durchaus berechtigten Perspektiven, die in solchen Formen des Minarets wie des Malwiyye (Schnecken-turm) in Samarra, der Idee nach gewisse Zusammenhänge mit dem altbabylonischen Zikkurat sehen. Diese Zusammenhänge werden einem sofort klar, wenn man etwa Darstellungen mittelalterlicher Meister von dem Turm zu Babel zum Vergleich heranzieht, die erkennen lassen, dass die Metamorphosen in der Phantasie des Künstlers für den Laien manche Überraschungen bergen. In der Anwendung des gleichseitigen Dreiecks bei der Auswägung der Proportionen, der sogenannten Triangulation, wird eins dieser Gesetze des Gestaltens in seinem umfassenden historischen Tatbestand überzeugend hervorgehoben.

Der Bedeutung entsprechend verwächst mehr mit dem grossen Zusammenhang der Anteil des Persischen Genius an der Ausbildung des tektonischen Kanons der frühislamischen Baukunst. Die Perser führten das Tonnengewölbe mit Gurtbögen ein, das eine grössere Spannweite ermöglichte und gestattete, die Tragemauern durch Lichtöffnungen und Tore zu durchbrechen (Vgl. den Taq Iwan, einen Bau der Sasaniden-

zeit). Die Folgerungen, die daraus für Qasr al Kharanah abgeleitet werden, das der Verfasser nicht für islamisch hält, verdienen Beachtung.

Anerkennenswert ist es, dass auch der in diesem Kulturkreis besonders wichtigen Frage der Ornamentik eine Spezialuntersuchung gewidmet ist. Marguerite van Berchem hat in geschickt zusammengestellten Tafeln meistens nach eigenen vor den Originalen entstandenen Federzeichnungen die Mosaikarbeiten des Felsendoms in Jerusalem und der Omayadenmoschee in Damaskus unter Heranziehung von byzantinischen und abendländischen Mosaikarbeiten zum Gegenstand einer vergleichenden ornamental Untersuchung gemacht. Danach darf man diese Mosaiken in Jerusalem und Damaskus wahrscheinlich auf das einheimische Syrische Kunsthandwerk zurückführen. Die von de Lorey entdeckten Mosaiken der Moschee von Damaskus mit den Flusslandschaften sollen sogar in mancher Hinsicht tatsächliche syrische Verhältnisse widerspiegeln, da arabische Schriftsteller die Villensiedlungen an den Ufern des Barrada in ähnlicher Weise beschreiben. Bei derartigen vergleichenden ornamentalen Untersuchungen kommt alles auf die geschickte Wahl der Fluchtpunkte an, um einigermassen sicher die den wirklichen Tatbeständen entsprechenden Perspektiven zu ziehen. Um dem Vorwurf zu entgehen, dass gewisse formale Eigentümlichkeiten auf den Werkstoff als solchen, oder die Technik als solche zurückgeführt werden können und keine schöpferischen Beziehungen zwischen zwei verschiedenen Kulturreihen zur Voraussetzung haben brauchen, sollte man noch mehr Beispiele ornamentaler Formen aus verschiedenen Materialien heranziehen.

Die vergleichende paläographische Untersuchung der Bauinschriften für die es in dem vorliegenden Zeitabschnitt auch schon Probleme gibt, die die ornamentalen Untersuchungen ergänzen könnten, wird wahrscheinlich für einen der nächsten Bände auf breiterer Grundlage geplant, was insofern gerechtfertigt erscheint, als nicht gerade viel wichtiges Material vorhanden ist.

Neben der Entwicklung des islamischen Moscheebaus, kommt in der frühislamischen Epoche der Schlossanlage besondere Bedeutung zu. Diese jenseits des Jordans in der Syrischen Steppe gelegenen befestigten oder unbefestigten Schlösser sind der Idee nach den abendländischen Pfalzen nicht unähnlich. Quseir Amra und Mschatta sind die beiden wichtigsten Bauten, die die wesentlichsten Aufschlüsse über das Werden des frühislamischen Schlossbaus vermitteln. Angesichts der umfangreichen ornamentalen Studie über das Mosaik, kann man den Wunsch nicht unterdrücken, dass auch die reiche Ornamentik von Mschatta in diesen Exkurs einbezogen wäre. Gerade an diesem den letzten Jahren der omayadischen Herrschaft angehörenden Bau mit seiner reichen Ornamentik beginnen sich die beiden Welten der Spätantike und des neu erwachenden Orient klar zu scheiden. Nachdem die Torfront von Mschatta in einem Oberlichtsaal der Islamischen Kunstabteilung der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin neu aufgestellt worden ist, kommt die künstlerisch hochstehende Steinmetzarbeit vollends zur Geltung. Man kann erst jetzt das Ornament in seinen eigentlichen formalen Werten erfassen. Bei einer auf breiterer stofflicher Grundlage unternommenen vergleichenden Ornamentuntersuchung lassen sich auch derartige Erscheinungen wie der Auftauchen der ornamentalen Stuckverkleidung der Wände in Qasr al-Heir besser in die allgemeine kunstgeschichtliche Betrachtung einbeziehen. Mit der Feststellung, dass dies die fröhste bisher bekannte Islamische Stuckdekoration ist, ist zwar ein wichtiger Tatbestand mitgeteilt, der aber erst dann seine eigentliche kunsthistorische Bedeutung gewinnt, wenn man an den Tatbestand erinnert, dass eine der wesentlichsten schöpferischen Grundlagen der architektonischen Dekoration der islamischen Kunst in der sasanidischen Epoche zu suchen ist, die gerade den Dekorationszweig der ornamentalen Stuckverkleidung der Wände zu besonders hoher Vollendung ausbildete. Freilich gehören derartige vergleichenden morphologischen Betrachtungen nicht unbedingt in den Rahmen der

Bauforschung. Die kunstgeschichtliche Untersuchung der Architekturformen der frühislamischen Epoche bietet noch viele Probleme und man darf dankbar dafür sein, dass diese nunmehr in geschlossener Form vorliegt. Der Anteil Syriens bei der Ausbildung der frühislamischen Architektur wird sicherlich mit Recht vom Verfasser mit besonderem Nachdruck hervorgehoben, indem die einzelnen Tatbestände, die von diesem schöpferischen Zusammenhang unmittelbar Zeugnis geben klar ins Licht gerückt werden. Darüber werden die Anregungen aus der iranischen Baukunst (Apadana, Liwanbau) nicht verkannt. Die Ergebnisse der in den letzten Jahren erschlossenen sassanidischen Palastanlagen in Kisch, Damghan und Ktesiphon haben wahrscheinlich für das Werk nicht mehr berücksichtigt werden können. In den meisten Fällen liegen die endgültigen Baupläne noch nicht vor. Doch kann man bei der Betrachtung der Baudekoration diese wichtigen sassanidischen Grundlagen kaum übergehen. Gerade weil man das Gefühl hat, in dieser dem monumentalen Gegenstand entsprechenden monumentalen Arbeit eine lückenlose Zusammenfassung der historischen Tatbestände vor sich zu haben, muss daran erinnert werden. Die erschöpfende Behandlung des an sich sehr mannigfältigen Gegenstands kommt auch dadurch zum Ausdruck, dass auch eine Spezialuntersuchung über den Tierkreis eines Kuppelgewölbes des Wüstenschlosses Quseir Amra dem Text eingefügt ist (von Fritz Saxl und Arthur Beer). Der eigentliche Gegenstand, die frühislamische Architektur wird auf diese Weise von allen sekundären Perspektiven entlastet, und das Thema hat in der Tat die erschöpfendste Bearbeitung erfahren, die gegenwärtig auf Grund der historischen Tatbestände möglich ist.

634.

J. HEINRICH SCHMIDT.

[In connection with the query in brackets at the bottom of p. 977, this particular unit of measurement is referred to only on page 320 of the book where it is discussed in Note 3.—Ed.]

THE DYNASTIC HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA: EARLY MEDLÆVAL PERIOD. With a Foreword by Dr. L. D. BARNETT. By H. C. RAY. Vol. i.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. xl + 664 + ii, maps 10. Calcutta : University Press, 1931. 15s.

In this work, Dr. H. C. Ray gives us one of the most important contributions to Indian history that has appeared in recent years. The period covered is the tenth to the twelfth centuries, the age of transition from Hindu to Muslim sovereignty in Northern India. It is the flourishing period of the Rajput dynasties, for whose history we have hitherto been too much dependent on late tradition or Muslim sources. These are now corrected from epigraphical and Hindu literary records. It is the period of contact and interaction of Muslim and Hindu cultures, and a critical investigation of the mutual influences and borrowings is most important for our comprehension of the history of the later period. Dr. Ray has studied the very considerable material for the history of his period which is available in Hindu and Muhammadan, literary and epigraphical sources. He has digested it with great critical ability and given a consecutive and coherent account of the various kingdoms into which Northern India was divided.

This volume, the first of three, deals with Sind, the Panjab, Kashmir, Nepal and Assam, Kanauj, Bengal, and Orissa. The greater part of the ground is covered for the first time. It is only rarely, as in the case of the Pālas and Gurjaras, that Dr. Ray has had a path made for him, but in such cases also he is able to throw much new light on a complicated story. One does not know what to admire most, the skill with which Dr. Ray has pieced together the scattered Muslim references in Arabic sources and reconciled them with the scanty Indian records in dealing with Sind and the north-west, or his critical treatment of the Kashmir, Nepal, and other chronicles, or his command of the extensive epigraphical material in his treatment of the eastern part of the area

he covers in this volume. Why, by the way, have historians never flourished at low altitudes in India?

The admirably clear maps are a feature of the book, and the genealogical lists add to its value, while it has an unusually satisfactory index. The book has been printed with the care which it merits. It is readable, comprehensive, and accurate; Dr. Ray has undertaken a heavy task, and this first volume shows that he will carry it through most successfully. We need say no more for, referring to Dr. Ray's modest quotation in his preface, it will take a very clever man with a very fine sieve to find faults in this book. We are also grateful to the Calcutta University Press for making this great work fully accessible.

858.

J. ALLAN.

AVICENNAE DE CONGELATIONE ET CONGLUTINATIONE LAPIDUM,  
being sections of the *Kitâb al-Shifâ'*. The Latin and  
Arabic texts edited with an English translation of the  
latter and with critical notes by E. J. HOLMYARD and  
D. C. MANDEVILLE.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. x + 86. Paris:  
Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, 1927.

The treatise here published by Messrs. Holmyard and Mandeville is of high interest to scholars, who are concerned with the history of chemistry, as one of the oldest works on geology that have come down to us, if not actually the oldest. In the old Latin version it is commonly attributed to Avicenna, but also occasionally to Aristotle or to Geber (*Jâbir ibn Hayyân*), and until recently was generally regarded as spurious. The editors show that the ascription of the treatise to Avicenna is quite authentic, as it actually consists of parts of his great manual of philosophy, the *Kitâb-al-Shifâ*. Their work is scholarly and exact, and includes indexes of persons and subjects.

818.

A. G. ELLIS.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY OF  
INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES. By R. V. JAHAGIRDAR.  
 $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ , pp. ii + 166. Poona : The Oriental Book  
Agency, 1932. Rs. 3.

This little book, which purports to give a sketch of the development of Indo-European through Sanskrit into the modern Indo-Aryan languages, is written with enthusiasm, but would have been much better if enthusiasm had been tempered with care. The plan of the book, as the author very generously acknowledges, is based largely on the present reviewer's own lectures ; but its execution is so careless and is so fraught with blunders and misprints that it is quite unsuitable for putting in the hands of Indian students, for whom it is primarily designed.

790.

R. L. TURNER.

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THE LANGUAGE OF THE PENTATEUCH IN ITS RELATION TO  
EGYPTIAN. By A. S. YAHUDA. Vol. I.  $10 \times 7$ ,  
pp. xxxviii + 310, pls. 16. London : Oxford University  
Press, 1933. 25s.

This is a very remarkable book and one which is certain to have a great effect on future Biblical studies. The whole subject-matter is summarized in a sentence from the Introduction : " If the Biblical data concerning the wanderings of the Hebrews from the beginning of their history, when the patriarchs went forth from Southern Babylonia through Aram to Canaan, until the re-conquest of Canaan after the Exodus from Egypt, are correct ; further, if it is correct that the Pentateuch originated in the Exodus period just before the return of the Hebrews to Canaan : then it should be possible to discover in Hebrew strong traces of the languages of the lands in which the Hebrews sojourned in those times, more especially of Akkadian and Egyptian, then the richest and most highly developed languages on both sides of Canaan." Dr. Yahuda proceeds to point out that in " such books which

were admittedly composed during and after the Exile" Babylonian influence in style and language is strongly apparent, while in the early books, such as Genesis, though there is a clear relation with the myths of Babylonia there is little Babylonian influence on the language. His argument is that a primitive spoken dialect will develop into a literary language by contact with a civilized power. He claims that the early Canaanite speech became the rich and flexible Hebrew by the influence of the high civilization of Egypt while Israel dwelt in that country, and he instances as an analogy the change in Arabic during the half-century of Mahomed's lifetime. The effect of a high civilization on a growing language is seen in the adoption of loan-words and technical terms, the invention of new words, the development of turns of speech and metaphors consonant with the foreign influence, and also the use of phrases and idioms which are in accord with the spirit of the language of the higher civilization. The author sets out to prove this contention by means of the language and by what can be learned from the language. In this volume he confines himself to the Egyptian influence discoverable in the books of Genesis and Exodus, but promises another volume in which the other foreign elements in the language of the Pentateuch will be discussed.

Dr. Yahuda is well equipped for his task. He is deeply read in Hebrew, Arabic, and other Semitic languages, his special study being the language of the Pentateuch. To these he adds ancient Egyptian, the main difficulty of which lies in the fact that it is the most recently studied of all ancient languages and is therefore not so fully understood as Hebrew and Greek. As knowledge of these ancient languages and scripts advances, there is no doubt that further connections between the various countries of antiquity will be found to have been closer than is generally admitted at present. Much is already known, but much more remains to be discovered, and this is specially true of Egypt and her influence on the Hebrew language and literature.

The sections dealing with the Joseph and Exodus narratives are in some ways the least important part of the book, for here Egyptian influence has always been acknowledged even by the most anti-Egyptian scholar. At the same time these two histories naturally show the cultural and linguistic relations between the two peoples. The story of Joseph, whether regarded as history or folk-tale, is peculiarly Egyptian in structure and detail as well as in incident. This has been admitted by all Biblical scholars, but Dr. Yahuda has brought forward much new linguistic material to the same effect. One of the most interesting points, perhaps because it is so unexpected, is in Gen. xl, 41, where the A.V. has "according to thy word shall my people be ruled", with "kissed" for "ruled" and "mouth" for "word" as marginal notes, the literal translation of the Hebrew is "according to thy mouth shall my people be kissed". The usage of the words *mouth* and *kiss* is entirely un-Hebraic, but in the case of the latter the word is the exact translation of the Egyptian *sn* which, though literally "to breathe", is ordinarily used for "to kiss". It occurs, however, with the meaning of "to eat" as early as the Pyramid Texts, which are written in the artificial language of religion as they were for the use of the Divine King when the ordinary tongue of the common people would have been considered out of place. The word *mouth* is again the exact rendering of the Egyptian idiom *ymr* "he in whom is a mouth", which is the usual expression for an overseer or governor. The phrase is then an exact translation into Hebrew of the Egyptian, and rendered into English would read, "according to thy command shall my people eat." Joseph's remark to his brethren, "God has made me a father to Pharaoh," is another literal translation from the Egyptian; the Egyptian title "Father of God" has long been recognized as referring to some priestly office about the person of the Pharaoh, who in his official capacity was *ntr nfr* "the Good God". The meaning of the name Zaphnath-paaneah which Pharaoh gave to Joseph has been continually a source of

considerable speculation and of attempts at derivation ; it has always been recognized as of Egyptian origin. Dr. Yahuda's suggestion as to the origin and meaning, whether accurate or not, has the merit of accounting for the consonants and being suitable for the man to whom it was given. The suggestion is that the original Egyptian was *dfz n tz pw 'nh* "The Living one is the food of the land", which alludes to Joseph's action in the seven years' famine. It would have been better had Dr. Yahuda used the full form of the participle '*nhy*', otherwise this translation of the name of Joseph conforms well to the rules of Egyptian grammar. Dr. Yahuda claims that the story is early and brings forward various arguments in support of the claim, among which is the fact that the King of Egypt is never mentioned by name, but is called by his title only, Pharaoh. This fact has been taken by most Biblical critics as proof of the unhistorical nature of the story ; they urge that had the author known the name of the Egyptian King he would certainly have recorded it and that the omission is conclusive proof that the narrative is entirely traditional or legendary. Dr. Yahuda points out that it was an ordinary Egyptian usage to speak of the reigning king as Pharaoh without mentioning the name ; therefore the omission of the name is not in itself a proof that the record was made later than the events recorded.

The history of the Exodus and of the events which led up to that migration has always been acknowledged by Biblical critics to contain Egyptian elements, as the scene is laid in the Nile Valley or the Delta. Egyptian concepts and words must therefore be expected, and Dr. Yahuda brings forward several which have not been previously noted. Thus the hardening of Pharaoh's heart is an Egyptian expression, for when the Hebrew is literally translated the heart is said to be *heavy* or *strong*. This is pure Egyptian ; as early as the Middle Kingdom the expression *dns lb* "heavy of heart" is used for fixed determination, which in a bad sense would mean "stubborn", while *shm ib* "strong of heart" means

"arrogance". The words rendered in the A.V. as "And it came to pass in process of time" would read, if literally translated, "And it was in those many days". This is so near to the Egyptian phrase "Now after many days had passed over this", that it is clear that there is a close connection. One of the most convincing proofs of the connection in the language is in Ex. x, 14, 19, where Coast is used for Border, "there remained not one locust in all the coasts of Egypt." This is the true translation of the Egyptian *r dr-f* "to its border", meaning "entire, whole, all", a phrase which is found in Coptic as *THP=* with the same meaning.

Even in the stories which are clearly Babylonian in origin, the Egyptian influence is marked. As Dr. Yahuda says, "how is it that Biblical stories which are so clearly related to Babylonian, yet betray features and elements so alien thereto? If it were possible to determine an Egyptian origin of these differing elements, both as to conception and mode of expression, we could decisively conclude that we have before us elements newly introduced into the Genesis stories in place of the original Babylonian elements, and that this process can only have operated in Egyptian surroundings. This can have occurred only in a period when, still under an active, living and most intimate Egyptian influence, the tendency developed to adopt old narratives to the conceptions of the new environment and to invest them with a new linguistic garb, whereof the framework would remain the same but the content would be composed of fresh materials in new form." One of the most characteristically Babylonian stories is the account of the Flood, yet even here there are a certain number of Egyptian words. The most important is the word used for the Ark, which is neither the usual Babylonian name for a ship nor even the word for the vessel built by the Babylonian prototype of Noah. The Hebrew *tebitu*, the Biblical name of the Ark, is so closely akin to the ordinary Egyptian word for a boat or ship, *dpt*, that it is impossible

not to conclude that they are the same. It is also the word used for the Ark of bulrushes in which Moses was floated on the river. Another connection of the Deluge story with Egypt is found in the words ascribed to God, "I will destroy man whom I have created" is almost word for word the same phrase as in the 17th chapter of the Book of the Dead, "Moreover, I will blot out all that I have made, and the land shall come into the Nun [primeval waters] by means of a flood as was at the beginning." The gradual cessation of the Deluge, with the dates for the various periods of the drying up of the land, show an Egyptian origin. The inundation in Egypt was the most important annual event for the agriculturist, and its progress was marked by festivals. The length of time from the beginning of the Deluge till it reached its height is one hundred and fifty days, which is the same as the whole of the Egyptian inundation. The fall of the water is divided into three stages, which again coincide with the Egyptian phenomena ; the first is when the mountains become visible, and in passing it may be observed that the Egyptian *dw*, Mountain, becomes in Coptic *toor*, which may mean both Mountain and Desert. The second period of the fall of the Flood was when the surface of the earth became dry, and the third period when the whole earth was dried up. This description exactly fits Egypt during the fall of the Nile. It is very clear, then, that the Biblical conception of the Flood as the inundation of the Nile Valley has been taken over and interwoven in the Biblical narrative. Another interesting connection with Egypt is the height of the Flood, "fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail," the normal height of High Nile being fifteen cubits or a little over.

Though punning origins of names are found in other parts of the world this is perhaps more common in Egypt than elsewhere. Every Egyptologist knows the story of the birth of the three Kings of the Vth dynasty, and how they were named by Isis. The puns there given are not isolated instances of such derivations of names. The Egyptian word *rmt*, Man, is derived from *rmy*, To weep, with its noun *rmy-t*, A tear, and

is accounted for by the myth of Man being created from the tears of the Sun-god. The Pyramid Texts are full of such puns, so also is the myth of Horus of Edfu, which though late in actual language is early in content. The story of the birth of twins in Gen. xxxviii, 27 ff., is parallel with the tale in the Westcar Papyrus, even to the punning on the names by the midwife. The names of festivals are derived in the same way from the utterance of a god in Egypt or of a hero, of an angel, or of a celebrated personage in Israel; while place-names are taken from an actual or mythical event which occurred at the spot, e.g. Jacob called the name of the place Peniel Face of God, "for I have seen God face to face." It should be noted that the names are not mere priestly inventions, but were actual places and festivals. Dr. Yahuda makes the interesting suggestion that, during a conquest, "by the assignment of a new name the conquest of that place is documented, so that it may actually serve as a title to its possession for all time." In this connection the phrase, "it is so called unto this day," becomes of great importance. It clearly means "for all time", and is so used in Egyptian and in the early books of the Bible. "The Lord hath destroyed them [the Egyptians] unto this day" certainly has that meaning. But, as Dr. Yahuda points out, in the later Biblical books, when Egyptian influence had weakened, it is no longer used as a self-contained phrase without relation to other times, but mostly as a *terminus ad quem* following a *terminus a quo*: "Since the going forth from Egypt until this day."

In the Moses story Dr. Yahuda calls attention to the fact that in the one verse, Exodus ii, 3, four Egyptian loan-words are used, though there were other words equally suitable. Phrases which are analogous in Egyptian and Hebrew are also interesting. Thus in the Hebrew story of Korah "the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up", while in the Egyptian text the words are, "the earth hath opened his mouth, Geb hath flung open his jaws."

(To be continued)

PERSIA. By Sir ARNOLD WILSON. With an Introduction by the Rt. Hon. H. A. L. FISHER. The Modern World Series.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. xvi + 400. London: Ernest Benn, Limited, 1932. 21s.

This excellent book deals with modern Persia, and contains only so much reference to its past history and literature as is necessary for a proper understanding of the present position. That it is interesting may be taken for granted, for, by common consent, Persia is an interesting country, and Sir Arnold Wilson a competent and attractive writer. Moreover, he is an admirer of the Persian people, he appreciates their many good points and sympathizes with their efforts to join the ranks of civilized nations. Those who get their ideas of Persian character from the pages of Haji Baba will do well to read what Sir Arnold writes in Chapter xii on the Persian military record, and the natural martial qualities of Persian men. The truth is that Bakhtiari and Turki tribesmen and the peasantry of certain parts form excellent military material, while the townsfolk are less warlike.

It is said that the population has not increased in modern times. Sir Arnold Wilson examines the possible causes of this stagnation, and comes to no definite conclusion. A country's urban population can hardly increase unless there is some marked development of industrialism; and there has been no such thing in Persia until quite lately. The countryside can only feed larger numbers if irrigation is maintained and improved. Our author explains that, on the contrary, irrigation has declined since earlier ages. A stationary, if not dwindling, population appears, therefore, to have been a physical necessity of the case.

For conveniently arranged information as to modern administrative methods and developments the book is invaluable. There are, perhaps inevitably, a few minor defects. The copy supplied for review has been bound without the Editor's Preface, although it is mentioned on the title page,

and again in the table of contents. Certain expressions and statements may fairly be criticized. For example : "Nasir i Khusrawi" (p. 117), "the tenets of the Ithn Ja'fariya or the Ithn Ashariya" (p. 159), "a well-known ode by the great mystic Shams i Tabriz" (p. 188), "Locusts are never mentioned . . . in any early Persian literature" (p. 368), "We have no certain knowledge of the subject (plague epidemics) previous to 1773-4" (p. 370). Locusts (ملخ) are mentioned in the Gulistan, and Tabriz was ravaged by plague (طاعون) in 1539 and 1543.

699.

C. N. SEDDON.

**THE PERSIAN MYSTICS: 'ATTĀR.** By MARGARET SMITH.

Wisdom of the East Series. 6½ + 4½, pp. 104. London : John Murray. 3s. 6d.

This little book is one of the well-known Wisdom of the East Series, and may be compared with the earlier volumes by F. Hadland Davis on Jalālū'd-dīn Rūmī and Jāmī. A pleasing and well-written introduction deals with 'Attār's life and the Ṣūfi doctrines which he expounds. It is followed by short extracts in English from 'Attār's works. The translations are free, but they catch the spirit of the original, and they are well selected so as to illustrate the developments of Sufiistic doctrine and ideas. It is not everyone that can sympathize with these ideas, but anyone to whom Sufiistic mysticism appeals will find pleasure and profit in the pleasing presentation here offered.

523.

C. N. SEDDON.

**תולדות הערכים ודמוסלים בארץ ישראל (HISTORY OF THE ARABS AND THE MUSLIMS IN PALESTINE).** By ZEEB VILNAY. 2 vols. 7 × 5. Vol. I, pp. 180, illus. 5, maps 2 ; Vol. II, pp. 192, illus. 4. Tel-Aviv : A. J. Stybel, 1932.

South-Arabian epigraphy, which has shed so much light on the history and politics of pre-Islamic Arabia, has done

little to elucidate its relations with Palestine, besides confirming the fact of early immigration into the latter country, already inferred from local and personal names. For the pre-Islamic period the author of this work has had to obtain material from casual notices chiefly in the Old Testament and the Jewish Oral Tradition, which do not fill many pages. But even after the Islamic conquest of Palestine, in spite of the sanctity attached to certain sites, the country occupies small space in the chronicles till the time of the Crusades : attention was focussed upon it while those struggles lasted, but was withdrawn when the enterprise of the Franks had finally collapsed. Mr. Vilnây has collected references to the condition of the country under its different rulers with skill and industry, and his second volume, which deals mainly with the Turkish and British periods, contains statistical information of great value and interest. Although the language in which he writes shows that he addresses Jewish readers, his treatment of the events which have followed the Balfour Declaration is objective and free from bias.

The etymologies offered are at times untrustworthy. "Admiral" is usually supposed to come from امير البحر, not امير الاماء. "Sheriff" is derived from "shire-reve", and has no connection with the Arabic شريف. "Algebra" is from the Arabic الجبر "putting together", not from الكبير. These etymologies are to be found on p. 160. Since قصس is found in the Qur'an, it should not be included among the European names for garments introduced by the Crusaders (p. 161). The correct etymology of "Turcoman" appears to be from ترك with Persian مان "resembling", not from the first element with the Arabic إيمان "faith" (p. 276).

Certain other errors of detail should have been avoided. The French conquest of Algiers is wrongly dated 1820, in lieu

of 1832 (p. 272). The name of 'Abd al-Qâdir's father (*ibid.*) is almost unrecognizable as מַהְיִדּ אַל-דִּין for Muhyî'd-dîn.

These and the like can easily be set right should the work reach another edition.

676.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

WHITHER ISLAM? A SURVEY OF MODERN MOVEMENTS IN THE MOSLEM WORLD. Edited by Professor GIBB. 8½ × 5½, pp. 384, map 1. London : Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1932. 15s.

The public appetite for works dealing with the present condition and prospects of Islam would seem to be as keen as its taste for descriptions of Soviet Russia. Professor Gibb's method of gratifying this desire bears some resemblance to, though it is not altogether identical with, the procedure of a Royal Commission. After introducing the subject in an essay of sixty-four pages he hears the evidence of four highly expert witnesses, M. Massignon for French Africa, Herr Kampffmeyer for Egypt and Western Asia, Colonel M. L. Ferrar for India, and Mijnheer Berg for Indonesia ; he then devotes sixty-five pages to summing up. Since any one who expresses an opinion on this subject *incedit per ignes suppositos cineri doloso*, it is undesirable in this journal to approve or disapprove the writers' statements and conclusions. The matter communicated by the Dutch scholar will probably be the least familiar to English readers, who as a rule know little of Java or Sumatra. Herr Kampffmeyer's enthusiasm for the Young Men's Moslem Association is likely to attract considerable attention. Colonel Ferrar's chronology and statistics will be found exceedingly useful. M. Massignon's paper is full of valuable information. Finally, Professor Gibb's summing up is to be commended both for its exposition of the results to which the evidence leads and for the contributions which it makes to the witnesses' depositions.

685.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

SONGS OF THE DRUZES: TRANSLITERATIONS, TRANSLATIONS, AND COMMENTS. By AAPELI SAARISALO.  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. viii + 144. Helsingfors: Akateeminen Kirjakauppa, 1932.

Literature belonging to the Druze community is rather scanty, so that this addition to it will be welcomed. It is a collection of thirty-three odes, mainly erotic in character, and containing little that is distinctively Druze, save in dialect, unless indeed the verses have some mystic sense, such as is found in the poems of Hāfiẓ. An exception is found in No. XIII, an ode addressed to 'Alī, but even this apparently contains nothing which might not be said by any of the Shi'ah. The first stanza runs:—

‘alī fik \_ at-tarīq biqūl winzām  
yā asaf ‘amr minnak māt winzām  
‘alī yā hal<sup>f</sup> hizb\_ illāh winzām  
in-naṣ<sup>r</sup> min foq sefak munkatib

translated

Ali, the people praise you,  
O the regret of Amr for you he died and was angry,  
O Ali, he who is followed by the tribe of God and who commands,  
On your sword is written the victory from above (God).

The following is the comment:—

1 : 1 *winzām* from the subst. *nazm*; 1 : 2, *winzām* from the verb *inṣāma*; 1 : 3, *winzām* from the subst. *nizām*, pro *nadām*; 1 : 1, means literally "the mouth speaks a rhyme about you".

It is permissible to doubt the accuracy of the explanations without venturing to suggest anything better. It must be supposed that the 'Amr of line 2 is 'Amr b. al-'As, who according to the Fakhri (a Shi'ite work) after helping Mu'awiyah to get the better of 'Alī expressed the opinion that 'Alī had been in the right and Mu'awiyah in the wrong.

The statement that 'Ali in this ode is represented as a mythological being (7 : 2, 8 : 1) seems something of an exaggeration.

The author admits (it would seem) that some of the poems are current elsewhere than among the Druzes. Thus of xx he says : "This song was imported to Palestine during the Great War by Egyptian soldiers." Perhaps then the title is slightly misleading ; in any case the material collected is deserving of careful study.

737.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

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THE CHRONOGRAPHY OF GREGORY ABŪ'L FARAJ, COMMONLY KNOWN AS BAR HEBRAEUS. Edited and translated from the Syriac by Sir Ernest A. WALLIS BUDGE. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 6, Vol. I : pp. lxiv + 582, pls. 8 ; Vol. II, pp. lvi + 402. London : Oxford University Press, 1932. Two vols. £5 5s.

Sir Ernest Budge's indefatigable industry has again presented us with two stout volumes, one being a facsimile of the Bodleian MS., Hunt. No. 52, the other a translation of this well-known Chronicle of Bar Hebraeus, most voluminous of Syriac writers, and one of the two chief authors of his nation, the other, nine centuries earlier, being St. Ephrem Syrus.

This book has already been printed twice and translated, in 1788 by Dr. P. J. Bruns, Professor of Oriental Languages at Helmstadt, in association with Dr. G. G. Kirsch, Rector of the Hof Gymnasium of Bayreuth. This edition was a bold and painstaking attempt in the then condition of lexicography, for it was only in that same year that J.D. Michaelis published his Syriac Dictionary separated from the Hexaglot Lexicon of Edmund Castell.

Then le Père Bedjan, a Chaldaean priest, crowned a series of Syriac books, excellently printed by Drugulin of Leipzig, with an edition in Nestorian type of the Chronicle of Gregorius Bar Hebraeus. This edition of 1890 is now almost exhausted,

although still in request ; it is of a very convenient *format* and size. Bedjan had the great advantage of many notes by Bernstein and other scholars on the earlier edition of Bruns. It is from his text that Dr. Budge translates. If we compare this with the Rotograph we find few variants, but occasional omissions.

Partly on account of Bedjan using, for the sake of his compatriots, the less known alphabet, also because the printing of Oriental works tends to heavy expense, further because branches of photography have made great progress, Sir Ernest Wallis Budge determined on a reproduction of a MS. rather than a reprint. This MS. is in the better-known Jacobite or Maronite script ; it is clear, and affords good practice in the reading of MSS. : also in such a case, provided a trustworthy MS. is chosen, the margin of error is small.

The selected MS. is one owned by the Bodleian Library, Hunt. 52 ; this and Hunt. 1 were used by Professor Bruns, that of le Père Bedjan was based chiefly on MSS. of the Vatican, but collated with MSS. of other great Libraries. This facsimile is a fine piece of work, beautifully clear and easy to read. With the extra margin of white paper beyond the black of the manuscript page it necessarily forms a thick volume, and the English translation, in large, clear print, must match in size. Sir Ernest has refrained from encumbering either volume with notes, although he had contemplated a thorough working through of the whole work, with corrections of mistakes in history, explanations of difficult passages and expressions, and further "full reference to modern printed Oriental literature". So, as frequently, the Best is the enemy of the Good, and the student must search for himself. Dr. Budge is better than his word : he adopts Bedjan's notes, and often explains names in the text ; where he does explain his notes are very useful, e.g. *zuze Nasraye coins of Saladin En-Nasir*, p. 431, ult. but on p. 457 he translates "Christian zuze". In this case as in that of "Yarlikhe or Yarlike, a Royal Mongol permit", giving these in the Index would have

been preferable as easier of reference and avoiding repetition. Further, he gives 63 pages of information about the Life and Writings of Bar Hebraeus, and a description with illustrations of the monastery of Mar Mattai on Jebel Maklub where Bar Hebraeus is buried.

Sir Ernest prefers transliteration to translation, e.g. "Abharis or Abares" to *Avars*, p. 83, and "Asklabone" ib. for *Slavonians* or *Slavs*, but on the next page he gives Slavs; "Akko" for *Acre*, pp. 238, etc. It is puzzling to find the "river Alis" for the *Halys*, p. 288, and "Alix" for Alexius, son of the Emperor Manuel, pp. 309, 312; "Aukhatai" usually written Ogatai, son and successor of Chingiz Khan, p. 383; "Boduin" for *Baudouin* or *Baldwin*, and so with other names of Crusaders; "Prayns" for *Prince*, p. 283, and often. For *Cathay* we find "Kata" or "Khata", pp. 347, 419, and for *Cathayans* "Kataye" or Khataye, p. 397, but once he adds the usual spelling, p. 354; "Mawsil" for *Mosul*, p. 111, and throughout. More perplexing is the frequent writing of "Hulabu" for *Hulagu*, the well-known first Il-Khan, grandson of Chingiz Khan. Yet once Hulagu is given, p. xvi, and once Hulaku, p. 398.

There are remarkably few misprints: Zain for Dalath p. xlvi; "Unti" Khan in the Index for *Unk* Khan, p. 352, six times. Correct also "Marna" p. 55 to *Mamaea*, mother of Alexander Severus.

We venture on a few suggestions, p. 86, not "house of weeping" but (they made) *lamentation*: for "doer of his good works" read *his benefactor*, ib. p. 387, 8: "amarakuba" is cotton; and blue cotton cloth is worn by the poor: it was worn by Ala Ad-Din from a love of simplicity: p. 448, 13, not "Mar Saint" but the *Venerable Bishop* (Henan Isho), p. 127, 3, the Kaisaye or Kaisites, more commonly called Ma-addites, were Northern Arabs, one of the two chief divisions of the race: Kais was a descendant of Ma-add. p. 180 ult. "Dukas Domesticus" is a title *Chief of the Body Guard* or *of the Household Troops*, and so p. 169, thrice.

p. 79, "papelion" is Lat. *pavilio*, *tent*. Lovers of Constantinople would prefer *Porphyry* to "Purple" pillar, p. 76; it is familiar as "the Burnt Column" to all passing along the high road in Istanbul.

680.

†. J. P. MARGOLIOUTH.

HINDUSTANI PHONETICS. By MOHIUDDIN QADRI.  $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ , pp. 116, Figs. 77. Villeneuve St. Georges : Imprimerie L'Union Typographique, 1931. 4s. 6d.

This little volume, by an old student of mine, contains an interesting account of the pronunciation of Urdu as spoken by educated Dakhnis. The book proper begins on p. 15; the first fourteen pages are given to a historical statement of the reason for the difference between northern and Dakhni Urdu. The next sixteen pages give details of this difference so far as concerns morphology. The last seventy pages discuss the phonetics of the language. In a short review one cannot go much into this. We do not yet know much about the subject, and many points are doubtful. There is need, too, for much more investigation into Urdu stress, both its nature and its incidence.

The most valuable section is that on assimilation, which in Urdu is almost always regressive. There are a considerable number of diagrams, mostly palatograms. Unfortunately it is difficult to get much information from palatograms, for they are generally rather unreliable.

A book like this, containing a good deal of pioneer work, must be regarded as a draft. If a second edition is called for the author will be able to introduce changes and improvements. I would suggest that consideration be given to the following points *inter alia*.

p. 50. "*i* is usually long." It is long only in certain positions, otherwise it is short.

pp. 54, 55. Diphthongs *āo*, *āe*, as in *nāo* "boat", *rāe*

"opinion". These are two separate vowels, not diphthongs. So to *iu* and *eo* on p. 56.

p. 55. *aī* is said never to be final. It is final in *barhaī* "carpenter", *kaī* "several", etc.

pp. 57-60. Vowels followed by *nūn i gunna* are said to be nasal. This is a mistake commonly made in India. The vowel preceding *nūn i gunna* in *banda*, *gunca*, is no more nasal than that in *ban* or *tun*.

In some places the author merely assumes that pronunciation follows ordinary orthography.

However, all such things are inevitable in early work, and we may anticipate correction in the near future.

In the meantime we accord our hearty congratulation to the author, and wish him a speedy demand for a revised edition.

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T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

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THE *Rgvedānukramanī* OF MĀDHAVABHĀTTĀ (SON OF VEṄKATĀRYA). Ed. by C. KUNHAN RAJA. Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 2.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. xxxii + 96 + clxiv. Madras : University of Madras, 1932. Rs. 3/8 (India) : 7s. (foreign).

This is an edition of the verses introducing each *Aṣṭaka* and *Adhyāya* found in some MSS. of the *Rgarthadīpikā* of Mādhava, whom Sāyaṇa quotes on *RV.* x, 86, 1. The editor points out that the title he has given the work is due to confusion with a *Rgvedānukramanī* by a different Mādhava mentioned by Devarāja. These verses indeed are not an *Anukramanī* at all ; nor are they part of the commentary proper, but in the nature of short essays on eight general topics, viz. : accent, verbs, *nipātās*, *āṛtti*, the R̥sis, metre, the Deities, and interpretation. Each is artificially divided into eight sections, to correspond with the *Adhyāyas*. Illustrative quotations from the hymns are fitted into the *ślokas* in which the work is mainly composed, and although no subject is treated fully the manner of treatment is quite

enlightened. The author shows due but not excessive regard for traditional views, referring often to the *Nirukta* and the *Bṛhaddevatā*, to the *Vedāṅgas*, and the *Brāhmaṇas*. He emphasizes the importance of considering parallel passages for interpretation, and gives valuable information on accent, use of tenses, metre, and the *R̥ṣis* of the hymns.

Dr. Kunhan Raja has produced a satisfactory text from a correlation of six MSS., with an interesting introduction discussing the author's identity and date, a list of variant readings, references to all quotations, and an index of stanzas. At the end is a tentative edition, from one defective MS., of the sections on names and verbs of the other Mādhaba's *Anukramanī*, mentioned by Devarāja.

684.

C. A. RYLANDS.

CODICES AVESTICI ET PAHLAVICI BIBLIOTHECAE UNIVERSITATIS

HAFNIENSIS. Vol. I : The Pahlavi Codices K20 and K20b.

Published in facsimile by the University Library of Copenhagen, with an introduction by ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN. pp. xvi + 388, 1931. Vol. II : The Pahlavi Codex K26. pp. viii + 106, 13 × 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ . Copenhagen : University Library, 1932.

These first two volumes of the *Codices Avestici et Pahlavici* of the University of Copenhagen are the first-fruits of a project planned as long ago as 1912. It is well known that MSS., some of the oldest extant in Avestan and Pahlavi, were brought early last century from India and Persia by Rask and Westergaard, and have been preserved in Copenhagen. Their condition made it impossible that they should be sent out of the country, so that scholars had perforce to make special journeys to consult them. These disadvantages were somewhat remedied by the facilities provided by photographs of folios of MSS., of which I have myself been happy to take advantage. But with these two splendid volumes this

undesirable state of things is already modified and should, when the whole series is complete, be entirely removed.

Vol. I, containing the facsimile of K20, includes twenty texts of varying lengths, both Pahlavi and Avestan. These are as follows :—

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|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (1) Artāy Virāz Nāmak.       | (11) Mātiyān i Gijsastak    |
| (2) Mātiyān i Yavišt i       | Abāliš.                     |
| Friyān.                      | • (12) Átūrpāt i Mārspand's |
| (3) The Length of a Man's    | Answers to the King.        |
| Shadow.                      | (13) Yašt fragment.         |
| (4) Yašt fragment.           | (14) Sroš Yašt Haðōxt.      |
| (5) Ahriman and Ēšm.         | (15) Yasna extracts.        |
| (6) Šāyast nē Šāyast.        | (16) On the Recital of the  |
| (7) Frahang i Oīm.           | Yaθā ahū vairyō.            |
| (8) Bundahišn.               | (17) A Pahlavi Rivāyat.     |
| (9) Vahman Yašt.             | (18) Čim i gāsān.           |
| (10) Andarz i Ōsnar i dānāk. | (19) The Drōn Offering.     |
|                              | (20) Patit.                 |

Of these, Nos. 4, 7, 13, 14, 15 are Avestan texts with Pahlavi glosses. Nos. 3, 6, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 have not before been accessible in the original. The others could be had in editions and translations of varying excellence.

The importance of the volume is therefore evident, since only facsimiles can satisfy the needs of Pahlavi studies. Printed editions inevitably modify the text, making it more difficult to read by confusing additional signs and dissolving the ligatures. The age of K20, it being of the fourteenth century, adds to its importance. So it is now that we have the Pahlavi original of, for example, the Šāyast nē Šāyast, which was recently published in transcription only, leaving the reader very much in the dark as to the actual works written in the MS.

K20b contains one folio of older date and twenty later folios of an independent MS. of the Shorter Bundahišn.

The second volume offers the facsimile of K26, which has

fifty-three folios, the remnant of a larger codex, containing the text of the Artāy Virāz Nāmak, and portion of the tale of Yavist i Friyān.

Both volumes are finely produced. The reproductions give excellent readable texts. The third volume containing K35 will be awaited with high hopes. The University of Copenhagen is to be greatly congratulated on the two first volumes of a most important series.

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H. W. BAILEY.

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HILFSBUCH DES PEHLEVI. Vol. II, Glossar.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ , pp. xxi + 302. Uppsala : In Kommission bei O. Harrassowitz, Leipzig, and A. B. Lundquistka Bokhandeln, Uppsala, 1931.

With the publication of this Glossar, forming Part II of the Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi, of which Part I appeared in 1928, Pahlavi studies have at last begun to receive something of their due. It is a book which must prove of invaluable service. In spite of its restricted scope—it is intended to be used with the first part—the author has brought together a mass of material which enables one in every case to test the results of recent researches. How much I personally owe to the work of Professor Nyberg it would be difficult to estimate. When therefore suggestions differing from those proposed in the book are offered it is with the hope of making it still more useful. One general remark may be prefixed. The problem of the final -ē in the transcribed words seems not yet to be fully threshed out. Against its presence in the official language of Sasanian times is the fact that it is absent from the Turfan Mid. Iranian texts. In the Sasanian inscriptions, too, we find Pahlavik *av aryān śtr rvny* beside Pārsik *av ērān śtry rvny*. A final *y* appears also at the end of verb forms. No reliance can be placed on the scribes of Pahl. MSS.

Space does not permit more than a few notes here.

\**brād*  is explained by the phrase in SGV. 4, 47, *aēr*

*brih i mihir*, Skt. *adhaḥ tejasā sūryasya*, and by the corresponding phrase in GrBd. 57, 8, *hač rāy i xvaršēt*. It is the same word as the frequent  *brāh* (or *brēh*) "shining", which appears here under *\*baxš*. Both words belong to the verb *brag* "to shine". Cf. DkM. 283, 16 f., *čēgōn bām hač pairōk ut pairōk hač brāh brāh hač rōšnīh*.

\**dastr* cannot be sustained. It forms with the preceding signs part of the word *āturastar* (or *āturistar*) "ashes". Cf. the phrase in Zātspram 1, 25, *siyā ut āturastar-gōn*. Hence here in GrBd 11, 11, read *siyāh i āturastar*. Cf. *siyāh* in GrBd. 161, 15.

\**trufak* need not be doubted. Bērūnī has *masrūq* and *mustariq* in the same sense (*Chron.*, p. 43). Munjānī has *t'rif- : trāft* "to steal".

\**avikān* should probably be read *hanbasān* with the Pāzand. Its etymology could be \**ham-pat-s-* "to meet, attack".

In BSOS. viii, 79, I have proposed *kārdāk* "wanderer", in place of *kārədahak*.

Apart from these and other details, mainly in connection with rare words, the book must remain for a long time an indispensable aid in Pahlavi studies.

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H. W. BAILEY.

NOTES SUR L'AFGHANISTAN. Par MAURICE FOUCHE.

7½ × 5, pp. 228. Paris : Éditions Maisonneuve Frères, 1931. 20 frs.

The author of this little book was appointed in 1923 first Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic at the Court of the King of Afghanistan, and he unfortunately died at sea on his way home on leave in the autumn of 1924. We cannot, therefore, be surprised if we find a record of first impressions rather than a work of profound knowledge and experience.

In the short space at his command, M. Fouchet attempts

to cover a very wide field. He begins by giving us a description of his journey to Kabul, of Kabul itself, and of the newly-planned capital Dâr ul Islâm. He then disposes in a few pages of the "Remote Provinces" and the general system of Government, and proceeds to deal with the people in chapters devoted to their religious and moral life and their political and economic circumstances.

Forty pages are allotted to the history of Afghanistan from the earliest times down to the end of the nineteenth century, and the work is brought to a conclusion with sixty pages on "The Present". When it is added that space is found for the writer's views on such various topics as the career of Babur and the political situation in India in 1924, it will be realized that we cannot look for an exhaustive treatise on Afghanistan past or present, and that we must accept the title "Notes" as not unduly modest.

As with most first-impressionists, M. Fouchet is most successful in his description of the physical setting, and those who like romantic descriptions of natural phenomena will doubtless enjoy his quasi lyrical outbursts. They will share his thrills as he approaches Kabul under the threat of nightfall :—

" Il importe de gagner Kaboul avant que la nuit rende tragiques des passages dantesque. . . . Des vallées s'ouvrent, longues comme l'oubli et profondes comme la mort. . . . Le soleil tombe, les ombres noircissent les hauteurs, des fleurs bleues achèvent de mourir parmi les pierres, dans un parfum nostalgique où passent, en bouffées, les souvenirs lointains. Le soir s'étend . . . "

He is similarly moved by the romance of history, and we have apostrophes to Delhi and to Babur.

In estimating human character and assessing political probabilities he is less skilled. His sketch of the personality of Amanullah is quite superficial. The King remains a lay-figure. Though endowed with a "sens politique étonnant chez un homme de son âge", his "superiority" can only

be noted, not explained. His scheme of reforms is described in outline and, while the author notes their unpopularity in certain quarters and has earlier explained the "relative" nature of Amanullah's authority over the tribes, he does not appear to have foreseen the inevitable *débâcle*. The moral of the book is based on quite another outcome :—

"Période critique, par conséquent, que celle qui s'ouvre pour le nouvel État ! (due to a possible entente between Britain and Russia). L'Émir de Kaboul verra-t-il assez clair pour faire décidément l'appel à la France ? . . . La France est le seul pays capable de donner à l'Afghanistan la consolidation nécessaire, la France dont le concours désintéressé ne peut porter ombrage à personne, la France dont les penseurs, artistes, techniciens sont toujours prêts à se dévouer partout où il est possible de contribuer au progrès ! . . . En consentant à se faire représenter à Kaboul la France n'a obéi qu'à son instinct généreux de paraître là où il y a une œuvre à accomplir, un peu de la lumière qui lui est propre à répandre, alors que les autres peuples n'ont que des préoccupations de comptoirs ou de bureaux de placement."

The realization of these philanthropic ambitions now appears rather remote.

After all, as the author concludes : "Sur les cimes neigeuses ou dorées qui encerclent le plateau de Kaboul, le vent glacial ou brûlant ne cesse de glisser éternellement, indifférent aux formes transitoires de ce qui dure dans l'Esprit de Dieu, et emportant vers l'immuable silence, le balbutiement des lèvres humaines."

Leaving these heights one may express regret that the proofs of the book do not appear to have been revised by any competent hand. There are many errors in the representations of proper names.

MARRIAGE CONDITIONS IN A PALESTINE VILLAGE. By HILMA GRANQUIST. Societas Scientiarum Fennica; Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, iii, 8.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. viii + 200. Helsingfors: Akademische Buchhandlung, 1931. RM. 75.

The author of this volume arrived at Jerusalem in August, 1925, in order to complete on the spot the study of *The Women of the Old Testament* which she had been prosecuting in the libraries of Europe, and attended an archæological class under Professor A. Alt at the "Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes" in Jerusalem.

She then decided to continue her studies by the observation of native life at Arṭās, a Muhammadan Arab village south of Bethlehem. There she had the assistance of Miss Louise Baldensperger, sister of the author of *The Immovable East*, who had lived and studied folklore in Arṭās for thirty years and thoroughly knew the village people, and also of two Arab women, 'Alya Ibrahim and Hamdiye Sanad.

The author's researches besides being confined to the small area of Arṭās (by no means a disadvantage), were also restricted to the marriage history of four different clans and six groups in Arṭās during the last one hundred years, that is to say, as far back as the memory of the people would reach.

The book consists of an introduction giving the circumstances under which it was conceived, and four chapters on the method of investigation, the age of marriage (betrothal at birth, child betrothal, and reasons for child and early marriage), the choice of the bride (by whom chosen and from which circles, and how a stranger bride is found), and marriage by consideration (exchange of bride for bride, bride price, and discussion of bride purchase). In addition there are for each of the ten clans and groups genealogical trees, marriage lists and marriage tables, a plan showing marriages with strangers, and a list of references to other works.

The book was recommended to the Societas Scientiarum Fennica by Professor Edward Westermarck, the author of the *History of Human Marriage* and Professor Rafael Karsten, and the former spoke very highly of it in his report to the Åbo Akademi, Finland, to which the author had applied for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Indeed, after a careful perusal of the book (which is in the nature of it very detailed) all one can do is to endorse Professor Westermarck's opinion.

The book contains several facts, he says, which have hitherto been considered little or not at all, facts, indeed, which could only be collected by a woman research worker in a Muhammadan country. Professor Westermarck regards the author as having discharged her task with knowledge and minute exactness, and her essentially statistical and genealogical methods as being particularly suitable to it.

The genealogical method is one which can only be applied to a small community, and is not without its disadvantages, but Professor Westermarck considers that although the intensive study of a limited area has not infrequently tempted the research worker to make more extensive deductions than the material justifies, this is not a charge which can be brought against the writer of this book. In fact, far from exceeding the warranty of her facts, she has in her many notes quoted parallels which she has found in literature concerning other spheres of Arabic culture, and has thus increased the value of her thesis. Valuable also is the richness of detail which the small area studied has made possible.

In regard to chapter iii (Choice of the Bride), as Professor Westermarck says, the main point lies in the treatment of the general Muhammadan custom of marrying a man to his father's brother's daughter, one reason for this being, in Palestine as in Morocco, the safety it is considered to give the husband from becoming the object of his wife's curses; the most important causes are, however, economic, such marriages keeping the property within the family and being less costly.

Professor Westermarck also draws attention to the interest of the author's parallels between endogamous and exogamous marriages in Arṭās and among the Old Testament Jews. She relates the prevailing lack of women in Arṭās to the numerous cousin marriages in accordance with the Professor's own hypothesis that inbreeding has a tendency to increase male births. She states that marriage between cousins is very usual in the one great clan which is strictly monogamous, showing that inbreeding can lead to monogamy, just as it can, as Professor Westermarck has tried to show, be assumed as a reason for polyandry.

The life and colour given by the author's presentation, by frequent literal translations, of the statements made by her native informers are alluded to, and indeed the book is very rich in this kind of interest.

After referring to the sociological value of the author's work, and stating that her efforts have led to valuable results not only in the shape of the collected material, but also the conclusions she has deduced therefrom, Professor Westermarck ends by saying that she has succeeded in obtaining for her subject points of view of considerable general interest, and that, whilst the questions she treats of are not numerous, it must be remembered that the present volume is only the first-fruits of her three years' work in Palestine and also in Germany and England.

The continuation of the thesis is practically ready in Swedish and contains a similarly detailed presentation of the other sides of marriage conditions in Arṭās: betrothal and marriage ceremonies, the woman in her husband's house, polygyny, divorce, and widowhood.

Its appearance will be awaited with interest.

A MANUAL OF PĀLI. Being a graduated course of Pāli for beginners : Second edition. By C. V. JOSHI.  $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ , pp. viii + 152. Poona : Oriental Book Agency, 1931. Rs. 2.

The *Manual of Pāli*, by C. V. Joshi, formerly Professor of Pāli and Marathi at University College Baroda, is a handy little volume, now issued in a second edition. It is primarily intended for Indian students (as the use of Devanāgarī indicates) and forms a graduated course in twenty-three lessons well arranged and provided with copious exercises for translation from Pāli as well as from English. The glossaries added are in both these languages. As there is a dearth of purely linguistic manuals of Pāli, we would welcome it as a textbook for our own prospective students of Pāli, were it not for the foreign alphabet. When, however, learning Pāli on the basis of Sanskrit, it is excellent and in its methodical treatment of the language preferable to Sumangala's Pāli Course which is similar in style and arrangement.

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W. STEDE.

THE SECRET LORE OF INDIA AND THE ONE PERFECT LIFE FOR ALL. By W. M. TEAPE.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. xviii + 346. Cambridge : W. Heffer & Sons, 1932. 12s. 6d.

In view of the marked revival of interest in the Upanishads (not only in theosophical circles, but also in quarters where one would scarcely expect it) this book is to be welcomed as a guide to and interpreter of the "Secret Lore" of India. Its chief value lies in its scope as being not a one-sided, philosophical or metaphysical or historical discussion of the Upani-shadic "problem", but an attempt to approach and understand the teachings themselves from a purely human point of view, as evidence of the living Truth and as manifestations of the Spiritual Reality as the goal of all human search. In other words, it does not discuss the Ātman as an object of

analysis, but it brings "Him" home to the heart of the reader as a personal experience. One may say that the author follows the example of the Sages at the close of the Vedic period who found the "kinsman of the Real in the Unreal when searching in their own hearts with adoration". It is a psychological approach to the Self through the whole of the self. In this process the historical interpretation is insufficient since it looks only backward and does not deal with the vision of the ever-present Reality in the eternal Now.

The author has been successful in his task to expound the two fundamental principles of Upanishad wisdom, viz. universality and unity of spirit (soul) in a variety of ways and with copious analogies of similar symptoms in other spheres of religious and mystic thought.

After an introduction in which a survey of the sacred tradition is given, the author presents twenty-four selections from the principal Upanishads (Brihadāraṇyaka prevailing, followed by Chāndogya and a few from the poetical ones), all translated into verse. It was a happy inspiration which made him use the medium of poetry for the expression of the sublime ideas of the Upanishads even when the original was in prose. The language of intuition and mysticism is rhyme and rhythm, as the truest expression of the spirit of man is music. The selections are followed by critical and constructive notes on language, subject-matter, and treatment of the theme by other authors, and a vocabulary of important Sanskrit words occurring in the Upanishads. The last 100 pages are taken up by a hermeneutical presentation of the "Self", as implied in the sub-title of the work, viz. "The One Perfect Life for All", for which the author is well equipped in his capacity as practical theologian. Various appendices conclude the absorbingly interesting and stimulating book.

EXTRAIT DE L'HISTOIRE DE L'ÉGYPTE. Vol. II, par AHMAD IBN IYĀS. Traduit de l'Arabe par Mme R. L. Devonshire. Extrait du Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Tome xxxiv. 11 × 8, pp. 29, 3 plates. Cairo, 1933.

This is a continuation of a translation of which the first section appeared in the *Bulletin* for 1924, and the period covered extends from 841/1437 to 857/1453, including the whole of the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq. The illustrations consist of photographs of monuments of the time of the text. Mrs. Devonshire has added some helpful notes to the translation, concerning topographical administrative points and other matters that require explanation. She has grappled successfully with many difficulties of translation and all students of Mamluk history will find her work useful. She proposes to continue it still further, and when she reaches the interesting reign of the last great Mamluk Sultan El Ghûri, will have the advantage of the far superior text of Ibn Iyâs brought out recently by M. Paul Kahle and Muhammad Muṣṭafâ.

N.R. 20.

R. GUEST.

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER

### British Museum

An extensive scheme of reconstruction on the northern wing of the British Museum will involve the closing of all the rooms on the upper floor in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, save the First, Second and Third Egyptian Rooms. The objects from these exhibition galleries will, for the most part, have to be packed away and will be inaccessible until the reconstruction is completed. The attention of scholars is requested to this point, and they are informed that these galleries will be shut on 1st October.

This reconstruction will also necessitate the demolition of the present Students' Room. It is hoped to provide temporary accommodation elsewhere, so that scholars may have access to tablets and papyri; but this work will take several months. The Students' Room will be shut as from Monday, 16th October, 1933; a statement as to reopening may, it is hoped, be made in the British Press in March, 1934.

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### Notices

The congratulations of the Society are offered to Dr. Henry G. Farmer, M.A., Ph.D., on the award of a Leverhulme Research Fellowship in Oriental Study. He has already received a Carnegie Research Fellowship and the Weir Memorial Prize. He was elected President of the Commission of MSS. at the Congress of Arabian Music convened in 1932 by the Egyptian Government.

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The congratulations of the Society are also offered to Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, C.I.E., I.A., who has been awarded a Leverhulme Travelling Fellowship for "Research into Central Asian Languages". This will enable him to complete his study of the Burushaski language.

Members and Subscribing Libraries are reminded that, by Rule 24, all Annual Subscriptions for the coming year are due on 1st January without application from the Society. A great saving would be effected if all members would kindly comply with this rule.

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To avoid unnecessary expense to the Society in the form of payment of surcharges on insufficiently stamped letters, post-cards, and packets received from India, Members and Correspondents are reminded that the postal rates as from that country to England have been increased as shown below :

	<i>Letters</i>		<i>Printed</i>
	<i>For each</i>		<i>Papers</i>
	<i>For 1 oz. additional oz.</i>	<i>Postcards</i>	<i>for each 2 oz.</i>
Old rate .	2a.	1a. 6p.	1a. 6p.
New rate .	2a. 6p.	2a.	9p.

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*The Geographical Journal.* Vol. lxxxii, No. 3, September, 1933.

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Vol. lxii, Part deelxxvii, June, 1933.

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Vol. lxii, Part deelxxviii, July, 1933.

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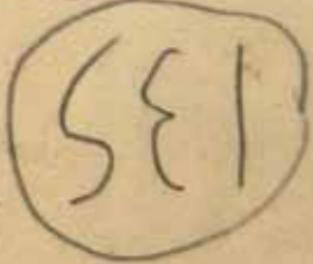
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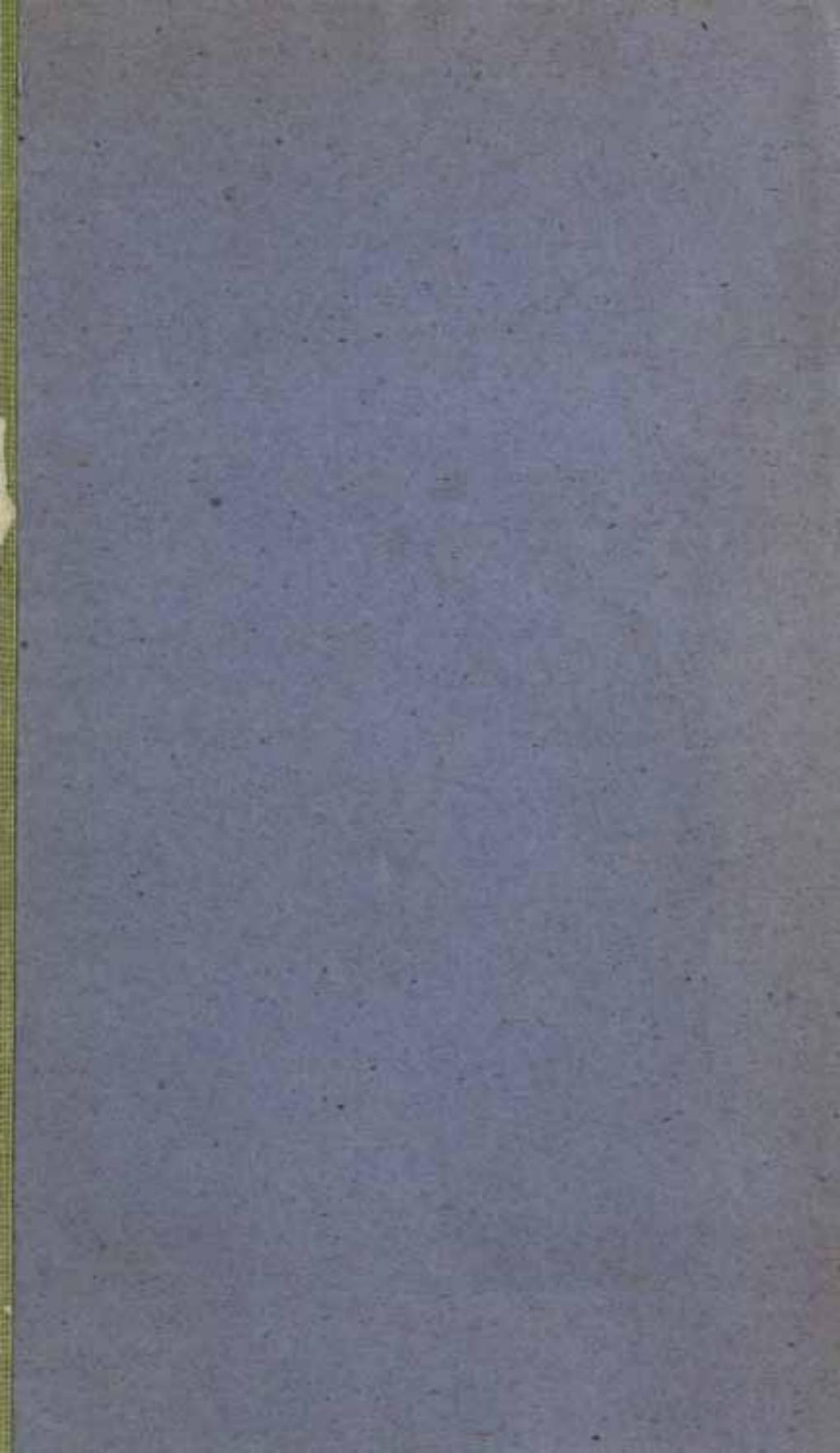
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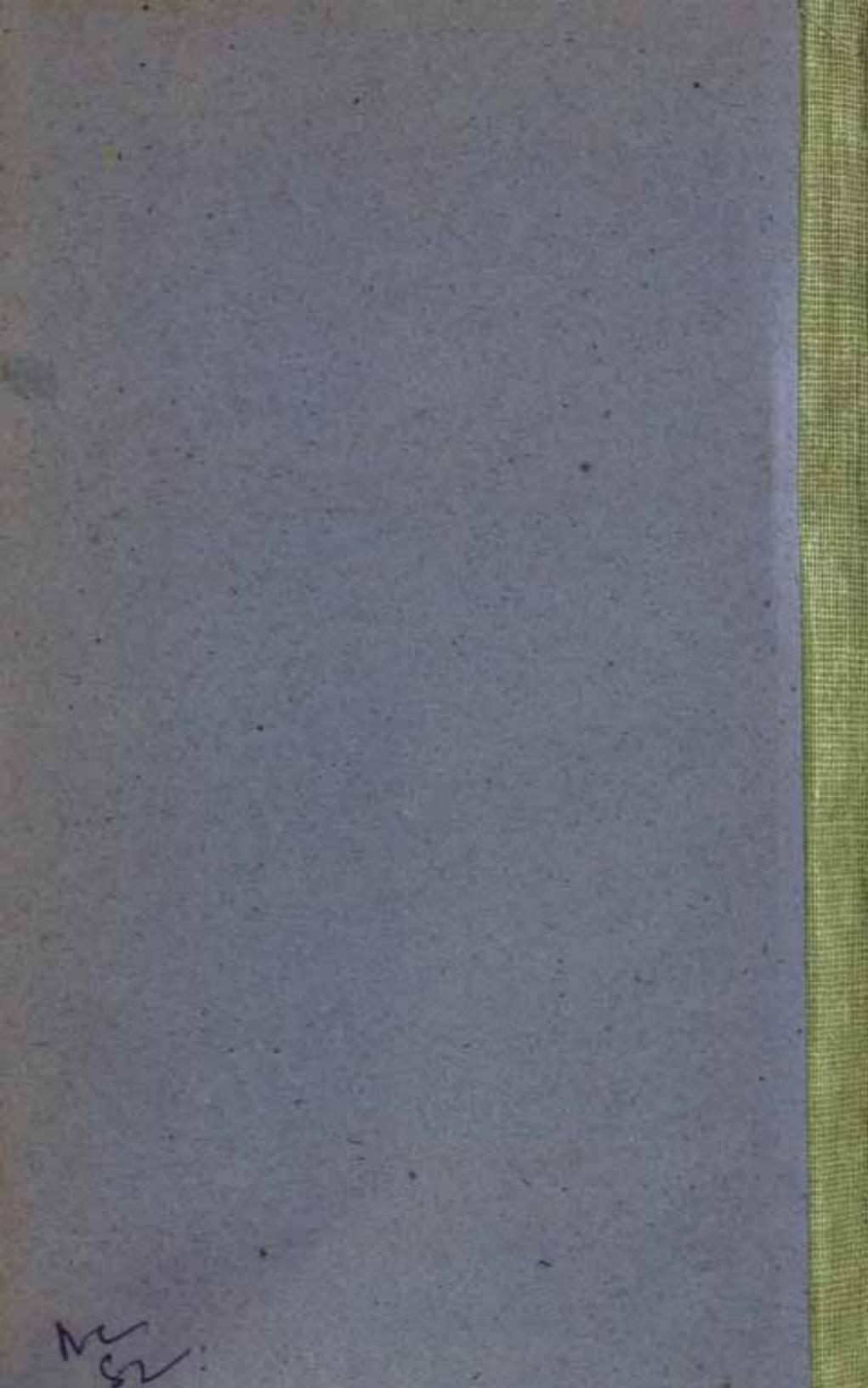
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